

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/121792				86559			
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FROM MOSCOW TO FOREIGN OFFICE

V

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir. W. Hayter

No. 1570

November 6, 1956

D. 12.05 p.m. November 7, 1956

R. 12.41 p.m. November 7, 1956

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1570 of November 6.  
Repeated for information to U.K. Del New York  
and Saving to Washington and Paris.

Suez.

R1391/706

There is little change in today's reporting on Suez in the Soviet Press. Brief descriptions are given of last night's demonstrations outside the French, Israeli and this Embassy (my telegram No. 1561), where "thousands" of Moscow workers are said to have gathered. The demonstrators, of whom there were in fact never more than 500, stayed for about three hours, shouting slogans and hanging banners on the Embassy railing.

About 40 protests, signed by workers and students of various institutions, were handed in to the Embassy. I am telegraphing separately about a fresh demonstration this morning.

2. The Press also publishes two communiques by the Egyptian High Command, reporting British bombing raids on Egyptian towns, with the loss of some life and of seven planes, and claiming the sinking of a French cruiser.

3. The report of the General Assembly debate on November 5, gives details of the Canadian resolution, and reports in full the Soviet delegates speech. There is also a summary of the Anglo-French Note to the Secretary General of the United Nations, which is said to ignore the Afro-Asian resolution and to pay lip-service to the Canadian resolution in order to place fresh obstacles in the way of a settlement.

4. Mr. Gaitkell's radio speech is briefly reported.

Foreign Office pass U.K. Del New York and Saving to Washington and Paris as my telegrams Nos. 25,228 and 195 respectively.  
[Repeated Saving to U.K. Del New York, Washington and Paris].

vvv

SECRET

FROM TEHRAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND  
WHITEHALL SECRET DISTRIBUTION ✓

Sir R. Stevens

No. 906  
November 7, 1956

D. 5.23 p.m. November 7, 1956  
R. 5.40 p.m. November 7, 1956

EMERGENCY  
SECRET

R1091/707

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 906 of November 7.

Repeated for information Immediate to Ankara Bagdad  
Karachi.

My telegram No. 902: <sup>R1091/693</sup> Four-Power Communiqué.

Nuri has just told me that he and the Pakistanis must insist on a reference to the 1947 resolution in paragraph 3 (3). I warned him that in the event, we should have to comment in our reply probably along the lines of the Guildhall speech. He said that he hoped that our comment would be as non-controversial as possible. It was not the moment to enter into arguments on this most sensitive subject when Arab sentiments were inflamed. It was because of this he considered a reference to the 1947 resolution essential from his point of view.

2. I have asked Dr. Ardalan if he and the Turks can do anything more to move him; it is after all their communiqué not ours. But if this fails, and Nuri is busy trying to persuade Menderes to the release of their communiqué urgently - some modification in my telegram No. 899 will be required at the end of paragraph 3. I suggest "are in general consonant with Her Majesty's Government's own views. As regards the Palestine dispute, they consider that it will be their objective to find a basis for settlement which will fully and finally be acceptable to all States in the area".

Foreign Office pass Immediate to Ankara, Bagdad and Karachi as my telegrams Nos. 116, 263 and 114 respectively.

[Repeated to Ankara and Bagdad]

[Copy sent to Telegraph Section C.R.O. for repetition to Karachi]

ADVANCE COPIES

Private Secretary Sir I. Kirkpatrick Mr. Dean  
Mr. Ross Head of Levant Department  
Head of African Department Head of Eastern Department  
Head of News Department Mr. Ashe, P.U.S.D.

F F F F

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EMR

Draft.

Telegram to:—

TEHRAN

No. 1154

(Date) 7/11

And to:—

Immediate Repeat to:

ANKARA 1968  
 BAGDAD 2582  
 KARACHI

Washington 508  
 New York SAV

EXGLIXX  
 Codex  
 Cypher

Distribution:—

F.O. (Secret) & Whitehall (Secret)

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NOV 1956

ambassador

7/11

EMERGENCY

EMERGENCY  
 PRIORITY  
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 with priority  
 without priority  
 DEFERRED

Date and time (G.M.T.) telegram should reach addressee(s).....

(Date) 7/11/56

Despatched 11/48 pm

[Security classification] —if any

SECRET

[Codeword—if any]

Address to TEHRAN

telegram No. 1154 (date) 7/11

repeated for information to ANKARA, BAGDAD, KARACHI and saving to Washington & New York

Your telegram No. 906 [of November 7:

Tehran meeting of Bagdad Pact].

If your efforts fail and wording is as in para.3(iii) of your telegram No. 885, we will reply in terms of your telegram 899 with

following amendments to last sentence of para.3:

"are ~~in general~~ consonant with H.M.

Government's own views. As regards

a settlement of the Palestine problem

H.M. Government's views ~~remain as~~ stated

by the Prime Minister in his speech at

the Guildhall on November 9 1955 which

took account of the 1947 and other

United Nations resolutions."

JM/Tki

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

11/20

RECEIVED

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SECRET  
FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO TEHRAN

Cypher/OTP and by Bag

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND  
WHITEHALL SECRET DISTRIBUTION

No.1154  
November 7, 1956

D.11.48 p.m. November 7, 1956

EMERGENCY  
SECRET

Addressed to Tehran telegram No.1154 of November 7.  
Repeated for information to Ankara [immediate]  
Bagdad [immediate]  
Karachi [immediate]  
and Saving to Washington No.5208  
U.K.Del. New York No. 1284.

Your telegram No.906 [of November 7: Tehran meeting of Bagdad Pact].

If your efforts fail and wording is as in paragraph 3(iii) of your telegram No. 885, we will reply in terms of your telegram No.899 with following amendments to last sentence of paragraph 3:

"Are consent with Her Majesty's Government's own views. As regards a settlement of the Palestine problem Her Majesty's Government's views are well known and were stated by the Prime Minister in his speech at the Guildhall on November 9 1955."

C C C C

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Secret

Minutes.

J.P.  
 ✓

I attach a copy of a telegram from the U.S. Ambassador at Moscow. The reception to which it refers took place on October 30.

Robert [unclear] 31/10  
 Robert [unclear] 31/10  
 Robert [unclear]

Robert 31.10.  
 Gallagher 31/10.  
 Thomas Birrell 31/10

Mr. Bohlen spoke pretty well considering the circumstances.

R. [unclear] 4"  
 R. [unclear] 6.11

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20  
b11

Limit Distribution.

During reception today Molotov came up when I was talking to Zhukov and inquired what was my view on Israeli attack on Egypt. I told him I had no details but I knew my government took most serious view of this and had taken initiative to bring matter before Security Council. Molotov then in best style attempted indicate U.S. could have prevented this if it wished since it had great influence with Israel, adding that of course we had been in cohorts with England and France. I told him he was completely mistaken, that the United States had done everything it could to prevent situation developing to this point; that President had sent personal messages to Israeli Prime Minister urging restraint and, in any event, fact we had taken lead in Security Council was best answer to this question.

Molotov, shifting his ground slightly, said that behind backs Israel stood Great Britain and France who wished to punish Nasser for nationalization Suez Canal. I told him I didn't see how he could believe that since he must be aware Great Britain had also told Israel that any action against Jordan would bring into operation Anglo/Jordan treaty. I then added that just about a year ago the Secretary had warned Mr. Molotov of the dangers of Soviet action in supplying arms to Egypt in already inflamed situation, and that Soviet

government/

SECRET

R1091/708

INFORMATION COPY

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government should think carefully of possible consequences this action. Molotov's only reply was to state after all it was Israel and not Egypt which was aggressor in this case. I confined myself to repeating that the US had done everything it could to avoid this situation and that Mr. Molotov would do well to believe me on this point. He made no further comment and conversation ended.

Obviously in Security Council Soviet Union will back up Egypt to fullest. Molotov's remarks may be forecast of their attitude towards Western powers in this matter. ✓

BOHLEN

b11/351

SECRET

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SECRET

FROM MR. RALPH MURRAY A.F.H.Q. TO FOREIGN OFFICE

VR1091/109

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND WHITEHALL  
SECRET DISTRIBUTION

No. 199 PA  
November 7, 1956

D:11.45 p.m. November 7, 1956  
R: 6.30 a.m. November 7, 1956  
(via Ministry of Defence)

EMERGENCY

SECRET

I accompanied Commander in Chief this morning to a brief conference at Port Said with General Stockwell. The following are points seen with an eye to your political problems during the next phase.

2. The tale of damage to the town which could be alleged against us is pretty considerable.

(a) The Western half of Arab town which consisted of huts and mud buildings doubtless with usual loads of highly inflammable rubbish on the roofs has been burnt to the ground. This occurred during fighting.

(b) A school and some blocks of buildings standing just back from the sea front are heavily damaged by shell fire and are burnt out. They constitute a pretty considerable monument.

(c) One tank at the Northern end of the El Rasaa oil tank farm is burning spectacularly but the rest seem intact.

(d) Some warehouses near the Customs House area are completely destroyed and Navy House is almost completely burnt out.

(e) Scars and breakages of a repairable kind abound.

3. In spite of this the town by no means presents a picture of destruction. Apart from (b) and (d) above the whole area of buildings East of Arab town is substantially intact and from a low air recon we made looks normal enough. Port Fouad appears completely intact. Though there may be warehouse damage there too.

4. Civilian casualties.

Number I can estimate approaching reliable is not available to Task Force Commander yet. But it can confidently be said that with few exceptions the casualties were due to fighting after the landings and not to shell fire or air strikes.

/ No..



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SECRET

MR. RALPH MURRAY A.F.H.Q. TELEGRAM NO. 199 PA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

- 2 -

No reports had reached Her Majesty's Consul yet of casualties among British or other foreign communities with one exception which I am reporting separately. Egyptian civilian casualties were evacuated where possible by helicopter to aircraft carriers for treatment.

5. Casualties in street fighting were considerable but no reliable estimate of numbers is available probable none can ever be made. Commander in Chief is reporting on this aspect of the battle.

6. This morning however a crowd of looters (repeat looters) a thousand or so strong at a warehouse had to be fired on and there are casualties there increased by a panic stampede. Numbers not known.

7. Resistance. Our military gains were undoubtedly due to superior efficiency and tactics of paratroops and to overwhelming fire support not to lack of Egyptian resistance. Egyptians were indeed this morning still holding out tenaciously in Navy House. Resistance and reaction of surrender were organized by Brig. Rushdi of Egyptian Intelligence. Great eminence to the Governor, who has disappeared. Sniping had however this morning died down to a few sporadic shots. Her Majesty's Consul went shopping without incident in Arab quarter. I consider however it must be assumed that Egyptian Intelligence have a considerable organization in the town and when they have reorganized and reestablished contact will be capable of making things hot for us.

8. Local Authorities. Mahmoud Riad is still Governor but is probably on Nasser's black list. There is some contact with [? group omitted] but virtually none with Administration yet. Civil Affairs team go in today however. Electricity and water are out off though infiltration and sewage plants are intact. In present circumstances a heavy food commitment for civil population seems inevitable but Civil Affairs will be reporting soon.

9. The Canal. MacDavid is with Commander in Chief Mediterranean on his way to Port Said and the salvage team's reports will doubtless soon be available but the enormity of Nasser's action against the Canal seems already clear. General Stockwell's information was that twenty one (repeat twenty one) are sunk in it at Port Said alone.

ADVANCE COPIES TO:

Private Secretary	Head of News Department
Sir I Kirkpatrick	Mr. Ashe
Mr. Dean	Resident Clerk
Mr. Ross	
Head of Information Research Department	
Head of African Department	
Head of Levant Department	

Registry No. *VE109/709*

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without  
DEFERRED

\* Date and time (G.M.T.) telegram should reach addressee(s).....

(Date) *8.11.56*  
Despatched *7.16 pm*

Draft.

Telegram to:—  
RALPH MURRAY,  
A.F.H.Q. *61*

[Security classification] CONFIDENTIAL  
—if any

(Date) *8/11*

[Codeword—if any] .....

And to:—

Addressed to RALPH MURRAY, A.F.H.Q.

*9 - NOV 1956*  
*TO DESK*

telegram No. *61* (date) *8/11*

repeated for information to IMMEDIATE UK Del New York  
RIO Beirut, Rio Singapore

Repeat to:—

*1649* *Flag A*  
*VE 109/709 (IMMEDIATE)*  
*RIO Beirut & "*  
*Rio Singapore "*

Your telegram No. 199PA [of November 7: Damage to Port Said]. *VE 109/709*

We would like to use in publicity and in United Nations information in your paragraph 9. Grateful for earliest indication of nationality of ships sunk.

2. Is there any publishable evidence that Egyptians were responsible for sinkings? *Could they plausibly allege that Allied action was responsible?*
3. Please repeat reply emergency to

U.K. Delegation New York.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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*AS 8/11*

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V

FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE DISTRIBUTION

Bir C. Duke

No. 1666  
November 5, 1956.

D. 3.12 p.m. November 5, 1956.  
R. 4.50 p.m. November 5, 1956.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1666 of November 5, 1956.  
Repeated for information to:

Bagdad  
Beirut  
Tel Aviv  
POMEF

128 2164/110

Jordan Press headlines are less sensational.

Difa'a states Egypt has announced that Cairo will be a second Stalingrad, and

Jihad that France prepares to withdraw from the invasion of Egypt. Prominence is given to opposition in the United Kingdom of the Eden Government and arrival of the Iraqi military mission in Amman.

Difa'a editorial strongly condemns Britain for trying to annihilate the Arab world with the help of Israel and supports Egypt whose one word will bring the Arabs into action.

Jihad editorial, under the heading Criminal No. 1, says the whole world denounces Eden's aggressive policy and urges the free nations to annihilate the British nation which enjoys bloodshed and crimes. The split between the British people, Parliament, and Commonwealth and between Eden and Mollet indicates the end of the British nation.

2. The Press published a text of a religious speech delivered at the Mosque by the President of the Ulema Council before Friday prayers. The Sheikh appealed to Moslems and Arabs of the world to stand by Egypt and help her to repel Israel-Anglo-French aggression which was directed against the Moslem and Arab States as indicated in King Hussein's recent speech. The disaster had increased Arab hatred of the imperialists who should realize the Arabs have decided to take part in the battle until they have restored Palestine, freed Algeria and repelled aggression on Egypt. He concluded by urging the public to cooperate with the Government in maintaining stability.

NBL

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FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

✓

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL  
DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls

No. 719

November 7, 1956

D. 1.47 p.m. November 7, 1956

2.38 p.m. November 7, 1956

PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 719 of November 7.

Repeated for information to Beirut, Bagdad, Amman, P.O.H.E.F., Washington, U.K. Del. New York and Saving to Paris.

My telegram No. 714 (not to all).

Today's newspapers continued to comment on Britain's position over the withdrawal of Israel forces which many said is still unclear. Several newspapers carried U.P. and Reuter reports of another Foreign Office statement yesterday saying that Israel should withdraw her forces from Egyptian territory "without delay".

2. Comment took much the same lines as yesterday's, though it was somewhat less indignant. Ha'Aretz now raises doubts about whether Britain is really imposing pressure on Israel to evacuate Sinai in view of the fact that such evacuation would be likely to deprive Britain of the pretext for the seizure of the Canal Zone. The Jerusalem Post takes a similar view but Al Hamishmar says that Britain has intensified her pressure on Israel at the highest level. Most of the Press suggests that France differs from Britain on this question.

3. The general view is that since the armistice agreement with Egypt no longer exists, the question of withdrawal can only be solved in the context of a more general settlement for which it is said there is now unprecedented pressure here.

4. Most newspapers appear to believe that Britain does not regard the Gaza Strip as Egyptian territory and would not therefore expect Israel forces to withdraw from it.

Foreign Office pass Washington and U.K.Del. New York as my priority telegrams Nos. 126 and 120 and to Paris as my Saving No. 1A8.

[Repeated to Washington, U.K.Del. New York and Saving to Paris].

JG.

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FO  
 PRIME MINISTER  
 PERSONAL TELETYPE High Commissioner for Pakistan,  
 LONDON No. T 516/56 London,  
**TOP SECRET** 4th November, 1956.

My dear Prime Minister,

My Prime Minister, Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, has asked me to deliver this personal message to you.

see 2/14 in  
 UR 1091/0653

**BEGIN:** My colleagues and myself have given our most careful and anxious consideration to your Top Secret and personal message which was delivered to me on the night of October 31st on my return from China. While we understand how acute have been your anxieties over the situation in Middle East we find ourselves unable to support action the United Kingdom and French Governments have chosen to adopt in that behalf. Egypt's recalcitrance in arriving at a settlement satisfactory to Users being a consideration apart, the present outbreak of hostilities in Middle East is entirely responsibility of Israel. It seems that Israel earlier wanted to attack Jordan, a danger the United Kingdom Government successfully averted. In these circumstances public opinion throughout the world must hold Israel as a wanton aggressor. That the United Kingdom and French Governments in an attempt, genuine, to separate belligerents should have seen fit to impose terms on Egypt far more severe than those imposed on Israel is a consideration which must cause deep resentment throughout the Muslim world, to which we in Pakistan cannot remain indifferent. Moreover, it is tragic that Suez Canal which intervention was designed to defend has been blocked, not as a result of war between Israel and Egypt, but as a result of Anglo-French aerial attack on Egyptian Military targets. While we are and have been all along with you in seeking a satisfactory solution of Suez Canal dispute, we cannot condone or uphold this resort to force, especially when the United Nations is already seized of matter. I would, therefore, most earnestly request you to reconsider course of action the United Kingdom and French Governments have so far adopted. The very first requirement in retrieving situation, to my mind, would be to accept verdict of General Assembly. Refusal to do so would not only shatter the very concept of which United Nations is build but will render our position, as a member of Commonwealth and Bagdad Pact, increasingly difficult! **END:**

(Signed) Yours sincerely,  
 IKRAMULLAH

The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Anthony Eden, K.G., M.C., M.P.,

SECRET

VR1091 713

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON

Cypher/OTF

P R I S E C

No. 5181  
November 5, 1956.

D. 3. 4 a.m. November 5, 1956.

EMERGENCY  
SECRET

Please pass following from Prime Minister to  
President Eisenhower.  
- Begins.  
Dear Friend,

It is a great grief to me that the events of the last few days have placed such a strain on the relations between our two countries. Of course I realise your feelings about the action which we felt compelled to take at such short notice. But if you will refer to my message of September 6, I think you will agree that what I said then has already begun to be confirmed by events.

I have always felt, as I made very clear to Mr. Khrushchev, that the Middle East was an issue over which, in the last resort, we would have to fight.

I know that Foster thought we could have played this longer. But I am convinced that, if we had allowed things to drift, everything would have gone from bad to worse. Nasser would have become a kind of Moslem Mussolini and our friends in Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and even Iran would gradually have been brought down. His efforts would have spread westwards, and Libya and all North Africa would have been brought under his control. It may be that we might have obtained by negotiation a settlement of the Canal question which gave us a part of what we needed. But at best it would have taken a long time. Meanwhile Nasser would have been taking the tricks all round the Middle East. His last action in making a military command with Jordan and Syria was bound to provoke the Israelis, and of course it did so. They felt themselves imprisoned and naturally tried to break out. We were of course relieved that they broke in the direction of Egypt rather than of Jordan. But once they had moved, in whatever direction there was not a moment to be lost. We and the French were convinced that we had to act at once to forestall a general conflagration throughout the Middle East. And now that

/police action

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SECRET

Foreign Office telegram No. 5181 to Washington

- 2 -

police action has been started it must be carried through. I am sure that this is the moment to curb Nasser's ambitions. If we let it pass, all of us will bitterly regret it. Here is our opportunity to secure an effective and final settlement of the problems of the Middle East. If we draw back now, chaos will not be avoided. Everything will go up in flames in the Middle East. You will realise, with all your experience, that we cannot have a military vacuum while a United Nations force is being constituted and is being transported to the spot. This is why we feel we must go on to hold the position until we can hand over the responsibility to the United Nations. If a barrier can be established in this way between the Arabs and the Israelis we shall then be strongly placed to call on the Israelis to withdraw. This in its turn will reduce the threat to the Canal and restore it to the general use of the world. By this means, we shall have taken the first step towards re-establishing authority in this area for our generation.

It is no mere form of words to say that we would be happy to hand over to an international organisation as soon as we possibly can. As you can imagine no-one feels more strongly about this than Harold who has to provide the money. We do not want occupation of Egypt, we could not afford it, and that is one of many other reasons why we got out of Suez two years ago.

I know how strongly you feel, as I do, the objections to the use of force, but this is not a situation which can be mended by words or resolutions. It is indeed ironical that at this very moment, when we are being pilloried as aggressors Russia is brutally reoccupying Hungary and threatening the whole of Eastern Europe, and no voice is raised in the United Nations in favour of intervention there. It may be that our two countries can take no practical action to redress that situation. But the Middle East is an area in which we could still take practical and effective action together.

I am sending you this message in the hope that you will at least understand the grievous decisions which we have had

/to make.

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SECRET

Foreign Office telegram No. 5181 to Washington

- 3 -

to make. I was deeply moved by your last message before our initial action, although I, was not able to reply to it as I would have liked at the time.

After a few days you will be in a position to act with renewed authority. I beg you to believe what we are doing now will in our view facilitate your action. I would most earnestly ask you to put the great weight of your authority behind the proposal which we are now making to the United Nations.

I believe as firmly as ever that the future of all of us depends on the closest Anglo-American cooperation. It has of course been a grief to me to have had to make a temporary breach into it which I cannot disguise, but I know that you are a man of big enough heart and vision to take up things again on the basis of fact. If you cannot approve, I would like you at least to understand the terrible decisions that we have had to make. I remember nothing like them since the days when we were comrades together in the war. History alone can judge whether we have made the right decision, but I do want to assure you that we have made it from a genuine sense of responsibility, not only to our country, but to all the world.

Yours ever,

Anthony.

Ends.

[Copies sent to No. 10 Downing Street].

SSSSS



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TOP SECRET

Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

00

FROM: U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER IN NEW ZEALAND

D: Wellington 18.06 hours 4th November 1956  
R: 09.30 hours 4th November 1956

CYPHER  
EMERGENCY

No. 413

TOP SECRET

VR1091 / 714

Personal for Laithwaite.

I saw Mr. Holland at his country residence 35 miles away this morning and spent the morning with him. I gave him your No. 455 and made the points in your No. 453. During our conversation he sent for MacDonald.

*N.T. Crick*

2. Mr. Holland made the following points

- (a) His personal view was that the difference between our original object in threatening the use of force against Egypt when Nasser seized the Canal and the avowed object of our present use of force is too thin to impress world opinion. The United Kingdom and France were at war with Egypt and war was the only true word to use.
- (b) He had not found it easy to come out in support of our action. The lengthy Cabinet meetings preceding his announcement confirmed this.
- (c) He felt that the United Kingdom was divided on the present issue. In the circumstances, he felt that the New Zealand Labour Party were likely to follow the lead of United Kingdom and Australian Labour Parties. Mr. Nash himself was sound, but he was being pushed by others in his party. Labour were considering asking for Parliament to be recalled but Mr. Holland hoped to avoid this. Much depended upon the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee on which both parties are represented, scheduled for Tuesday next.
- (d) Both Mr. Holland and MacDonald complained of the lack of information they had and on going into this I discovered it really referred in particular to answers to their questions (sent to Webb) regarding whereabouts of Royalist and future use.

3. Mr. Holland's main political difficulty lay in a decision regarding use of Royalist. The strain in this connection was real and heavy. New Zealand was the only Commonwealth country in the position of finding herself at war if Royalist was used. He felt that the Foreign Affairs Committee might be presented with a demand from the Opposition members that a clear undertaking not to use Royalist without Parliament being recalled to consider the matter should be given.

4. I pointed out that Sir Anthony Eden's message of 31st October left the choice as to the use of Royalist to New Zealand. It became clear to me that Mr. Holland did not want to be put in the

/position

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- 2 -

position of saying "No". He suggested to me that it would be of the utmost help to him if the United Kingdom would send him a telegram on the lines that they had reassessed the situation and found that they could do without Royalist which could continue on her voyage. If he got this and if United Nations accepted the United Kingdom proposal for a United Nations police force his personal view, without commitment and subject to Cabinet agreement, was that New Zealand would offer to make Royalist available as a contribution (?to) United Nations force. This would encourage others and get New Zealand out of predicament of going to war without consulting United Nations. I said I would report this but could not predict United Kingdom views. I think Mr. Holland is genuinely up against it politically over Royalist.

Copy to:-

D.I

SUEZ CANAL DISTRIBUTION

P.S. to Prime Minister (2)

P.S. to First Lord

ALLOTTED TO PRINCIPAL STAFF OFFICER'S DEPT.

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FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL  
DISTRIBUTION

En clair

Sir J. Nicholls

No. 698  
November 5, 1956.

D. 1.45 p.m. November 5, 1956.

R. 2. 40 p.m. November 5, 1956.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 698 of November 5,  
repeated for information to POMEF and Beirut.

According to this morning's Press the territory occupied by Israel forces in their recent advances has been declared a closed area and all movement into or from it is now subject to permission by the Negev military commander. A permit office has been opened in Beersheba. Unauthorized persons entering the area, or any persons not using the regular roads are said to be liable to be fired on.

2. The reason given for these strict orders is that Egyptian soldiers are still roaming along the borders of the Gaza Strip.

E.K.



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FROM TUNIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL  
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Malcolm

No. 161

November 3, 1956

D:12.10 p.m. November 3, 1956

R:12.45 p.m. November 3, 1956

Last night Tunisian Government issued communique announcing solidarity with Egypt in present conflict, and condemning British and French Governments for flagrant violation of United Nations Charter. Real Anglo-French aim is alleged to be settlement of Canal dispute by force.

2. Prime Minister also broadcast in same sense.
3. Texts follow by airmail.

WWW

**V**  
**LEVANT DEPARTMENT**

VR 1091/718

FROM Sir C. Luke  
 Amman

No. 1676  
 Dated 6/11/56  
 Received in Registry 8/11/56

Jordan Press headlines - November 6

References to former relevant papers

MINUTES

Can you confirm para 2 (b)?

*[Signature]*  
 9/11

(Print)

(How disposed of)

UN Dept

We have had no official report on the lines of the story in the Jordan press (perhaps the most jejune and half-baked press in the M.E.). As a matter of interest; -

- a. The UNESCO General Conference is meeting at New Delhi not Karachi
- b. The ~~only~~ provision in the UNESCO constitutional for expulsion of a state from the Organisation can only be invoked in the case of a state previously expelled from the U.N. A ~~state~~ <sup>member</sup> cannot be expelled from the General Conference although it can lose its voting rights if its credentials of its delegation are out of order or if it is sufficiently in arrears with its subscription. The UK subscription is fully paid & our credentials are impeccable.

(Action completed)

(Index)

JW 16/11

10/11/56

References to later relevant papers

47524

*[Signature]*  
 9/11

Now see Delhi telegram 1504, dated 26/11

at UNE 2278/163, which was sent to  
Jordan Gov. via cable this action.

We have sent a telegram to Amman  
(no. 2514) instructing the Embassy to  
protest formally.

P. 15/11

(A). F.O. Minute (Mr. Holman) Nov. 12

P. 15/11

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**FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE**

En Clair

Sir G. Duke

**FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
INTERNATIONAL  
DISTRIBUTION** ✓

R1091/718

No. 1676  
November 6, 1956.

D. 4.27 p.m. November 6, 1956.

R. 5.40 p.m. November 6, 1956.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1676 of November 6.  
Repeated for information to: Beirut  
P.O.M.E.F.

Jordan Press headlines give prominence to Bulganin's warning to us and Russia's help for Egypt. Position on Canal is described as "annihilation of Imperialistic forces at Port Said." Difa's editorial states that the mad West has lost the Middle East on account of Palestine and the aggression on Egypt. Falastin describes Britain and France as the Arabs' worst enemy and Israel as our underling. Arabs have the right to hate Britain and France and annihilate their Imperialism. Jihad welcomes Russian warning. Briefly, all papers praise Russia and Egypt and welcome our downfall.

2. A.N.A. messages are published which state:-

- (a) Mufti of Jordan calls on Arabs and Muslims to declare a Holy war and condemn Anglo-French Israeli aggression.
- (b) According to the Press the Jordan Government has requested the President of the UNESCO Conference at Karachi to expel Britain, France and Israel from the Conference and to sever cultural relations with them.



E.W.K.

R1091/918 (A)

P.W. Amman  
No. 1676

Minutes.

The Jordan House of Representatives have thought fit to send protests about "British Aggression" to the House of Commons and to the Iraqi House of Representatives, and to send a message of thanks to the Soviet Union (Amman telegrams 1686 and 1705). Given the composition of that body this is only to be expected. But the Jordan Government have now gone further and sent a request to UNESCO to expel the U.K. and France (see Amman tel. No. 1676 and Delhi telegram 1504). This is going rather far and we should not let it pass without protest.

I submit a draft telegram.

*P. C. H. Holmer*

(P. C. H. Holmer)  
November 12, 1956

*P. C. H. Holmer*  
12/21

VF1024/27  
C.P.A.T.B.  
VF1071/4  
Class C+D  
VR1091/918

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.



CONFIDENTIAL

DW

**Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office**

FROM: U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER IN INDIA

D: Delhi 19.14 hours 9th November 1956  
R: 15.07 hours 9th November 1956

CYPHER

No. 1504      CONFIDENTIAL

For Murray Foreign Office from Haigh.

U.N.E.S.C.O. GENERAL CONFERENCE

Jordan Government have telegraphed asking U.N.E.S.C.O. to expel United Kingdom and France. This will be taken on November 12th by General Committee where our friends will try to kill it.

Please pass to Ministry of Education and Colonial Office.

Copy to:-

D. II

C.R.O.	Mr. Price-Jones
Foreign Office	Mr. Errock (2) Mr. J.D. Murray
Colonial Office	Mr. Mc Mullen
E/Education	P.S. to Minister Mr. Nevinson (2)

ALLOTTED TO WESTERN AND UNITED NATIONS DEPT.

*Surely this calls for a stiff protest in American? Getting the hand etc - isn't in it! Copy should be entered Levant Dept. who must give the political line.*

12/11

D. Holmer. Mr. Errock.

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FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE DISTRIBUTION

Sir C. Duke

No. 1598  
October 31, 1956.

D. 1142 p.m. November 2, 1956.  
E. 1.10 a.m. November 3, 1956.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1598 of October 31, 1956.  
Repeated for information to:

Beirut  
Bagdad  
Cairo  
Damascus  
POKEP  
Tel Aviv

R 1597/719

Following are examples of headlines in Jordan Press of October 31.

Britain and France warn Egypt at 6.30 a.m. today that their forces will occupy the Suez Canal. Abdul Nasser rejects the Anglo-French warning. King Hussein telegraphs Abdul Nasser, we are ready to fulfil our holy duty. The U.S. condemns the Anglo-French warning and Russia warns Britain and France against the use of force. Israel reassures Britain that she will not attack Jordan.

2. Following editorial appeared in Al Jihad. Western imperialists have disclosed their evil intentions and proved that they have established Israel with object of using her to undermining safety of Arabs. Having failed to persuade Egypt to submit to its wishes in regard to the Suez Canal, the West prompted Israel to attack Egypt and to choose Suez Canal as object of her attack. When United Nations Security Council met to discuss the situation, Britain and France announced that they do not regard Israel as aggressor and that they intend to occupy the Suez Canal. It is apparent that the object of this is to save Israeli forces and to reoccupy the Canal. The battle of the Canal is the battle of the Arabs against Western imperialism. Difficulties have prompted the Arabs to unite against Western conspiracies. King Hussein is to be thanked for his efforts to achieve Arab unity.

NBL

1956

V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VR 109/720

**FROM**

Sir C. Duce,  
Amman.

No. 1050

Dated November 9

Received in  
Registry— November 8

Text of King Hussein's message to Colonel Warner  
as published by the Jordan Press, also message  
to President Eisenhower

1050

**References to former relevant papers**

(Print)

(How disposed of)

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.....

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**MINUTES**

Hardly the language of a loyal Ally.  
But I think we shall have to put up  
with this double-talk — so long as it  
remains talk.

P. Warner  
1/11

P. Webb  
1/11

(Action completed)	(Index)
AC 12-11-56.	1/11-21

**References to later relevant papers**

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FROM AMMAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair  
 Sir C. Duke  
 No. 1650  
 November 3, 1956

R1041/7 20

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
 WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

D. 12.12 a.m. November 4, 1956.  
 R. 2.36 p.m. November 4, 1956.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1650 of November 3.

Repeated for information to: Bagdad Beirut  
 POMEF

The Jordan Press published the following texts of King Hussein's messages to Nasser.

Begins:

The whole world has condemned the evil and imperialistic Powers for committing acts of treacherous aggression on Arabs in beloved Egypt.

The voice of justice has defeated the false allegation of the aggressors who, in conjunction with their foster child, Israel, have recorded with the blood of the innocent the blackest page in the history of their condemned actions. They have denied the principles of right and justice and ignored the will of God, and our peoples desire to realize their freedom and preserve their dignity at any cost. Egypt's struggle for nationalism supported by the Arabs will guarantee victory, glory and prosperity to our nation.

Ends.

To Eisenhower

Begins:

"The peace loving world has applauded the United States for supporting the principles of right and justice. This great action on the part of the United States to save the world from destruction, and to realize the prosperity of the universe, will be recorded in the history of mankind and will be appreciated by the peace loving nations which have confidence in the United Nations. We are looking forward to the execution of the United Nations decision to stop immediately the aggressive acts of the offenders so that peace may be maintained in the Middle East and in the rest of the world. I take this opportunity to express to Your Excellency my best compliments, praying Almighty God that the world may prevent a destructive war".

2. Typical Press headings are, King Hussein sends messages to Nasser and Eisenhower. Syria severs relations with Britain and France. Demonstrations in London and Paris shout down with Eden [sic] and call for cessation of Anglo-French aggression on Egypt. Rumours of the resignation of Nutting. Sixty five states condemn aggression. Palestine editorial states the world has condemned the Tel Aviv London Paris axis and called upon Britain and France to stop their aggression / and

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AMMAN TELEGRAM NO. 1650 TO FOREIGN OFFICE

- 2 -

and upon Israel to withdraw beyond the armistice line. Enquires if the civilised world will take action against Britain and France. The United States is able to and it is the duty of Russia and the other States who supported the resolution. The Arab States can take effective action but it all depends on the attitude of Iraq.

O.M.H.

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FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE DISTRIBUTION

Sir M. Wright

No. 1295

D. 1.45 p.m. November 6, 1956

November 4, 1956

R104/72

R. 2.13 p.m. November 6, 1956

Addressed to Foreign Office, telegram No. 1295 of November 4.

Repeated for information to: Beirut (FOR R.I.O.).

Bagdad Press comment, November 3.

Prominence is given to the entry of Iraqi troops into Jordan and other measures "in support of Egypt in her struggle against the aggressors." Accusations of collusion between Britain, France and Israel continue.

E.R.L.F.



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FROM KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir E. Chapman Andrews.

No. 860

D. 2.24 a.m. November 3, 1956.

November 3, 1956.

R. 2.59 a.m. November 3, 1956.

R1091/722

My telegram No. 840: Khartoum Press Comment.

Yesterday and Today's editorials continue to attack Anglo-French intervention in Egypt, describing it as an unjustified breach of international law.

El Nil (Umma) claims that Sir A. Eden's motives for attacking Egypt are personal, since Abdul Nasser has defeated him in the diplomatic and political fields.

Rai el Amm (Independent) considers that Egypt is the Sudan's front line of defence.

El Ayam (Independent) says that relations with Britain and France should be broken off.

Anda al Sudan (Khatmia, pro-Egyptian) demands that all Sudanese resources should be put at the disposal of Egypt, who is not only defending herself but the whole Arab world.

Saraha (Communist) demands the boycott of British and French goods.

2. Reports of anti-British demonstrations all over the Sudan, of volunteers to fight with Egypt, of demands from different organizations for severance of relations with Britain and France fill the newspapers.

3. Telegrams of protest continue to come in.

EW.

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FROM PARIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir G. Jebb

No. 405 D. 2.43 p.m. November 7, 1956  
November 7, 1956 R. 3.55 p.m. November 7, 1956

PRIORITY

R109/723

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 405 of November 7.  
Repeated for information Saving to Washington Moscow  
Amman Bagdad

French Press reactions to cease fire. There is undeniable relief, since there was general anxiety yesterday, as evidenced by the leading article of "Le Monde". This paper said that the Soviet Note had made it quite clear that it was impossible to settle the Egyptian question without the intervention of other big Powers as had, at one time, been hoped. It added that unless the United Nations took over the responsibility for keeping the peace in this area by setting up an international police force, there was every danger that the conflict would spread.

2. But at the same time nobody is very enthusiastic or suggests that Britain and France have won a clear cut victory. Some papers think that the essential objectives, which they define as those in the original ultimatum, have been achieved but others point out that Nasser is still there and that the Soviet position has been greatly strengthened in the Middle East and will henceforth be a factor which it will be impossible to move. Most papers are rather discreet as to what will now be required of Israel though "Les Echos" suggests evident disagreement with the British Government on this point.

3. Nobody makes any forecast as to what the next move of the United Nations is likely to be. But after the vigorous, and here much approved, rejections by the United States of the Soviet proposal for joint military intervention, there is a feeling that Western solidarity is in better shape and that the support of the United States may perhaps be forthcoming in the next stage of the crisis.

4. There is mounting public indignation at the Soviet action in Hungary and at the attitude of the French Communists. Pro Hungarian demonstrations have taken place in the Assembly, in the trades unions and indeed in almost every section of the community. The events in Hungary, taken together with those in Suez, seem to be creating the feeling that the detente is over and that we are now back in the cold war and perhaps not far from a hot one.

FFFF



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FROM TEHRAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL  
DISTRIBUTION

Sir R. Stevens

No.908

November 7, 1956

D. 5.32 p.m. November 7, 1956

R. 5.40 p.m. November 7, 1956

EMERGENCY

CONFIDENTIAL

VR 1091/709

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No.908 of November 7.

Repeated for information to Bagdad

Ankara

Beirut

UKDEL New York

Washington

And Saving to Paris

Your telegram No. 1136: Israel/Egypt.

I have spoken to Dr. Ardalan as instructed. He fully took the point and said that he would send instructions to his delegation in New York immediately. I also suggested that he should mention the danger which we foresaw to the representatives of the other Bagdad Pact Powers assembled here.

Foreign Office pass Bagdad, Ankara, Beirut, UKDEL New York (emergency) and Washington as my telegrams Nos.265, 118, 146, 9 and 51 respectively and Saving Paris as my telegram No.18.

[Repeated to Bagdad, Ankara, Beirut,  
UKDEL New York, Washington, and  
Saving to Paris.]

ADVANCE COPIES

Private Secretary

Sir I. Kirkpatrick

Mr. Dean

Mr. Ross

Mr. Pink

Head of Levant Department

Head of African Department

Head of United Nations Department

Head of News Department

Mr. Ashe, P.U.S. Department



FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL  
DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls

No.721

November 7, 1956

D. 5.05 p.m. November 7, 1956

R. 6.25 p.m. November 7, 1956

PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No.721 of November 7.

Repeated for information to Beirut

Ankara

P.O.M.E.F.

Washington

Annan

UKDEL New York

Bagdad

Paris

✓ R 109/726

Following are extracts from speech by the Israel Prime Minister in Knesset today.

(A) The Armistice Agreement with Egypt is dead and buried, and cannot be restored to life. It expired after the Egyptian dictator had for years been attacking it, violating its principles and its purposes, and defying the decision of the Security Council and the Charter of the United Nations: by his repeated declarations that a state of war exists between Israel and Egypt, Nasser distorted the nature and the purpose of the Armistice Agreement, whose object was defined in its first paragraph as the restoration of permanent peace.

(B) In consequence, the Armistice lines between Israel and Egypt have no more validity.

(C) There is no dispute whatsoever between the people of Israel and the Egyptian people.

(D) We do not wish our relations with Egypt to continue in their present anarchic state, and we are ready to enter into negotiations for a stable peace, cooperation and good neighbourly relations with Egypt, on condition that they are direct negotiations without prior conditions on either side and not under duress from any quarter whatsoever.

(E) We hope that all the peace loving nations will support our desire for such negotiations with each one of the other Arab States: but even if they are not prepared for permanent peace, so long as they observe the Armistice Agreements, Israel for her part will do so too.

(F) On no account will Israel agree to the stationing of a foreign force, no matter how called, in her territory or in any of /the

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Tel Aviv telegram No.721 to Foreign Office

-2-

the areas occupied by her.

(G) Israel will not fight against any Arab country or against Egypt unless she is attacked by them.

2. Summary of the speech follows.

Foreign Office pass Washington and UKDEL New York as my telegrams 127 and 121.

[Repeated to Washington and UKDEL New York]

✓

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL  
DISTRIBUTION

Sir M. Wright

R1091/727

No. 1317

D. 7.30 a.m. November 7, 1956

November 6, 1956

R. 8.43 a.m. November 7, 1956

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1317 of  
November 6.

Repeated for information Beirut (for R.I.O.).

Bagdad Press comment November 6.

"World opinion is now convinced that the aggression against Egypt was a plot" says Bilad, which calls for revenge and the replacement of the British Prime Minister. However, though the conscience of the world is stirred "the Arabs have taken no practical steps to rescue Egypt" (Yaqda) and the "United Nations still remains passive". "Hurriyah" "Now is the time for the Iraqi Army to restore Arab dignity and eliminate Israel" urges Hawadith".

JG



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CONFIDENTIAL

FROM PEKING TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTF

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITENALL  
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. O'Neill

No. 664  
November 7, 1956.  
PRIORITY

R109/728

D. 9.07 a.m. November 7, 1956.  
R. 3.35 p.m. November 7, 1956.

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram no. 664 of November 7,  
repeated for information saving to:

Moscow  
Paris  
Tel Aviv  
Washington  
U.K. Delegation New York.

My telegram no. 650. Egypt. ✓

People's Daily today reports very prominently Soviet proposal to Security Council to use U.S. and Soviet forces in Egypt and also Bulganin's warnings to Britain, France and Israel to stop military action against Egypt. Item is headlined "Soviet Union is resolved to use military force to restore peace in the Middle East."

2. Accompanying editorial repeats usual accusations that Britain and France are guilty of aggressive activity. It attacks U.S. for pursuing selfish interests and not supporting Soviet proposal. It says Soviet Union is acting as "a mighty force for peace and right" and describes Soviet threats as "timely and powerful". It assures the Egyptian people that despite temporary setbacks they will finally be victorious.

3. Editorial does not say that China or Chinese people support Soviet proposal or threats and does not commit China to associate in any way with any Soviet action in the Middle East.

Foreign Office Please pass saving to Moscow, Paris, Tel Aviv, Washington and U.K. Delegation New York as my telegrams nos. 52, 30, 6, 200 and 35.

Repeated saving to Moscow, Paris, Tel Aviv, Washington and U.K. Delegation New York.

E.K.



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RECEIVED  
NOV 6 1956

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls

R1091/72

2.25 p.m. November 6, 1956

R. 3.24 p.m. November 6, 1956

No. 714  
November 6, 1956

PRIORITY

Preamble omitted

The Press today gave prominence to yesterday's statement by the Foreign Office spokesman on the withdrawal of Israel forces and expressed considerable dissatisfaction and indignation.

2. Davar's political correspondent saw the statement as part of a general political offensive against the presence of Israel troops in the Sinai Peninsula, but pointed out that its immediate motivation may have been to justify the landing in the Canal zone; to serve for home consumption in the United Kingdom, and to win the hearts of the Arabs. Israel however was firm in its stand that the stabilization of her borders was a question which could only be solved by negotiations with Egypt. Israel forces held the Sinai Peninsula and this fact could not be ignored. The spokesman's statement therefore undermined the dreams of peace. But it was not in itself surprising since the broadcasts of the Voice of Britain showed that the U.K. was taking the line that Britain was a friend of Egypt and would back it as soon as Nasser was replaced by another ruler.

3. Al Hamishmar's correspondent discussed the probable French attitude and thought that France would not oppose a British attempt to persuade Israel to withdraw of its own free will, but would not be a partner in the use of pressure to achieve this.

4. The Ha'aretz editorial thought that Britain's attitude was incomprehensible and unjustified. Its correspondent (gp. corrupt) observed as expecting that Israel would withstand all threats and might appeal to France to clarify the attitude of the allies. The British statement would not win Arabs sympathies but would certainly mar relations with Israel.

Foreign Office pass priority Washington and U.K. Del. New York and saving to Paris as my telegrams Nos. 125, 119 and 146 respectively.

Paris Repeated to Washington, U.K. Del. New York and saving to

BK

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CONFIDENTIAL

FROM TEHRAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL  
DISTRIBUTION

Sir R. Stevens

No. 907

November 7, 1956

D:6.10 p.m. November 7, 1956

R:6.57 p.m. November 7, 1956

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 907 of November 7

Repeated for information to Ankara, Bagdad, Karachi, Amman, Beirut, Jeddah and Tripoli.

Egypt/Israel.

Nuri told me this evening that he is very worried about the effects of Soviet propaganda in the Arab States. Since the President of Syria returned from Moscow the impression has rapidly spread that the Russians intend to intervene and this has caused much rejoicing, particularly in Jordan. He hopes that every effort will be made by our publicity services to indicate that Soviet threats are empty and that if they were fulfilled it would lead to a third world war.

2. I told Nuri that I thought the situation had changed as a result of the cease fire in Egypt, to which he replied that it was equally important to stress that it was not Soviet threats to intervene which had brought this about.

3. Nuri also asked me about the Saudi severance of diplomatic relations with the U.K. if, as he supposed, they go into reverse as a result of the cease fire in Egypt, he hopes we shall give this the maximum publicity.

4. He tells me that he has been invited to a meeting of Arab leaders in Beirut on November 11 and understands that King Saud will attend.

Foreign Office pass Immediate to Ankara, Bagdad, Karachi, Amman, Beirut, Jeddah and Tripoli as my telegrams Nos. 117, 264, 115, 32, 146, 22 and 13 respectively.

[Repeated to Ankara, Bagdad, Amman, Beirut, Jeddah, Tripoli.  
Copy passed to C.R.O. for repetition to Karachi]

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO BAGDAD

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL

DISTRIBUTION

No. 2548

November 8, 1956

D. 3.32 p.m. November 8, 1956

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Bagdad telegram No. 2548 of November 8.

Repeated for information to Tehran (Immediate)

Jedda

Karachi

Tehran telegram No. 907 [of November 7: Egypt/Israel] paragraphs 3 and 4.

Saudis have not cancelled severance of diplomatic relations though they may regret their action now that there is a cease-fire and might welcome a friendly intervention by a third party. Unless you see strong objection, please ask Nuri if he would be willing to do this, preferably at once through the Iraqi Ambassador in Saudi Arabia, or in any case with King Saud if he attends meeting on November 11.

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Levant Department

Eastern Department

African Department

F F F F



CONFIDENTIAL

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL  
DISTRIBUTION

Sir M. Wright

No. 1349  
November 9, 1956

D. 7.39 p.m. November 9, 1956  
R. 7.58 p.m. November 9, 1956

URGENT  
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1349 of  
November 9.

Repeated for information to Tehran Jeddah  
Karachi

Your telegram No. 2548. ✓ R 1001/730

I have been unable to see Nuri today and atmosphere for the moment is not such as to enable me to make an approach to him on the lines you suggest. Political and general situation is very tense.

2. I will telegraph further when I can.

Foreign Office pass Tehran, Jeddah, Karachi as my telegrams Nos. 201, 67 and 77 respectively.

[Repeated to Tehran, Jeddah and copy sent to Telegraph Section C.R.O. for repetition to Karachi]

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Eastern Department  
African Department

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Private Secretary  
Sir I. Kirkpatrick  
Mr. Ross  
Head of Levant Department  
Resident Clerk

F F F F



Minutes.

CONFIDENTIAL

VR 1094/730 (B)

Teheran Telegram No.907

I agree with Mr. Hadow's assessment of what our counter-proposals to the Nasser myth should be.

2. News Department will certainly speak on these lines to diplomatic correspondents, but it is difficult to see how they can use it except in, say, an article on propaganda as such. We will try to get one of them to produce this.

3. If I.P.D. agree, I should think London Press Service might also carry a feature article on these lines.

P.H.  
(C.P. Hope)  
November 12, 1956.

Mr. R.M. Hadow,  
Levant Department.

*R.M.H.*  
12/11

Distribution to: Mr. C.C.B. Stewart (I.P.D.)  
Mr. J.O. Rennie (I.R.D.)

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INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

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LDJ.

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

FROM PARIS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair  
and by Bag

Sir G. Jebb

No. 404 Saving

November 7, 1956

UNCLASSIFIED

✓  
R1091/73



✓  
R nov 8

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 404 Saving of November 7.  
Repeated for information Saving to:

Washington No. 396.

UKDEL New York No. 45.

Egypt.

At the end of a meeting of the Council of Ministers during the night, the Secretary of State for Information made the following statement:

"We consider that the objectives we have given ourselves have been attained, to wit -

- (i) to separate the Egyptian and Israeli combatants; it seems, according to the latest news that fighting has in fact ceased.
- (ii) to remove from Egypt the unilateral control of the Canal. There also the objective has been attained and we will remain on the Canal until we are replaced by the International Forces decided on by the United Nations. We remain faithful to the principle of international management of the Canal and we shall put everything in hand to re-establish traffic.

Of course, the essential condition of the cessation of operations is that of the cease-fire between Egypt and the State of Israel. It is quite evident that if this condition were not fulfilled we should have to continue our action. Our troops will stop fighting unless they are themselves attacked."

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 [Stamp with date and time, partially obscured]  
 ✓

SECRET

FROM TEHRAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND WHITEHALL SECRET  
DISTRIBUTION

Sir R. Stevens  
No. 916  
 November 8, 1956

D. 10.26 a.m. November 8, 1956  
 R. 10.50 a.m. November 8, 1956

21091/732

EMERGENCY  
SECRET

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 916 of November 8.  
 Repeated for information to Ankara, Karachi and Bagdad.

Your telegram No. 1154: Four Power Communique.

vc 1091/603

This has now been agreed and it is expected that it will be published here this afternoon. Text will be virtually as given in my telegram No. 885, with slight amendments to meet our susceptibilities: e.g. omission of "unwarranted" in paragraph 1 (b) and change of "deplored" to "regretted" in paragraph 3 (ii). Reference to restoration of Egyptian sovereignty etc. in paragraph 3 (ii) stays in: to this I agreed, in light of your telegram No. 1135. Reference to 1947 resolution in paragraph 3 (iii) also stays in: this I have met by amending our reply as instructed in your telegram No. 1154.

2. I have accordingly now agreed that our communique (with which they express themselves satisfied) should be published two hours after theirs: this to avoid undue appearance of collusion.

3. I will telegraph 4-Power communique as soon as I receive final text together with time of release here. I shall assume that you will be able to arrange release of our statement in London two hours later in absence of advice to the contrary. I will take similar action at equivalent time here.

4. At our suggestion reference to a joint 4-Power Note

.../in

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SECRET

Tehran telegram No. 916 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

in last paragraph of draft communique (my telegram No. 885) has been cut out. There will in fact be a Note, but it will not be published. It was shown to Counsellor this morning in draft and appeared relatively harmless. Counsellor said that in any case we cannot answer it here without reference to you.

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Ankara, Karachi and Bagdad as my telegrams Nos. 122, 120 and 268 respectively.

Repeated to Ankara and Bagdad.

Copies sent to Telegraph Section, Commonwealth Relations Office for repetition to Karachi.

ADVANCE COPIES

Private Secretary  
Sir I. Kirkpatrick  
Mr. Dean  
Mr. Ross  
Mr. Pink  
Head Levant Department  
Head News Department  
Head Eastern Department  
Mr. Ashe (P.U.S.D.)  
Head African Department  
Head U.N. Department

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FROM COPENHAGEN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION ✓

Sir R. Barclay

No. 354  
November 7, 1956.

D. 6.10 p.m. November 7, 1956.  
R. 6.44 p.m. November 7, 1956.

IMMEDIATE  
CONFIDENTIAL

R 1091) 733

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 354 of November 7.  
Repeated for information to Oslo

Stockholm  
Helsinki.

I called on the Prime Minister this afternoon to see whether he had any comments on the latest developments. Mr. Hansen said that news of the cease fire had caused tremendous relief here. There had been a good deal of tension caused by violent language being used by the Russians and though their communications might well have been intended to divert attention from Hungary and to incite Egyptian and other Arab people, the tone of Bulganin's letter had certainly been most disagreeable. He thought Sir A. Eden's reply was admirable. He could only hope that there would be no further setbacks in the Middle East and that the United Nations contingent would be quickly on the spot and that it would achieve its objective. The Danish Government had promised one company of infantry but they might contribute a second if it was found that there was need for more than a token contingent. Mr. Hansen commented with satisfaction on the unanimous approval which Parliament had given to the Government's proposal which even the Communists had not opposed.

2. Mr. Hansen said that anti-Russian feeling in the country was now intense and contrary to what had previously been announced he will not now attend the Russian Embassy party this evening.

3. Mr. Hansen said he was most anxious to see Western unity restored. He was hoping that the Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish Prime Ministers and possibly also Mr. Lange and the Swedish Minister of Defence would be in Copenhagen tomorrow to help celebrate his own 50th birthday. Though it was primarily a [grp. undec.] occasion they would also have an exchange of views on the world situation. If you or the Prime Minister have any particular advice or suggestions, he would be very glad to receive a message. I undertook to pass this on

/and failing

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Copenhagen telegram No. 354 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

and failing anything else a message of good wishes to all and birthday greetings to Mr. Hansen would, I am sure, be most welcome.

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Private Secretary  
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Mr. Reilly  
Head of Northern Department  
Mr. Dean  
Head of African Department  
Mr. Ross  
Head of Levant Department  
Head of News Department  
Head of Protocol Department  
Head of United Nations Department  
Mr. Pink  
Mr. Ashe P.U.S.D.

SSSSS

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V

SECRET

FROM BERNE TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir L. Lamb

No. 218

November 7, 1956

D. 2.55 p.m. November 7, 1956

R. 4. 3 p.m. November 7, 1956

PRIORITY

SECRET

V2109/734

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 218 of November 7  
Repeated for information to Athens

Washington

Paris

My telegram No. 211 (not repeated).

Swiss Government's proposal for Five Power Conference.

Two or three of my colleagues have been since told by senior members of the Swiss Foreign Office that the Swiss Government's concern had been intensified by the report apparently from the Swiss Legation at Athens, which they credited to the effect that Soviet Government had requested the permission of Greek Government for Soviet aircraft to fly over Greek territory. Though the report also stated the Greek Government has refused such permission, the Swiss Government has interpreted reported Soviet Government's request as indication of intention of Soviet military intervention, perhaps in the form of bombing raids against Israel via Syria.

Foreign Office pass Athens, Washington and Paris as my telegrams Nos. 1, 4 and 8 respectively.

[Repeated to Athens, Washington and Paris]

DT.



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FROM JERUSALEM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTF

FOREIGN OFFICE & WHISNUALL  
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Mr. Wikeley

No. 449  
November 7, 1956.

D. 1017 a.m. November 7, 1956.  
R. 1125 a.m. November 7, 1956.

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 449 of  
November 7, 1956.

Repeated for information to: AMMAN  
Tel Aviv  
P.O.M.E.F.  
Bagdad  
Beirut

R1091/735

And Saving to:

Washington  
U.K. Del. New York  
Paris

I learn from a member of U.N.T.S.O. that a number of Egyptian Fedayeen from Gaza strip reached Hebron two days ago and were given an enthusiastic welcome. Later they were driven away to an unknown destination.

Foreign Office pass Tel Aviv, POMEP, Bagdad and Beirut and Saving Washington, U.K. Del. New York and Paris as my telegrams 227, 172, 41, 84, 121, 118 and 126.

Repeated to Tel Aviv, POMEP, Beirut and Saving to Washington, U.K. DEL. New York and Paris.  
Not repeated to Bagdad pending Departmental instructions.

NBL

V

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM PEKING TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

R 1091/736

Mr. O'Neill

No. 654  
November 4, 1956

D. 5.28 a.m. November 4, 1956

R. 2.50 p.m. November 4, 1956

VR 1091/704

CONFIDENTIAL

My telegram No. 652. Anti-British Demonstrations.

After the mass meeting huge crowds again marched past the Embassy shouting and protesting. More letters were handed in but no incidents occurred. Today all is calm but 500 yards of our compound wall remain thickly plastered with slogans, stickers and caricatures.

2. I have considered whether I should protest to the Chinese Government about these events but from the local point of view I have concluded it would be wiser not to. We requested protection as soon as the demonstrations started and received it. The crowds were kept under tight control. Plain-clothes Chinese Security Police at the gate saw to it that no insult was offered to the flag which remained flying over the gate throughout, and prevented any defacement of the Royal Arms. The episode of November 3 when a crowd burst into the compound was partly due to our own tactical error as the gate, otherwise kept open throughout for handing in protests was at that moment closed. No damage was done inside the compound. A protest would only lead to an indignant rejoinder about the justified wrath of the Chinese people, etc.

3. If for any other reason, you consider I should protest, you will no doubt instruct me.

4. The problem of removing slogans etc. from the wall remains. On this there seems to me no hurry. With our few friends here we shall take the line that we do not mind these adornments in the least. If anyone should be ashamed of them it is not we but the Chinese. To attempt ourselves, in the near future, to clear the wall might well cause trouble. If nothing more occurs I shall, in a few days, as an opening gambit, send a Note to the Chinese drawing their attention to this defacement of a wall in a public thoroughfare and inviting their cooperation in restoring it to its former state.

Registry No. VR1091/736

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 Secret.  
 Confidential.  
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 Open.

EMERGENCY }  
 IMMEDIATE }  
 PRIORITY }  
 ROUTINE }  
 with priority  
 without  
 DEFERRED

\* Date and time (G.M.T.) telegram should reach addressee(s).....

(Date) - 6 NOV 1956

Despatched

Draft.

Telegram to

*Perkins*

No. 786

(Date) 6/11

And to :-

[Security classification] -if any

[Codeword-if any]

Addressed to.....

telegram No..... (date)

repeated for information to.....

VR1091

Repeat to :-

You tel No. 654 [7 Nov 4<sup>30</sup>].  
 Anti-British demonstrations]

I agree with your views and  
 you have discretion to act as you  
 think best.

*e.t.c.*  
*4/2.*

En Clair.  
 Gode  
 Cypher

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6 NOV 1956

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Telegram

By Bag

From Rome to Foreign Office

Sir A. Clarke  
No. 66 Savig  
November 3, 1956

6B V  
Y. H. Whitehead  
R1091/137

Egypt-Israel Conflict: Italian Press Reaction.

While displaying some concern over the temporary break in Western solidarity, most responsible commentators in leading independent dailies Corriere della Sera and Messaggero, in the Catholic quotidiano and the Republican Voce Repubblicana continue to support our intervention in Egypt. The only entirely hostile comment is in the Communist, Fascist and Nenni-Socialist press. The Liberal Stampa takes a middle-of-the road line but on the whole supports our action. All non-extremist papers agree in condemning Nasser's record and in refuting the accusation that our action in Egypt is indistinguishable from the aggression of the Soviet Union in Hungary.

NOV 1956

FROM TEL AVIV TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Ed Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir J. Nicholls  
No. 723

November 7, 1956

D. 8.50 p.m. November 7, 1956  
R. 10.25 p.m. November 7, 1956.

PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 723 of November 7  
Repeated for information to Amman, Beirut, P.O.M.S.F.,  
U.K. Del. New York, Washington,  
Paris, Bagdad and Ankara.

My telegram No. 721. *VR 1091*

The following is a summary of the Israel Prime Minister's address to the Knesset this morning.

2. Mr. Ben Gurion began by saying that the renewed contact with Mount Sinai, which had resulted from the historic advance of the Israel defence forces, was the focal point not only of Israel's consolidation, security and internal tranquility but also of her international relations both on the world scene and in the Middle East.
3. He then described the political events which lead up to the attack. First there was the flow of Communist arms to Egypt. The Government had not realized until a few days ago how tremendous this had been. Then there was the Suez crisis. At this point he rehearsed Israel's grievances against Egypt over the economic boycott and over passage through the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba (and said the Island of Tiran at the entrance of the latter, which had been an ancient Hebrew settlement, had been "liberated"). He went on to say that the events following the Jordanian general election had greatly intensified Israel's danger, particularly the Tripartite military agreement between Egypt, Jordan and Syria. He then related details of Egyptian Fedayeen attacks against Israel from all her bordering states in recent weeks.

/All

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TEL AVIV TELEGRAM NO. 723 TO FOREIGN OFFICE

- 2 -

4. All these events, he said, left no room for doubt that the Egyptian dictator was neglecting no means by which he might destroy Israel, which indeed he openly proclaimed to be his purpose. In consequence it became the Government's duty to take urgent and effective measures for self-defence. Mr. Ben Gurion described the course of the mobilization and of the Sinai campaign. The attack was mounted against the Fedayeen bases. Israel's forces were given strict orders not to cross the Suez Canal nor to attack the territory of "Egypt proper" and to remain entirely within the limits of the Sinai Peninsula. The principal aims of speed of operation and the minimizing of casualties had been achieved. He described the Sinai campaign as one of the most remarkable military operations in world history.

5. Mr. Ben Gurion went on to say that despite recent great events, his conscience forced him to warn the country against imagining that all the dangers had passed. He particularly warned against the "stratagems which various statesmen employ to cover up their intentions". Israel must be on its guard, "preserving the utmost vigilance and alertness, keyed up to meet whatever may come."

6. Mr. Ben Gurion then said that there was no people in the world which was more deeply concerned than the Jews for the principles of peace and justice contained in the United Nations Charter because, he said, their entire future depended on the rule of peace and justice in the world. The United Nations had only just begun its work concerning recent events in Sinai and the Canal Zone, and Israel had yet to determine her attitude to some of the questions which might arise. At the moment, however, he said that there were seven questions on which Israel must clarify her stand and bring her position to the notice of world public opinion. (His seven points were those contained in my telegram No. 721 to you). He particularly stressed the first point, that the Armistice Agreement with Egypt was dead; Nasser had made it into a dangerous fiction with his repeated declaration that a state of war existed

/between

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TEL AVIV TELEGRAM NO. 723 TO FOREIGN OFFICE

- 3 -

between Egypt and Israel and his warlike actions to match. Any return to the Armistice Agreement meant a return to ambush, blockade and boycott aimed at Israel's ultimate destruction.

7. Mr. Ben Gurion concluded by saying that "It may be that in the near future we shall have to face a difficult political struggle and perhaps something even graver. Israel would not give way to the futile arrogance of Arab Rulers, nor would she humble herself before the powerful forces of the world, if justice was not on their side. He said Israel should face the future with courage and wisdom and a consciousness of the justice of her cause, without ignoring her natural and necessary bonds with the world family of nations.

8. Full text follows by bag (not to all).

Foreign Office pass U.K. Del. New York and Washington as my telegrams 122 and 128 respectively.

[Repeated to U.K. Del. New York and Washington].

K.S.

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FROM TRIPOLI TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL

Mr. Graham

D. 9.18 a.m. November 3, 1956

No. 404

R. 10.10 a.m. November 3, 1956

November 2, 1956

R189/739

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 404 of November 2.

Repeated for information to P.O.M.E.F. and  
Saving to Benghazi.

Libyan Prime Minister has sent following message to Colonel Nasser "At this decisive moment during which Egypt is adopting a heroic attitude worthy of praise towards the treacherous Israeli aggression and the criminal Anglo-French attack, which is exposing the Arabs to the most critical test in the battle of dignity and freedom, and the time when the Libyan People and Government are standing in one line supporting sister Egypt. I send you on behalf of the Libyan Government and people my deep sorrow and worry at what has happened to dear Egypt as a result of the oppressive aggression. Victory is nearer because imperialism, and its agents the Zionists, have lost control of their nerves, and have not placed any value on the human principles. The oppressors will soon know how they will be turned over".

Foreign Office pass P.O.M.E.F. as my telegram No. 61.

[ Repeated to P.O.M.E.F. ]

.....



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FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE ✓

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL  
DISTRIBUTION

Sir H. Gaocia

No. 2265

November 7, 1956

R 1041/74.89 a.m. November 8, 1956

R:2.50 a.m. November 8, 1956

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 2265 of November 7  
information  
Repeated for/saving to Cairo, Tel Aviv, U.K., Del. New York and Paris.

My telegram No. 730: Middle East: American Press and Radio  
comment.

The announcement of the cease-fire on the Suez Canal attracted wide attention and was received with considerable relief, although many made a point of observing that the Middle East crisis is far from over. The prevailing view is that the cease-fire will at least "give us all a breathing spell": "a first hopeful break in the war clouds over the Middle East which the Soviets had started to run with the sheet lightning of a third world war" (New York Times). Even the right-wing New York Daily News was prompted to say that "this sudden ending of a little war that had dangerous possibilities is certainly something to the United Nations credit". Others, however, reflecting the view of a number of responsible internationalist papers and commentators, thought that "the cease-fire had the appearance of emergency action to prevent the spread of a potential catastrophic conflict". Taking this line the Washington Post said that "British and French haste in silencing the guns and in making way for the United Nations police force reflects a belated awareness of the fact that their ill-considered military operations were pushing mankind dangerously close to world war". A number of radio commentators agreed that the condemnation of the United Nations, the pressure of world opinion and Soviet threats probably had a great deal to do with bringing about the cease-fire.

2. Although Marshal Bulganin's note of November 5 to Mr. Eisenhower attracted wide and worried attention ("a grotesque suggestion" Philadelphia Inquirer), a greater concern was shown about the veiled threats contained in Bulganin's Notes to Her Majesty's Government and the French Government: "it is hard to see how an official communication from one Government to another could be more ominous in tone". Roberts (Washington Post) reported that "most American officials do not expect the Soviet Union openly to send military force into the area to help the Egyptians", but reports

/about Soviet

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Washington telegram No. 2265 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

about Soviet "volunteers" continue to be given some currency and have aroused further fears of the possibility of a large-scale war.

3. Although the great majority of newspaper and radio commentators continue to condemn the British-French intervention in Egypt as at the very least a "policy of folly" (San Francisco Chronicle) and "so stinging a blow to United States leadership and prestige as to be personal" (Downs C.B.S.), a small body of Press and radio opinion supports most, if not all, aspects of Her Majesty's Government and the French Government's policy: included are Lawrence and Sokolsky (Syndicated Columnists) and Harsch (Christian Science Monitor) and even some of the responsible commentators, though highly critical, have made it clear that they believe that "it should be said that the ends the Eden Government is seeking are on the highest level" (Smith C.B.S. from London). Their principal quarrel is with the methods and the possible consequences. However, it is also being said by commentators such as Smith that "there is blame enough to be shared by the United States as well as by Britain and France".

4. There is much speculation that the crises in Eastern Europe, and especially in the Middle East, contributed heavily to Mr. Eisenhower's victory in yesterday's presidential election.

Please pass saving to Cairo, Tel Aviv and Paris as my telegrams Nos. 156, 96, and 411 respectively.

[Repeated saving to Tel Aviv and Paris]

[Not repeated to Cairo]

WWW

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CONFIDENTIAL

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL  
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Middleton

No. 1075  
November 8, 1956.

R1091/741  
D. 1.00 p.m. November 8, 1956.

R. 1.34 p.m. November 8, 1956.

IMMEDIATE  
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 1075 of  
November 8.

Repeated for information to: Bagdad  
Paris  
Washington  
U.K. Del. New York  
P.O.M.E.F.  
AMMAN

Your telegram No. 1604.

I spoke as instructed to President Chamoun this morning. He said that he could not disguise fact that whole of British position in Middle East had been gravely undermined by recent events. To restore our good name and prestige it was now essential that:

(a) Anglo-French forces should be withdrawn from Egypt as soon as practicable; and,

(b) every effort should be made to ensure that Israel withdraws from territory she has seized and, if necessary, economic sanctions or even armed force should be used to this end.

Failure to take decisive action would be fatal to our interest (this is almost exactly the line taken in Bagdad telegram No. 1327).

2. As regards relations with Britain, Chamoun said he was confident that he could continue to resist pressures from both within and outside the country and that it would not come to a diplomatic rupture. Our attitude towards Israel, however, would be all important in shaping public opinion.

Foreign Office pass Routine to Bagdad, P.O.M.E.F., Paris, Washington and U.K. Delegation New York as my telegrams Nos. 270, 218, 24, 58 and 17 respectively.

/.....

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FROM BRUSSELS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Sir G. Labouchere  
No. 243  
November 6, 1956.

R1091/742  
D. 9.44 a.m. November 7, 1956  
R. 10.52 a.m. November 7, 1956.

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 243 of November 6  
Repeated for information saving to The Hague.

My telegram No. 240: Near East Crisis.

Although Press comment over the weekend tended to concentrate on events in Hungary the leader writers were obviously deeply concerned by Anglo French action in the Middle East. The Government's point of view was undoubtedly reflected in the Socialist party's paper "Le Peuple", where the Political Editor, Albert Housiaux, devoted a closely reasoned leader to the situation.

In so far as the Israelis are concerned he expressed the view that although technically the aggressors they had been goaded beyond endurance by the Egyptians. As regards Franco-British action, Housiaux wondered whether the Conservative leaders had fully realized the very grave consequences likely to follow on a landing in Suez, consequences which involved, the United Nations apart, the very future of N.A.T.O., the Atlantic Alliance, the Commonwealth and Europe itself, he hoped it was not too late for wisdom to prevail.

The article, was, however, critical of the United Nations, whose weakness, it alleged, lay in the fact that, bent on avoiding bloodshed at all costs, it had neither the power nor the force necessary to impose justice among the nations. For, it was argued, a conflict could not be considered settled merely when no further blows were struck. It was also necessary to solve the problems which underlay the fighting. Good would come out of evil if Statesmen settled down to improve the world institutions capable of realising this object.

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BRUSSELS TELEGRAM NO. 243 TO FOREIGN OFFICE

- 2 -

2. The Christian Democrat "La Cite" deplored Anglo-French defiance of the United Nations and asked what would happen if every nation now decided to act according to its own interest rejecting the most elemental rules of agreed international morality. The intellectual Flemish "De Standard", never particularly friendly to Britain, reminded its readers that the West's condemnation of the Russian intervention in Hungary was seriously weakened by British imperialistic policy in the Middle East. This was a point of view shared by the Conservative "Newsblad" which added that even if America managed to bring about a solution, the harm done by the Anglo-French action would still be immense and would affect for years to come the whole of the West. The Flemish Democrat Christian "Nieuws Van Den Dag" declared that neither the British nor the French had the right to act as umpire in Egypt since they were much too closely involved. It suggested instead that the United Nations should send a military force in which both Britain and France would be represented.

3. On the other hand criticism of the United Nations was singularly violent in the independent chain of newspapers "La Meuse - La Lanterne" which attacked the Assembly as an "International Parliament of Chatterboxes" whose attitude vis-a-vis the great Colonial Powers had always been equivocal and on the whole hypocritical. The Liberal "La Nouvelle Gazette" was equally critical of the United Nations as well as of American policy. The paper suggested that before summoning Britain and France before the United Nations, the United States would do well to examine their own conscience and discover whether they were wholly blameless in the matter of encouraging Arab terrorism.

4. Generally speaking critical Press comment considerably outweighs approval.

K.S.

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FROM PEKING TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair  
 Mr. O'Neill  
 No. 667  
 November 8, 1956

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

R.1091/711 8.46 a.m. November 8, 1956  
 R. 10.54 a.m. November 8, 1956

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 667 of November 8  
 Repeated for information Saving to: Moscow, Paris,  
 Tel Aviv, Washington  
 U.K. Del New York

My immediately preceding telegram. Egypt.

People's Daily today reports British and French announcement of cease-fire under headline "Britain and France forced to announce a cease-fire by resolute opposition of whole world and by grave Soviet threat".

2. Accompanying editorial also stresses rôle played by heroic Egyptian struggle and by resolute unity of Arab nations and their deadly enmity for the common foe. People of Egypt and world have forced the aggressors to agree to a cease-fire and can certainly throw them out of Egyptian territory.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Moscow, Paris, Tel Aviv, Washington and U.K. Del New York as my telegrams Nos. 55, 33, 9, 203 and 38

[Repeated Saving to Moscow, Paris Tel Aviv, Washington and U.K. Del New York]

OMH

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BRITISH EMBASSY,  
Bangkok.

November 3, 1956.

CONFIDENTIAL  
(1050/73/5)  
No. 137

RJ 09/1/75

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the Thai Cabinet met at 9 p.m. on the 1st of November to discuss the Suez situation. I enclose a copy of the communiqué issued after a discussion lasting till nearly midnight.

2. Major Rak Panyarachun, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, warned me of the impending Cabinet discussion and I was able to provide him with an exposé of Her Majesty's Government's basic position. My Australian and New Zealand colleagues were also able to supply the texts of the helpful speeches made by Mr. Menzies and Mr. Holland.

3. In the event, the outcome was, I think it will be agreed, not unsatisfactory. I am informed by the officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who actually presented the case to the Cabinet that the general feeling was friendly to Britain; that there was no disposition to judge our action hastily; and that it was decided at this stage not to brand any country as aggressor. Major Rak himself has expressed the view privately that the Thais would be wise to suspend judgment until the result of the Anglo-French police action could be seen; and that if our intervention were successful in rapidly separating the Israelis and the Egyptians, putting an end to fighting in the area and maintaining the safety and

/freedom

The Right Honourable  
Selwyn Lloyd, C.B.E., M.P.,  
etc. etc. etc.



- 2 -

freedom of the Suez Canal, then we should have been proved justified. These robust views are undoubtedly held by a number of the more sophisticated and educated Thais. Prince Dhanl himself, the elderly and respected President of the Privy Council, made a point of coming up to me at a reception yesterday evening and congratulating me on the action taken by Britain; and similar congratulations from other friendly Thais were received by other members of my staff.

4. Thus far, therefore, the picture is satisfactory. Unqualified and lasting Thai support for our action cannot, I fear, however be expected. In the first place, as the Cabinet communiqué makes clear, the Thai policy will be firmly based on the United Nations. It would be quite unrealistic to expect the Thai Government to swim against the United Nations stream, the more so with Prince Wan waiting at New York to step into the Presidency of the General Assembly. I should expect yesterday's vote in the General Assembly to have a profound effect on both public and official opinion here. For the moment, while left-wing comment in the local press has, as was to be expected, been hostile, with emphasis on allegations of United Kingdom/French collusion with Israel and accusations that we were motivated by determination to crush Egypt and regain the Suez Canal for our own use, the independent and right-wing press has so far been indecisive in its comment. I fear that the longer actual hostilities proceed, the greater will be the force of adverse opinion. Whatever our Thai friends may think in private, it does not lie in the Thai character, and could not be expected, that the country should support us in the teeth of gathering adverse world, and especially Asian and /American



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American. opinion. The rapidity with which the police action is brought to a successful conclusion will therefore be crucial.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosure to the Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia at Singapore, to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Phnom Penh, Djakarta, Rangoon, Saigon, Vientiane and Washington, to Her Majesty's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, New York, and to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at New Delhi, Karachi and Kuala Lumpur.

I have the honour to be,  
with the highest respect,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

*Berkeley Gage*

(B.E.F. Gage)

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Communiqué issued by the Thai  
Cabinet on November 1, 1956

After due deliberation from all angles of all sources of information, the Council of Ministers reaffirms that the foreign policy of His Majesty's Government shall remain the same as has been announced in the National Assembly, namely that 'Thailand will abide strictly by whatever decisions are adopted by the United Nations' Assembly in its efforts to preserve the peace of the world'. The Council of Ministers further decides that it will support a resolution to call a special meeting of the United Nations General Assembly to consider the present situation in the Middle East.

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VR1091/605

R1091/746 ✓

THE TEHRAN CONFERENCE OF BAGDAD PACT

I submit a follow-up telegram commenting on the draft communique contained in Tehran telegram No. 885 of November 6.

2. These comments speak for themselves. But I would draw particular attention to the comment on the passage dealing with a Palestine settlement.

3. In our first reply (which has not yet been copied) we asked that the reference to the 1947 Resolutions should be replaced by something more general. It is on the cards that under pressure from Iraq our Allies will insist on mentioning the Resolutions. In that event, since we are asked to "accept" the communique we should be faced with the choice of either endorsing a position which Israel is almost certain to reject - and perhaps <sup>abusively</sup> with or dissociating ourselves from the position of our Allies thus arousing their suspicions if not actually weakening the ties between us. If we rule out the first alternative - and I hope that we shall not - our best line might be to take our stand on the Prime Minister's Guild Hall speech of which it can at least be said that it was less objectionable to the Arabs than to Israel. I have accordingly included a reference to that position in the draft.

A. D. M. Ross

(A. D. M. Ross)  
November 6, 1956

*Jk.*

Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick