

CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes



Flag A

RECEIVED IN  
 ARCHIVES  
 6 - JAN 1960  
 191018/1.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

NASSER'S "VICTORY" SPEECH AT PORT SAID ON  
 DECEMBER 23.

This was the usual kind of tub-thumping performance mainly for local consumption - it went on for three hours.

2. Nasser reviewed the Arabs' struggles against imperialism and Zionism in the usual terms. He referred to Communism as a new antagonist, but was careful to refer throughout to "Communist agents". In Iraq he accused Communist agents allied with Qasim in an effort to destroy Arab nationalism in Iraq. He attacked Qasim at considerable length as the divider of Iraq and the divider of the Arabs. He said that Sir Anthony Eden could be excused for what he had recently said about the Sinai campaign but that Qasim, who had echoed Eden's words, could not.

3. The latter half of the speech is a pep talk on the "battle of construction," social revolution and development in Egypt, the achievement of the first Five Year Plan and the tasks of the second, plans for Syria, the National Union and the High Dam.

4. Towards the end are references to relations with the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and the U.K; (a) "We want our relations with the Soviet Union to be good and friendly.....We have not changed our attitude, and our policy remains as before". (b) "We also welcome friendship with the U.S.A......If the U.S.A. has now found that it should pursue towards us a peaceful and friendly policy, we welcome it". (c) "If Britain, which committed aggression.....wants to offer us sincere friendship free from the old methods.....we are prepared to forget the past and to begin a new era which is built on a foundation of equality". (c) is by Nasser's standards quite handsome.

*R. Arculus*  
 (R. Arculus)

December 29, 1959.

*Robert*  
 30/12  
*John Smith*  
 Dec 31  
 all  
 Hi

1. A/Dept.  
 2. enter.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref.:		FO 371/150905		80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/217/A/1

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL

Nasir's Speech at Port Said

Cairé home service and "Voice of the Arabs" 14.55 GMT 23.12.59 (relay)

Text of Abd an-Nasir's speech at Port Said municipal sports ground:

Compatriots, this is the third anniversary of your great victory, which marked a significant turning point not only in the history of your nation but in the history of the Arab area as a whole also. Indeed, perhaps this victory could be considered one of the most prominent manifestations in the international field affecting the mode of action in that field. This is due to the fact that your victory meant that Arab nationalism had broken down every siege surrounding it and emerged fulfilling its positive role in rewriting its history and in contributing a constructive share in the writing of humanity's history.

Also, your victory in the international field, brother compatriots, marked the end of an era in which it was proved, with no room for doubt, that the left-over remnants of the mentality of the 19th century with its accompaniment of thoughts of conquest, invasion and the domination of peoples had been defeated. It by your victory, brothers, you began the history of your homeland in the 20th century and have restored it anew in a state of development, you also, by this victory in the history of humanity and that of the Afro-Asian peoples in particular, buried in this town of yours, Port Said, the remnants of the era of imperialism.

People of Port Said, history will always remember your resistance against the blind force which had tried to invade your town and your victory over that force. You did not defeat it only in your own country; it was also defeated in all countries. And thus, brother citizens, you achieved what should have been realised, i.e. that force is no longer a means in the international field and that those who possess arms do not consequently possess the destiny of the peoples of the world.

Here in Port Said you proved that principles are power and that power is no less strong than the fleets, aircraft and arms of the great countries. You proved that no one in the world, irrespective of what he has in wealth and instruments of destruction, has the right to kindle the flame of war and toy with world peace without accepting the responsibility (words indistinct) what they call "a limited war" or "a total war"; those who start aggressive wars cannot dominate the march of events, and hence those who think that they can begin by themselves, may find themselves unable to finish what they have begun. And if what they have begun comes to an end it will only come to the end which they did not desire.

Dear brothers, this is what the great experiment through which you passed brought about. I am certain that you will always be remembered as bringing about this great change in international thinking, international action and international ways and means. Dear brothers, as we today commemorate the martyrs of our battles, as we celebrate the victory feast, pride fills our hearts and their memory is in our mind. The blood which they shed did not only realise victory and pride for their homeland; it also consolidated (one word) of the peace of the peoples other than themselves. Their sacrifices were the beginning of their homeland, and their war was peace for many other peoples. As we commemorate their memory, we believe in the same (words indistinct), this people observing this memory and the sacrifice.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet							

ME/217/A/2

Brother citizens, perhaps my expression of our loyalty to the sacrifices of the martyrs, the sons of our homeland, will be clearer in the battle which we are waging today, following the great battle through which we passed yesterday. The fact, dear brothers, is that our great battle to achieve freedom was the real paving of the road and was the natural beginning of the battle through which we are passing today to protect this freedom and to consolidate it. To attain independence is not the end of the road of struggle; it is the beginning of the road of struggle. Man does not liberate his will in order to suspend it afterwards; man liberates his will in order to use it in reforming his future and to realise with it the aspirations of his lifetime and his long dreams during the generations of privation. Through the great victory of your battle we wrested our independent will; and it is our duty, and in loyalty to our martyrs, to begin immediately to use that liberated will in order to realise the aspirations of a lifetime and the dreams of generations. Our immediate positive action is the real loyalty we present to our martyrs; it is the bouquets of roses we lay on the tombs of our martyrs; and it is the indisputed proof of our loyalty to the sacrifice of our martyrs and our respect of the pure blood we shed on the battlefield.

Brother compatriots, you met here in Port Said and fought here in Port Said the big Powers, the great Powers and Israel. You triumphed here in Port Said and declared your word loudly that there should be (no landing) in our country by a foreigner regardless of his strength and the weapons available in his stores [applause]. This, brother compatriots, was the big victory for us here in Egypt and for our Arab nation and for all the Afro-Asian peoples. Indeed your stand here in Port Said was the laurels in our long battles in which we fought and struggled to achieve for ourselves the real freedom and dignity and to get rid of the soldiers of occupation.

Here in Port Said you saw the soldiers of occupation in your country, and throughout the years and days you fought here in Port Said to get rid of the occupation and the soldiers of occupation; to get rid of foreign imperialism and internal exploitation. The bitter battles you faced throughout the years and days used to strengthen your hearts and spirits to begin other battles. The last battle in which we raised the laurels here on this good land was the battle of Port Said, the battle of Port Said in which Britain, and France, together with Israel, allied themselves against us. The battle of Port Said was not a battle because of the nationalisation of the Canal; the battle of Port Said, brothers, was the conclusion of long battles for freedom and independence.

When the British set foot in our country the battles were continuous and consecutive so that we might feel that no flag would be hoisted over our country other than our own, that nobody would have a say in our country but ourselves, and that there would be no will amongst our people other than our own. Your fathers were determined to do this, and your forefathers were determined to do this too. You took from them the flag of struggle and marched on the road of the struggle. And, brother compatriots, you have enjoyed the opportunity of victory. You were able, brothers, to see the day the British left our country after a bitter and long occupation which lasted over 75 years. You were able once again to enjoy your victory over the British and the French, who returned once more to occupy this country four months after they had left it. We have savoured the sweetness of victory for which our fathers and forefathers struggled.

Since the revolution, here in Egypt in 1952, we have been exposed to pressure and plots. We were exposed, as we all know, to all means of pressure and to all means of plots so that we should deviate from the principles in which we believed and for which we struggled. We struggled for the principles in which we believed. We struggled to get out of spheres of influence. We struggled to get rid of imperialism. And when the Revolution started we resolved to get out of spheres of influence and to get the forces of occupation out.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905		80457				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

ME/217/A/3

This nation, which became united, raised these slogans: "There shall be no room for an intruder in our land, and no place for (word indistinct) in our midst." We marched forward in the knowledge that the battle in which we were engaged was no easy thing, and that it was a difficult battle. We know that we were a (small) country compared with the imperialist countries and compared also with the imperialist collaborators and the tactics of imperialism. But although we were a small country not possessed of the arms possessed by the big Powers we did not in any way hesitate to resolve to implement the principles in which we believed, or to make our will respected.

We faced plots and the tactics of imperialism with every means. Here inside the country imperialism confronted us with imperialist collaborators. Outside, in the Arab nation round us, it also used imperialist collaborators. To oppose us and undermine our unity here inside this country imperialism also resorted to dissension. Imperialism used every device to prevent your becoming united in your own country. It always tried to instigate one brother against another, and to divide the nation into groups and parties, in order thereby to be able to get at us and implement its wishes.

We suffered in the past from dissension and partisanship, so we resolved to shun dissension and partisanship and to become united. And we became united. We were able to realise our wishes and demands, because we worked for the nation as a whole, for the majority of its members. We worked for the nation as a whole, for its peasants, workers and other members, and not for a small group of people.

Imperialism also tried to undermine Arab nationalism and the Arab nation. In this it relied upon imperialist collaborators throughout the Arab nation. Its main weapon was the sowing of dissension and rancour among the members of the Arab nation, to be followed by enmity and hatred. Eventually, it wanted to use one Arab homeland against another, and one Arab country against another. In this way hopelessness would prevail, and the Arab nation would become disunited and warring, while Arab nationalism, whose flag was always raised by your forefathers in the past, and which had always been the means of our victories against all the enemies who set foot in our Arab countries or in any Arab homeland, would likewise become disunited and warring.

Brother citizens, imperialism found itself successful in these policies. It also found itself successful in dividing the Arab nation. In the past, brother citizens, this was the means which enabled Zionism to penetrate our homeland and set up in the midst of Arab nationalism and in a beloved part of Arab nationalism a nationalism foreign to us, a Zionist nationalism.

In the past, imperialism and Zionism thought that they would succeed in their policy based on dividing and splitting Arab nationalism. They hoped that Arab nationalism would fall, and consequently that the Arab countries would fall, one country after another and one homeland after another, and that Zionism would eventually spread from the Nile to the Euphrates. In the place of Arab nationalism there would then step a Zionist nationalism which is but an agent and a bridge-head for imperialism.

My brother citizens, the battle of Palestine in 1948 was a triumph for imperialism and imperialist collaborators, and a triumph for Zionism and Zionist plots, because imperialism and imperialist collaborators were able to divide Arab nationalism and split Arab nationalism and the Arab countries asunder, and also because they succeeded in undermining Arab solidarity and unity. That is now they managed to carry out their plans in our midst.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905			80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

ME/217/A/4

But Arab nationalism also triumphed, because the battle of Palestine in 1948 was the spark which kindled the fire in our hearts, and the trumpet which sounded in every Arab country proclaiming that we must unite and join together to defend ourselves and our very existence, and to protect our countries and our homeland. After 1948, imperialism and imperialist collaborators tried to exploit the tragedy that befell us in the Palestine war, and to instil in our minds and hearts a sense of weakness and defeatism. But living Arab nationalism, which is poised in every Arab homeland, was a flame rekindled by the Palestine war and the Palestine tragedy.

Thus, although they won in 1948 against the people of Palestine and made them refugees, Arab nationalism triumphed equally throughout the Arab nation, because every Arab in every Arab country felt in his heart of hearts that he must unite and join hands with his Arab brother in order to safeguard the Arab nation against extinction, and to protect Arab nationalism from becoming undermined and lost, and also to defend his children, himself and his homeland.

The Palestine tragedy was a partial victory for the enemies of Arab nationalism, such as the imperialists and their collaborators and Zionists. It was also a great victory for the Arabs, because it rekindled Arab nationalism, which they had always tried to undermine and finish. The Palestine tragedy was the flame which stirred Arab conscience in every Arab country.

When the revolution started here in Egypt in 1952 we knew about imperialism's antics, tactics, designs and plans to divide the Arab nation and promote rancour and hatred among the members of the Arab nation, and also to use one Arab country against another. We then proclaimed loudly and unequivocally that we were part of the Arab nation, and that we believed in Arab nationalism [applause].

This, brother compatriots, was the beginning of an intense, prolonged and bitter battle to which we were exposed here in Egypt, and to which your brothers in Syria were exposed just because they reiterated the same words, and not only reiterated them but also adopted them as their permanent slogans. Your brothers in Syria have always been in the vanguard of Arab nationalism, and have always been the protectors of Arab nationalism. In this way, brother compatriots, the battle against Arab nationalism, against us in Egypt, against our brothers in Syria, and indeed, against every Arab in any Arab country who had hoisted the flag of Arab nationalism and declared that he believed in Arab nationalism, began.

Plots against Arab nationalism started, and in these plots imperialism and Zionism collaborated. And in them also collaborated the collaborators of imperialism and intruding exploitationist reaction because it believed that imperialism was protecting its interests and gains. When the (word indistinct) battle started in Port Said the Arab nation rose as one and stood on your side; it rose to arms, and brothers of yours rose in Iraq in the days of Nuri as-Sa'id and despite his persecution. They rose against Nuri as-Sa'id, who used to be the main agent of imperialism in this area against Arab nationalism. In those days Nuri as-Sa'id stood up in Iraq and surveyed your country wishing for your elimination because he believed that your elimination meant the elimination of Arab nationalism. He forgot, brother compatriots, that Arab nationalism did not only exist here in Port Said, in Egypt or in Syria but that it was a flame all over the Arab nation; it was a flame in Baghdad as well as a flame in all parts of Iraq.

Nuri as-Sa'id, who devoted himself to act as an agent for imperialism and as an assistant and supporter of Zionism, Nuri as-Sa'id, the agent of imperialism, brother compatriots, was working against the UAR, Egypt and Syria, and he always launched attacks in which he reiterated the words of his imperialist and Zionist masters. Nuri as-Sa'id believed that by so doing he was doing his imperialist and Zionist masters a great service. He was always trying to mislead the Arab nation, but was the Arab nation misled or deceived? Subsequent events proved that the Arab nation, which suffered and learned, could not possibly be deceived or misled regardless of the methods employed.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

MB/217/A/5

Broadcasting in the past over Baghdad radio, Nuri as-Sa'id always attempted to attack Zionism and Israel, and he used to declare that he wished to liberate Palestine from the hands of Zionism, but did a single Arab individual believe Nuri as-Sa'id? All the Arabs throughout the Arab nation were aware and knew that all this was trading in slogans intended not for the interests of the Arab nation but for the interests of imperialism. They knew that this trading in slogans was not for principles or for supreme ideals but for individualistic selfishness and exploitation. The Arab nation felt that those slogans were words intended to bind the Arab nation in chains and presented as a gift to imperialism and the enemies of the Arab nation. Nuri as-Sa'id, brother compatriots, tried in the past in his broadcasts and by his methods and wealth to mislead the Arab nation but the Arab nation was not misled.

Collaborators of imperialism in other parts of the Arab nation also tried to mislead the Arab nation, but was the Arab nation misled? The Arab nation was not misled. Indeed, imperialism tried by all possible methods and means - funds, broadcasts, psychological warfare and economic warfare - to mislead and deceive this Arab nation, but did it mislead or deceive the Arab nation? The Arab people were aware of themselves, sure of themselves, and they felt that awareness and co-operation were essential, and that it was necessary to defend Arab nationalism, which flared up when the Palestine catastrophe occurred. The Arab people, who were subjected to open and clandestine broadcasts, the nine radios of which all of us know, used to look down on such broadcasts because they knew that those broadcasts and slogans were nothing but bait offered to the Arab nation with the intention of wiping out its nationalism, to be followed by the (undoing) of its existence. The Arab nation used to listen to all that was being said, but which produced only one result, which was to increase the intensity of the flame, to add more determination to the faith and to strengthen the will of the spirit for liberation - liberation from imperialism, from the collaborators of imperialism and from agents.

When imperialism and its collaborators became aware that such methods would have no effect on the Arab nation, not in any circumstances, but instead tended to increase its faith, determination and strength, thoughts of an armed battle began, hence the battle of Fort Said. Your battle, brothers, was the battle on which imperialism and its collaborators and the enemies of Arab nationalism embarked when they despaired of their ability by any other means to eliminate your nationalism and your faith in your principles - principles of Arab unity, Arab co-operation and Arab nationalism.

Imperialism used money, and we all know that it paid large sums in an attempt to eliminate the idea adopted by the free Arabs everywhere, the idea of Arab nationalism. They tried by terrorisation to eliminate the principles in which we had faith and which we adopted. They tried by all methods to make us go back on the idea of Arab nationalism. They tried promises, but we rejected these promises because we are a part of the Arab nation and our existence is tied up in the existence of the Arab nation, and were Arab nationalism eliminated in the rest of the Arab nation there would be no trace of it in our country. We rejected this (inducement), then we rejected threats, and afterwards we rejected all the methods of propaganda which we looked down upon with (word indistinct) and with confidence and determination. The result of this firmness and awareness was the armed battle which (word indistinct).

The armed battle, brother compatriots, was not only planned for (word indistinct) here in Egypt but was also planned against brothers of yours in Syria, because Syria was determined to implement Arab nationalism and to hoist its flag. This, brothers, was the main reason which influenced us to ask the Syrian army, when the aggression against Egypt started, not to intervene in the battle, because it was clear (word indistinct) that their aim was none other but the elimination of the idea of Arab nationalism. They felt that they must eliminate its ideals and principles here in Egypt, and eliminate its ideals and principles in Syria, so that they could rest assured that Arab nationalism was crumbling and weakening, and that their collaborators among the agents would work with them for the attainment of this aim.

1	2	crms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref. FD 371/150905		80427				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

ME/217/A/6

For this reason, brothers, we asked the Syrian forces, when they decided to join the Egyptian forces in the first days of the battle, not to participate in the battle so that they could remain ready to defend their home country and, indeed, to defend Arab nationalism. Brother compatriots, we knew that the aim imperialism was attempting to fulfil was the elimination of Arab nationalism. It was not possible for them to accomplish this without the subjugation of Egypt and Syria. The outcome was, brother compatriots, your battle in Port Said - your battle which added yet another victory to Arab nationalism - because your victory in Port Said was a victory for principles and supreme ideals. It was also, brothers, a victory for Arab nationalism in Egypt, Syria and in every country of the Arab nation. Moreover, as I have mentioned to you, it was a victory for the smaller nations. It was also a confirmation of an accomplished fact and of a new principle, and that is that the great Powers, regardless of their armaments and might, cannot by an aggressive war impose their will.

Here in Port Said the people and the army, men and youths, children and women and the aged, came out as one to defend their principles, their will and their honour. In doing so, brother compatriots, your weapon was faith and sacrifice, and in the process you, brother compatriots, offered thousands in sacrifice and thousands as martyrs. Your brothers of the armed forces offered thousands in sacrifice and martyrdom. Here in Port Said you offered hundreds of children, who were offered as a sacrifice and became victims of the treacherous aggression. At the same time, your brothers in Syria also rose in defense of the same principles and aims. They proclaimed their support of their brothers in Egypt and blew up the oil pipe-lines, and they said that the war in Egypt was a war on Syria and that the aggression against Egypt was aggression against Syria.

Brothers of yours in Iraq also rose to meet with their bare breasts the bullets of Nuri as-Sa'id and offered themselves in sacrifice to prove to the whole world that there were people in Baghdad who believed in Arab nationalism and were ready to offer their lives and blood for its sake for its honour and for its prestige. Brother citizens, your brothers in every Arab country rose - in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, North Africa, Lebanon and in every Arab country - all hoisting the flag of Arab nationalism and conscious that their battle was your battle and that the fate of all was one, because the Arab nation, in all its parts, was bound together.

At this time when sacrifices were being made and blood was being shed, imperialist collaborators in various parts of the Arab homeland began to sing the praises of their masters, the imperialists, who were committing aggression against us with their fleets and who were attacking us with their aircraft, believing that in only a few hours Arab nationalism would be buried under the soil. Spite was evident in their eyes and faces. In their weak reasoning and hatred they were unable to appraise that this unarmed Arab people would defeat the great Powers and turn them from first-rate into second-rate Powers. The collaborators of imperialism throughout the Arab homeland awaited the victory of imperialism so that they might reap their share of the spoils, so that they might rule and offer the Arab nation to imperialism as an easy morsel, and so that Zionism might achieve its avowed hopes in the Arab homeland.

But the faith of Arab nationalism triumphed over imperialism and its collaborators. Arab nationalism was not destroyed or buried. In fact it emerged from Port Said with stronger determination, faith and vigour [applause]. Arab nationalism emerged from Port Said wounded, but the wound gave it impetus to forge ahead in its path. Arab nationalism emerged from Port Said and from every Arab country to see that the Arab people were determined to consolidate this Arab nationalism. The result of this common struggle was the birth of the UAR [applause]. Your will and the will of your brothers in Syria united, having a common fate, existence and future. We had to fight so that we might determine this fate as one man. We united and the UAR emerged to represent a great Power protecting Arab nationalism and solidarity and raising the flag of Arab unity and resolving to proceed in its path to complete its battle to consolidate freedom and independence which we obtained by bloodshed.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref. #		FD 371150905		80487		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

ME/217/A/7

The birth of the UAR was a great blow to imperialism and its collaborators, and to Zionism and its hopes. Imperialism and its collaborators believed deeply that the Arab nation must be disunited in order that the region might be placed within spheres of influence. They felt that the victory of Arab nationalism meant the end of foreign influence and the beginning of independence, the beginning of a great State in this part of the world which would restore past glories, the era of Saladin when Arab nationalism united the Arabs everywhere and repulsed aggressors and invaders and triumphed over them when Arab nationalism stood to face the armies of Europe which entered into alliance against Arab nationalism. But it triumphed, and the armies of Europe were defeated.

Zionism believed that Arab nationalism would be able to repeat what had occurred with the crusaders in the past, because when the crusaders overpowered our country they believed they had an opportunity to occupy it for ever. But the fire of Arab nationalism flared up, and after 80 years the Arabs were able to liberate their country, to end the crusaders' occupation, to bring the Arab homeland back to the Arab nation and to get rid of the crusaders' imperialism. Thus Zionism heeded the lessons from our past history. If we in the past were able to wait 80 years to end the alien imperialism, today, while turning to industrialisation and sources of strength and consequently to strengthening of our nationalism, we shall be able to save our nationalism from any intruding nationalism and to recover the stolen rights of the Palestine people [applause].

For this reason Zionism, imperialism and reaction entered into alliance once again against Arab nationalism. They believed that this was a decisive battle in the history of imperialism, Zionism and Arab nationalism. After the proclamation of the UAR, imperialist and Israeli manoeuvres began to face this vast event, which represented the first realisation of the will of our Arab people in this region of the world. In the past they had achieved their interests and powers and appointed amirs as they liked, but the UAR was not the result of their will; it was the result of the will of the Arab people. They believed that this was the beginning of Arab intransigence against imperialist influence and the imperialist collaborators. So the collaborators united with imperialism to face the UAR. Their first action was the union between Iraq and Jordan. The Arab Federation was loudly proclaimed. They announced openly that it was established to counter the UAR and the idea of Arab nationalism in which you have faith and which you proclaimed.

There was a great difference between this structure, which was built on sacrifices in our country and on the will of a people who believed in their mission and will, and the structure of the so-called federation, which was established by imperialism to counter a genuine Arab nationalism which sprang from the people. Therefore your Republic was able to defend itself and to raise the flag of Arab nationalism. As for the Arab Federation which was set up by imperialism and its collaborators under the leadership of Nuri as Sa'id, it was no more than a brittle straw which could not last long, because the Arab people in Jordan and Iraq believed that it was an implementation of an imperialist plan and an act against Arab nationalism. The Arab people in Jordan and Iraq felt that there must be solidarity between all the Arab countries to protect Arab nationalism rather than the setting up of an artificial Arab Federation to counter the union which was established by the will of the people to weaken Arab nationalism and to keep this part of the world within spheres of foreign influence [applause].

The UAR was proclaimed. This Republic was an expression of the Arab nationalism in which we believed. We declared that by adopting the ideas of upholding Arab nationalism we sought union, unity or solidarity with all the Arab countries on the basis of independence and on the basis of getting rid of spheres of influence. But deep in our hearts we felt that imperialism would not despair and that it would try to concentrate all its strength against this Republic to weaken it and thus destroy Arab nationalism. We felt, brothers, that whoever wanted to place this region within spheres of influence would work and work by every means to combat the idea of Arab nationalism and the UAR and all the enemies of Arab nationalism and would combat the idea of the UAR. We felt that the union and what would follow after union would make us join together to face the battles.



1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371150905		80457				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

ME/217/A/8

The battles began after union. Bittler battles began, long battles began and concentrated battles began. The aim of the battles which began after union was the same aim of the battles we faced before union, to destroy Arab nationalism. Imperialism and its collaborators were the basis of these battles. Zionism was the basis of these battles. Then a new element appeared in these battles inside our homeland besides the collaborators of imperialism. The Communist agents appeared who did not believe at all in Arab nationalism and who were always working to undermine the idea of Arab nationalism and replace it by the idea of factionalism (Arabic: shu'ubiyah).

The Communists appeared and unmasked their faces in our country. I announced to you from this place last year how the Communist Party in Syria conspired against the union and against the Republic and how the Communist Party in Syria conspired against the UAR. I then announced how the Communist Party in Iraq conspired against the Union and against the UAR and how the Communist Parties in the Arab countries declared a mad war against Arab nationalism and against the idea of Arab nationalism. They forged the slogans and forged the principles in which we believed.

After union the Communists throughout the Arab nation declared war on Arab nationalism and on the Arab union and on the UAR. They thought they would succeed where imperialism and its collaborators had failed. They felt that they would be able to deceive the Arab nation with false slogans and by misleading it. They emerged with false slogans to mislead the Arab nation and to mislead the Arab people. But the Arab people, who faced imperialism and the agents of imperialism and who fought in Port Said and sacrificed martyrs and blood and fought in Algeria, Lebanon and everywhere to preserve their independence, were not to be deceived by the lies of the Communists or by the misconception of the Communists; they unmasked them and then isolated them and hoisted the flag of Arab nationalism high and victorious (throughout the Arab homeland).

In the past we have not been misled by imperialism, or by supporters of imperialism. During the past year we have not been misled by the Communist agents or by the slogans of the Communist agents. Today, when we look at the pressure imposed by the Communists on our homeland, those Communists who had disowned their homeland and their nationalism and who had disowned their country and their Arabism, we find that these agents have been exposed by the Arab people in every Arab country. They have been disowned by every Arab people in every Arab country because we do not differentiate between a Communist agent and the supporters of imperialism. We want our homeland completely free and for ourselves. In no circumstances shall we ever surrender our reins to the supporters of imperialism or to the Communist agents. We want our homeland pure for ourselves and for our children. We want it to remain pure and free. We want it to emanate from our will, our conscience and our hearts. Dear brother citizens, in no circumstances shall we ever consent to be misled by the agents (words indistinct) or to be frightened by the supporters of imperialism.

The Arab people who fought in the past, the Arab people who were martyred in the past and who gave in sacrifice their sons, their blood and their lives, can never be misled because through their long experience they have exposed the supporters of imperialism and the Communist agents. Through their long experience the Arab people know who works for them, for their freedom and for their future and to strengthen their will. They also know who works to deceive them, to humiliate them and to drag them along the streets and roads. Dear brother citizens, after all those long battles we will never let the supporters of imperialism and the Communist agents take hold of us, and we will never be misled by the slogans of the Communist agents, in the same way as we have never been misled by the slogans of the supporters of imperialism in the past.

After the establishment of the union the supporters of imperialism grouped themselves with the Communist agents against Arab nationalism, because each of them found that it was in his interest to destroy Arab nationalism and dismember it. But the Arab people, who faced the battles in the past against internal exploiting domination and external exploiting domination, took it upon themselves to destroy the supporters of imperialism and the Communist agents. Today, dear brother citizens, when we look at the Communist agents in every part of the Arab nation, we find that the Arab people have disowned them because the Arab people cannot possibly be led by agents. The Arab people have disowned them because they have exposed their false slogans.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905		80427				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

MB/217/A/9

In Iraq, dear brother citizens, we have a clear example. The Communists went to Iraq and raised their false slogans from the first day of the revolution. Those slogans, the false slogans, called for democracy and for freedom. But they were unable to continue to mislead the Iraqi people because the circumstances forced them to expose their intentions, to expose the hidden part of their souls, and to reveal themselves as agents. In Iraq, the Communist agents, during the first days of the revolution, were able to march and mislead the sons of Iraq with glittering slogans. But soon enough the Iraqi people exposed them. They found them to be agents who wanted to subjugate them, and who wanted to destroy all free opinion and thought in Iraq. The Communists began to reveal their faces in Iraq four months after the Iraqi revolution. In doing so they were compelled to reveal their envy of Arab nationalism. Their method to achieve this was to attack the UAR; to attack the struggle of the UAR people, here in Egypt and there in Syria; to falsify the slogans and then to work to lead the good Arab people in order to mislead and humiliate them.

They were able to mislead the people of Iraq some of the time. But the people, who had not been misled by Nuri as-Sa'id and his supporters, were aware and were not misled by the Communists. The Communists were not able to deceive the Iraqi people because they were able to expose them when they found them mobilizing their forces to destroy every nationalist loyal to his homeland, indeed every nationalist loyal to his nationalism. For some time, the Communists were able to contain their envy, but they were unable to contain themselves for any length of time. They declared openly and clearly that they were hostile to Arab nationalism, hostile to the UAR, and that they wanted international factionalism (Arabic: umamiyah shu'ubiyah), and that they would try by every possible means, no matter how base and low, to proceed on their way until they established for themselves a strong base in Iraq from which they could leap into other parts of the Arab nation.

Were the people of Iraq deceived? Dear brother citizens, if we examine the state of affairs in Iraq today, we find that the Iraqi people have exposed the Communists and have not been misled by these false slogans. After their isolation in all parts of the Arab nation, the Communists have also been exposed and isolated in Iraq. Today, they are trying by every possible means to deceive and mislead once more, means used by imperialism in the past against us but which did not mislead the Arab people.

These speeches made in the past, before the battle of Port Said and after it and after union, are the same speeches which are today repeated by the Communists, who hope that by scrutinising the things which imperialism unsuccessfully tried to spread amongst the Arab nation they will be able to find other things which they may spread among the sons of the Arab nation. The Communist agents, however, will never achieve any success. They kept trying by every possible means to ally themselves with Iraq's Qasim ("divider") in order to destroy Arab nationalism in Iraq and in the other parts of the Arab homeland. Zionism co-operated with the Communist agents, and the supporters of imperialism with imperialism, for the purpose of destroying Arab nationalism. Qasim found that Arab nationalism constituted a danger to his ambitions because Arab nationalism might reach the extent of (indistinct word) or a union, despite the fact that we have always tried to convince him that we accept solidarity in the same sense as we consolidated ourselves with him when revolution broke out. But his bitter envy against Arab nationalism collaborated with the envy of the supporters of imperialism and with that of the Communist agents against Arab nationalism. They began a bitter campaign against Arab nationalism, using the same methods which were employed before the battle of Port Said, before union and after. But will those methods which failed in the past succeed? Will they succeed because they have been adopted today by Iraq's Qasim and by the Communist agents? Dear brother citizens, Qasim tried in the past, and in his early days he tried in his war against Arab nationalism to divide this Arab nationalism into groups and parties and to attain the aim which imperialism failed to attain.

Qasim tried to divide Iraq and the Arab nation. When he failed in this, and when he found that despite all his tactics and means, and after putting the free in Iraq in fetters and after dragging them and hanging them, and also after spreading his poison

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

NR/217/A/10

in Iraq, he could not divide Iraq or the Arab nation or instil dissension and hatred among it. Iraq's and the Arabs' Qasim turned into a sinner (Arabic: athim) against Iraq and the Arabs.

Now, brother citizens, Iraq's Qasim comes forth with new, nay old, ideas which imperialism failed to carry out. In this he is assisted by imperialist collaborators and agent Communists who have dedicated themselves to attack Arab nationalism and strike at it. He comes forth with a fresh idea every day. He daily puts forward proposals and a speech. Forgetting for the moment the insults and stresses, he tries to deceive Arab nationalism and the Arab (nation).

At the beginning of the Iraqi revolution Qasim said that Iraq would liberate Palestine. We said: "Welcome. We will open our frontiers so that Iraq's army may advance and join the UAR army and stand with us on the frontier" [applause]. When Israel attacked us in Syria, we asked Iraq's and Arab's Qasim to send his army, but he ignored this appeal and request. It was then clear that such talk was but a repetition of what Nuri as-Sa'id used to say in the past in order to deceive and mislead the Arabs.

Then Iraq's Qasim came forward to say: "Why cannot we surprise Israel and save Palestine in 24 hours?" We said to him: "Welcome to Iraq's army in Syria, to work with us for the realisation of Arab aims." Subsequently, however, he came forward with a crooked idea, utterly without beginning or end [applause]. Iraq's Qasim said that Palestine had been occupied by Egypt and Israel, and that when we entered Palestine in 1948 and fought there for the rights of the people of Palestine and their freedom we simply occupied Palestine, just as Israel did. In this Abd al-Karim Qasim tried to justify what he had previously said, namely that when the battles were raging between our army and the Israeli army he used to go out for a walk along the front and, as he said, the Jews did not dare shoot at him or confront him. I think he would have liked us too to have gone for walks along the frontier, or to stand still there until Israel could occupy the whole of Palestine.

These crooked and false ideas are well known to the Arab people in every Arab country [applause]. We want to know this from Iraq's Qasim, the sinner against Iraq and all the Arabs, who declared that he wanted to leave the people of Palestine to liberate Palestine: How can the people of Palestine, sinner, liberate the people of Palestine. How can the people of Palestine, who were expelled from their homeland as the result of the activities of the imperialist collaborators and the orders of the imperialist collaborators which you obeyed when you were in Kafr Qasim, [do it]?

Qasim was in Kafr Qasim obeying the orders given by Abd al-Ilah, the Iraqi Regent, not to fight, and to leave Israel to fight the army of Egypt. We suffered losses, and had to do the greater part of the fighting. Iraq's Qasim of Iraq at that time did not move because he had orders not to fight. Now, brother citizens, he wants to deceive the Arab nation and wants to say that the Israeli gangs occupied Palestine, and also that the Egyptian gangs occupied part of Palestine. He wants us thereby to (?leave) the Gaza strip so that Israel can occupy it. And we all know about the crisis which occurred after Israel occupied Gaza in 1956, when it resorted to every means to prevent the Egyptian army from returning to Gaza. But we (?returned) to Gaza despite their determination. A serious crisis ensued, because they wanted Gaza at that time to remain weak and without protection, so that Israel could expand and annex it to its domains.

These are the false slogans and crooked ideas put forward by the sinner of Iraq, alias Iraq's and the Arabs' Qasim. He is now a Qasim of Iraq and of the Arabs, and a sinner against all the Arabs with the ideas by which he wants to deceive the Arab nation and defend his ugly crime. Iraq's Qasim of Iraq has come forward with the idea not of the making of Iraq's Qasim but one previously inspired by imperialism, and still inspired by it.

1	2	oms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref. FD 371150905		80427				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

ME/217/A/11

When we think of this rabid campaign, my brother citizens, which is emanating from Baghdad against the UAR, a campaign in which Iraq's Qasim collaborates with the agent Communists and the imperialist collaborators against Arab nationalism, we remember our past battles against Zionism and imperialist collaborators and imperialism. We also remember our battles against invasion and navies, and recall our past victories. We then say that we shall, God willing, triumph just as we did in the past, because we believe in principles and sublime ideas, and believe that we have a mission which we must fulfil [applause].

Brother citizens, your battle in Port Said was an illustrious example. Port Said sacrificed its children for Arab nationalism. It offered martyrs, and tasted hell from raids, aircraft and navies. All this, however, did not make Port Said or its people renounce their nationalism, Arabism, or principles. They emerged more determined and resolved.

Now, my brother citizens, we find our brothers in Iraq facing threats and persecution at the hands of the agent Communists and Iraq's Qasim. They face dragging to death and torture and all that man can conceive by such methods. But we believe that, with God's help they will come out of this tribulation more determined and resolved to attain victory for Arab nationalism and to raise its flag in the way it was raised here in Port Said.

Brother compatriots, these battles raging round us - these battles, to which we have become accustomed, against ourselves, our country, our freedom and against our nationalism - can in no way distract us from our great aim, and that aim is the reconstruction of our homeland. I have told you that we want to repay some of the debt to the victims who lost their lives in this country in the cause of the freedom of their country and of the consolidation of its independence. Our way, brother compatriots, to repay this good deed on their part and to acknowledge their sacrifice and to express our gratitude and appreciation to them is to build up our country, to sacrifice the greater portion of our time, and to sacrifice our sweat in the same way as they sacrificed their blood, for the sake of the building of our country and homeland. This, brothers, is our way. The battles around us will under no circumstances divert us from the continual reconstruction of our country in a solid, mighty, and strong form. We are marching on this road with all possible will, determination and faith.

From this place I told you, brother compatriots, last year that I had charged Baghdad to draft a plan for the increase of the national income and to draft a five-year plan. Today, brother compatriots, we are putting this plan into effect, we are subjecting it to a study for the purpose of doubling the national income in our homeland and country within a period of 10 years. This is a duty and a struggle for us. This, brother compatriots, is the major duty by which we can consolidate this independence and freedom. By the help and will of God we shall be able to double the national income within 10 years, and after this we shall redouble it in five years.

It is possible, brother compatriots, that some of us have come forward and said: Why have these burdens been imposed on us, this generation; the burdens of the independence, the consolidation of the independence, the nationalisation of the Canal, the defence of the Canal, the raising of the flag of Arab nationalism and the defence of that flag and its ideal, and in addition the burdens of reconstruction and doubling the [national] income in 10 years. It is possible that some of us have come forward and asked why this generation alone is bearing these great burdens.

However, I say to you, brothers, that my belief, which you confirm day after day, is that this people, a people who have faith in their right to freedom and life, are embarking on their great experiment in reconstruction with the willingness of a people with faith and determination; the willingness of a people who believe in recompensing themselves for the opportunities which our fathers and forefathers wished to fulfil but of which they were deprived. They are embarking on the experiment with the willingness of a people who believe in their responsibility and the commitments accompanying such responsibilities, and with the willingness of a people who wish to

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905			80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

MR/217/A/12

express their gratitude for the good deed of those who sacrificed themselves in the cause of independence and its consolidation.

It is a source of pride, brother compatriots, that the effects of the triumph which awaits us at the end of the present stage of our struggle for the reconstruction of our society will not be confined to us within our Republic but will extend to beyond the borders of our Republic. This triumph, brother compatriots, will be an inducement to the whole of our Arab area, the area which surrounds us, to build, reconstruct and develop itself. It will be, brother compatriots, an inducement by which we shall witness progress taking place in our country, and in the Arab area round us as well. Our victory in 1956, brother compatriots, was an inducement to a whole area and to all the Afro-Asian peoples, and similarly the new victory which we shall accomplish in building and reconstruction will be a great inducement and, indeed, it will have a great value which will affect us and affect the areas around us.

Brother compatriots, by embarking on this experiment and by taking upon ourselves the responsibility, we are presenting a proof of how deep-rooted Arab nationalism is, and of its ability to undertake reconstruction, and a proof that Arab nationalism, which represents the unity of the Arabs for their freedom and independence and for their development, is an original and constructive ideal. It is an ideal which progresses and develops and it represents a political revolution as well as a social revolution. Arab nationalism, whose slogan we have proclaimed, is an admission of our existence and a proclamation of the state in which we find ourselves. If Arab nationalism, brother compatriots, has proved in its political revolution that it is capable of achieving victory, and of fulfilling liberation for the Arab countries, followed by unity and co-operation, then Arab nationalism is also capable of achieving victory in the battles of reconstruction. Arab nationalism, which, by its political revolution, was able to wrest freedom from usurpers, is capable today, in the face of the challenge confronting it, of proving to the whole world that it has the ability to advance in its social revolution in the same way as it has advanced in its political revolution.

Arab nationalism is progressing in its social revolution. We, the UAR, the vanguard of Arab nationalism, march forward in our social revolution raising our slogan that we want to bring about the realization of a socialist, democratic co-operative society. We shall transform these slogans into production. We shall transform this social revolution into material realities and into facts to have faith in, into spiritual facts. My brother compatriots, as we triumphed in our battle for freedom and independence, to strengthen and consolidate this freedom and independence with martyrs and bloodshed, we shall triumph in our social battle for the development of our fatherland, for the construction of our country, for the creation of the socialist democratic society in which we believe with sweat and work.

We fought in the past and offered martyrs, sacrifices. We shall work in the future for the construction of this country and to prove to the world that Arab nationalism is a constructive movement, is a political and social revolution, is a revolution for freedom and independence and for work and construction, a revolution for principles, for supreme ideals, for the establishment of a society over which prosperity will spread its wings.

This is our nationalism which we believe to be the source of our strength. These are our principles which we believe to be the way to our social revolution.

Brother compatriots, it is opportune for Arab nationalism to prove that it possesses a belief, a belief derived from our hearts and our experience as well as from our past and present. It is not a belief imported from abroad, not imposed on us from without. It is a belief emanating from our soil, from our blood, spirit and hearts. We have announced, brother compatriots, that this belief is democratic co-operative socialism and that we shall all work for the development of our country in its social revolution. We shall all work to our utmost to develop this democratic co-operative socialism to meet society and its demands.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905		80487					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/217/A/13

Brother compatriots, after having struggled and fought, today we enter the battle of construction. As the United Arab Republic was fated to plunge alone - for the cause of Arab nationalism - into the battle of independence and to grasp freedom and to make sacrifices for this battle, it was imperative for us, it was imperative for this Republic to fight for Arab nationalism the social battle, the battle of social development as the political battle was fought. We shall make of our formidable firm and well-established belief, democratic co-operative socialism, a great victory, a social victory, as we did with the political victory. With our social victory we shall perpetuate that political victory which we attained in Port Said.

Brother compatriots, the new battle which you are facing today, the battle of social revolution, is a decisive battle in our history. I say that not because I believe that it is the final battle. I wish to speak frankly to you and tell you that our battles will always continue in order to be able to consolidate our independence, to protect our independence, to consolidate our political revolution and to be able to work for the social revolution and execute it. Brother compatriots, we shall always meet battles along our road. The road of development is endless. The road of development is the continuation of life and continues as long as life exists. We shall pave this road and follow it for our sons to come in order that they may be able to carry out the great principles, the principles in which we believe.

Brother compatriots, the progress of mankind provides us with unlimited openings. Our underdevelopment in the past will not have a great effect in hindering our present progress. We must start and we must succeed with determination, resolution and faith. Brother compatriots, we may meet some obstacles, but we should not let obstacles hinder us. Brother compatriots, our battle is the doubling of the national income in 10 years' time. We shall mobilise our strength for this. But, on the other hand, some people may say that the doubling of the national income in 10 years might have a serious effect on us. This might be said by some technicians. We must follow the revolutionary road in our social revolution as we did in our political revolution, otherwise we shall never be able to effect our social revolution and execute it. Brother compatriots, we listen to whatever is being said.

For example, in our meetings of the Council of Ministers we have reviewed whatever has been and is being said about industrialisation and the industrialisation programme during the past five years. We have reviewed what has been said with good intentions as well as what has been said with ill intentions. We all know that the first five-year plan for industry, which was announced in November 1957, needed ££304,000,000. We announced that we were going to carry out this programme in three years instead of five. From November 1957 until now, we have concluded contracts for factories to the value of ££225,000,000. Contracts covering the difference between these two figures, ££79,000,000, are in the process of being entered into. This means that we have succeeded in two years to effect the major part of the five-year plan.

Has this plan shown any effect up to now? Any project to be contracted needs time for concluding a contract, time for the import of machinery, time for construction. Therefore the effect of the five-year plan has not yet made itself felt, but this effect will become apparent in 1960, 1961, 1962 and 1963. Certain mistakes have been made; they are very small. Any country embarking on industrialisation is bound to make such mistakes. This, however, has made the uncommitted and the sceptics and those who are of the view that a speedy industrialisation of the country might be harmful, has made all those people build up certain theories and make assumptions.

Let us take the steel works as an example. We did not have steel works, but in a day and a night we possessed one of the most modern steel works in the world. No one could expect that a works established in a day and a night would be as good as works already operating in Germany for 100 years. In our case we need three months, six months, or even a year in order to be able to train workers and to develop our production. The fact remains that we have a steel works and workers working in it. There are certain shortcomings, but there is not a single steel works in the world which would not make such mistakes.

When discussing this matter at the meeting of the Council of Ministers, we found that these mistakes could be made good in two, three or four months. We can

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905		80457					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/217/A/14

make use of foreign experience in order to improve our skill. But the uncommitted and fearful misinterpret this and say that the steel works consisted of two furnaces, one in operation and one which has not yet been put into operation, and that this shows that the undertaking has not been unsuccessful. Some mistakes might have been made, and hence a delay. But we have today a steel industry, and in four months time there will be a complete steel industry.

Some of the whispers said that some of the officials spoke of the question of industrialisation and the lack of its progress. In the meetings of the Council of Ministers we discussed this. Those who attempt to say this do not substantiate their argument with evidence. Therefore they use the word officials in order to give the statement some significance. Of course it was proved at the meetings of the Council of Ministers that all this was nonsense and that no official had made any utterances to this effect. We were all attempting to thrash out the question, to economise, and to speed up the work. We found that we had fulfilled the major part of the five-year plan and concluded contracts to the value of £225,000,000 out of the £304,000,000 total. And the rest of the plan, amounting to £79,000,000, will be implemented before July, when the second five-year plan will start.

All the results of the first five-year plan have not yet become apparent because the factories and works need time for production and construction. These results will become apparent in 1960, 1961 and 1962. Despite the fact that the first five-year plan has not yet made itself felt, industrial production since the establishment of the revolution, that is to say since the beginning of 1953 to the end of 1958, has increased by 70 per cent. Also, production of electric power has increased by 70 per cent.

Enough of the results of the work for the first five-year plan. After all we are beginners and we cannot listen to the whisperers because they try to influence us, as do the faint-hearted, but must march on a direct route. When we said that we would fulfil the five-year plan in two years we did so despite the fact that we were subjected to an economic blockade and threats. Today when we say we shall double the national income in 10 years, by the will of God we will double the national income in 10 years and we will accomplish this social revolution.

At present we are studying the five-year plan so as to get it ready for implementation next July to double the national income within 10 years and to establish for ourselves a sound agriculture and industry. In the second five-year plan the industrial programme will receive a loan of about £423,000,000, and the programme for agricultural development in the five-year plan will receive a loan of about £450,000,000; under this programme 480,000 feddans will be improved in addition to 300,000 feddans in the Wadi al-Jadid, and this will be accomplished by 1964, before the [completion of the] High Dam. This land will be distributed to the peasants. We shall allocate a house to every peasant and we shall give him 10 feddans and a buffalo.

We are changing our country and we are changing our society because the power of our country will be [words drowned by applause]. This is our new plan for which we shall work, and this is our new struggle about which I told you that in the same way as we triumphed in the battle of freedom and independence we shall be able, with the help of God, to progress in the battle of reconstruction.

Brothers, we are doing the same thing in the northern region. Abd al-Hakim Amir arrived in the northern region and, of course, the enemies of Arab nationalism and our enemies started to spread rumours and propaganda and resorted to all the methods they resorted to in the past. Naturally we regard all this with contempt because we have already laid the foundations for what we are going to build and we know why Abd al-Hakim Amir went to Syria. Because we laid plans for a major project for the Syrian region which we wish to fulfil in a short period, and this is Abd al-Hakim Amir's main responsibility in Syria.

Following the social revolution and the political revolution in Syria it is our task now to unite the people in Syria, and thus the UAR through the unity of its sons can march forward to build and accomplish its political revolution and then consolidate this political revolution. After this it can go forward to build up the social revolution which is the second phase of the struggle.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/217/A/15

Today, brother compatriots, when we turn and look round we find that all the plots and the propaganda are directed against Syria. We find the collaborators of imperialism in the Arab countries, who during the aggression against Port Said were all merriment and celebrations, talking about Syria, about Arab nationalism and casting suspicion on Syria. These are the collaborators of imperialism. As for Zionism we find it, of course, speaking about Syria. We turn to the Communist agents, we find them also concentrating on Syria. We look at Iraq's Qasim and find his daily propaganda directed to Syria.

This is nothing new to the Syrian people, who have always believed in themselves and their nationalism. The Syrian people have always stood against these methods and invariably destroyed and defeated them. We shall see, brothers, that these plots, in which today are co-operating imperialism, the collaborators of imperialism, Zionism, Abd al-Karim Qasim and the Communist agents will have no effect on the Syrian people because they are fortified by awareness. As I said in the speech I delivered when I last visited Syria, I have no intention of speaking in detail, and I only intended to speak generally. But on that visit I found the Syrian people (word indistinct) to speak in detail and were familiar with the existing situation and knew who were plotting against them and were aware of the attitude of the Communist agents, of Abd Al-Karim Qasim and of the collaborators of imperialism and Zionism.

I announce to the enemies of Arab nationalism their disappointment in the campaign which they are launching against the UAR. I tell them that the vigilance of the people in Syria is a strong vigilance. In the past they had 11 radio stations; today they have 16 radio stations. These and Abd al-Karim Qasim will never and in no circumstances will have any effect.

Brothers, the people in Egypt and the people in Syria fought and struggled for Arab nationalism. They believed in Arab nationalism. They fought imperialism and the collaborators of imperialism. They exposed Nuri as-Sa'id. In three months they exposed Abd al-Karim Qasim and those collaborating with Abd al-Karim Qasim. Two months after the conspiracies of the Communist agents they exposed the Communist agents. They are vigilant people and cannot be taken in by lies. Moreover, they cannot be deceived by false slogans.

Abd al-Karim Qasim's radios talk day and night from Baghdad under the control of the Communist agents. They believe that the people in Syria are (being deceived), but I believe that their disappointment will be great because the people in Iraq will not be deceived by this. The people of Iraq will bring them to account in the future for their crimes and will bring to account the criminals, enemies of Arab nationalism, for their crimes against Arab nationalism.

Brothers, after the establishment of the UAR we had great responsibilities and much work. We knew that after the establishment of the UAR our battles would grow. The battles did grow, but what was the result? Where did those who stood against the UAR after the union go? They either went into oblivion or to the grave, or they retreated to atone their sins or to try to justify those sins.

For instance we hear Eden, the war criminal, who attacked Port Said, come out of his place of retirement, to speak and to try to present a big lie to deceive and mislead the world. He said that he intervened in order to separate the Israeli and the Egyptian armies and that the Israeli army had reached the Suez Canal. All the Arab world, and indeed the whole world, bears witness that this is a mean misrepresentation, because when Eden declared war against us the Jewish army was stuck in the mud opposite Abu Awayjilah on 31st October and was never able, according to the official Israeli communiques, to enter until after the Egyptian army's withdrawal from Sinai. According to the Israeli official statements about the war, the Jewish army did not enter Abu Awayjilah until the afternoon of Monday, and Eden had declared war against us on 31st October. From 29th October the Jews could not enter Abu Awayjilah, Rafah, Al-Arish or Gaza until after we decided to withdraw in order to save our army from destruction and from falling between the Jews and the imperialist countries, Britain and France.



1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371150905		80427					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/217/A/16

When Eden utters such words Eden is excused. But when Abd al-Karim Qasim stands up and utters such words, what shall we say? Abd al-Karim Qasim stands up and repeats these words, Eden's words (words indistinct) the Arab people, the Egyptian people and the Egyptian army. He repeats Eden's words in a mean and lowly way and tries to instil in the Arabs the spirit of defeat. If Eden utters these words we say Eden is excused, but if Abd al-Karim Qasim utters such words we say that this man has no genuine Arab blood running in his veins. We say that this man - who has disowned his Arabism and his nationalism, and who repeats Eden's and Ben Gurion's words and tries to reiterate Eden's words and the words of Zionism and tries to devote his broadcasts to disgracing the Egyptian army, which sacrificed thousands of officers and men - this man has lost every Arab virtue and every Arab principle.

He will not be able to deceive the people of the Republic. He will not be able to deceive the people of Iraq, because when the people of Iraq hear such words they will be utterly disgusted for they will see (agreement) between the words of Eden and the words of Abd al-Karim Qasim. They will also feel that every one of them is an enemy of the UAR. They feel that Abd al-Karim Qasim reiterates the same words which Israel reiterated about the Egyptian army, the Egyptian army and the battle of Port Said, which are the pride of the Arabs. Abd al-Karim Qasim, who during the Palestine war was taking a walk in front of the Jews, is now trying to talk against the Egyptian army and the battle of Port Said, which are the pride of the Arabs, and is trying to disgrace the UAR about it. Our battles were a pride for us and for the Arab nation, and a pride for Iraq too because we were fighting for ideals in which Iraq believed and in which the Arabs everywhere believed.

Today, brothers, as we face these battles we are arming ourselves with vigilance and faith. The fate of the collaborators, the collaborators of imperialism and the agents will be the same as of those who went before them into oblivion.

Today, as we face these battles we feel it necessary to unite if we want to be successful. We must unite. All the country must be united. No party representatives and no division, because party groupings and division were used in the past by the imperialists to place us within spheres of influence and to set us against our brothers. We must unite. Our triumph against the triple aggression was due to the unity of our country and the unity of all this people for their principles and high ideals. We shall succeed in our political revolution and we shall succeed in our social revolution. We shall succeed in strengthening Arab nationalism. We must unite and (word indistinct) division. We must not allow those who try by every means to disseminate sedition, division or party grouping to do so. Through unity we shall triumph with the help of God as we triumphed in the past.

Our road to unity is the National Union. The National Union is our medium through which we must form a union to unite the sons of this homeland. I have told you in the past that we have found that the single party expresses the domination of a small group of people and the monopoly of government by a small group of people and most of the people are deprived of such government. Five per cent in the single party are ruled by 10 per cent and the rest have no say but obey and perform their duties. As for a number of parties we have found out that they can place us in the present cold war and can divide the people in these battles.

Therefore we have declared that we support, or that we are setting up, the National Union on a democratic basis to represent all the sons of the people and to work for the preservation of the unity of the people. Any person working in a party outside this Union, or working for a foreign State, or who is an agent of a foreign State, is considered as having disowned his country. Anyone who wants to practise political life can do so within the National Union. Any other attempt to split the unity of the people is treason against this people. It is treason against us when we are on the road of our battles, and when we are engaged in one of our biggest battles. Moreover, it is treason against Arab nationalism. Indeed it is an expression of egotism and self-interest, and we must exterminate it by all means and ways.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371150905		80487				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

NE/217/A/17

We all know, brothers, that the National Union is the democratic organisation which will embrace us all and not enable political parties - parties which are in contact with foreign Powers - to work and operate on our soil and to become a means and an agent for the foreigner and to deceive us and make us come under spheres of influence. Our basis for this, brothers, is democracy. Democracy, brothers, is not the mere uttering of mottoes and slogans. Our democracy will be a social one as well as a political one, a democracy in which the majority of the people, if not all the people, will practise their full right. It will not be that democracy which used to be forged and imposed on us in the past in such a manner that the minority used to maintain their authority at the expense of the majority.

Indeed, there was a democracy, there was feudalism, there was a democracy, there was exploitation, there was democracy, there was occupation. My compatriots, it was impossible for us to believe that this was a democracy we wanted, because the democracy which we want and for which we work is a democracy free from economic exploitation as well as social and political exploitation. The democracy we want is a democracy which provides equal opportunities to all. It is a democracy under which we rid ourselves of feudalism and occupation. Indeed, we have rid ourselves of occupation and spheres of influence. We have rid ourselves of the effects of the past, feudalism and monopoly. We then started to build up this society with a view to effecting the realisation of the interests of this people. This is the true democracy. Democracy is not the false slogans which are being declared in Baghdad. That kind of democracy is a democracy of dragging people, a democracy of killing, a democracy of torturing, a democracy of imprisoning the innocent. These false slogans would not deceive any individual of the sons of the Arab nation.

We build our democracy on a foundation derived from our faith, our conscience. With this democracy we shall, God willing, triumph in our future battles. Brother compatriots, today we start a new year, we start a new era, an era of planning. The National Union is being formed and the people are being united and are demolishing division and partisanship, and are exposing the Communist agents and the collaborators of imperialism. The people are today fully alert; they listen to hostile radios, clandestine, Qasimite, Zionist, etc., and learn lessons from them.

The High Dam project, for which we have fought and made sacrifices, will be started in a fortnight's time [applause]. The industrialisation programme will start to yield its fruit as from 1960. The conclusion of the plan will be started next July or even before. The National Assembly is on its way to formation. Virgin land is now being reclaimed and given to the poor farmers. The Canal is being widened in our own interest and the interest of those round us and of the whole world. We receive loans from all States ready to give them to us without conditions. We have received loans from the World Bank; we have received loans from Russia, Germany and Japan. Any State which is prepared to give us a loan we receive with gratitude because these loans will help us in our social progress. Our confidence in ourselves, thanks to God, our confidence in Almighty God, homeland, are all complete. We now have experience which will make such a confidence strong. Our confidence in Arab nationalism, despite what they are doing, will never be shaken. We shall never deny or disbelieve in Arab nationalism [applause].

The attempt by imperialism, Zionism and imperialist supporters to use Arab agents with a view to making us disbelieve in and deny Arab nationalism will never succeed. We shall never deny Arab nationalism. We tell them always: You have your own religion and we have ours. Every day that passes makes our faith in Arab nationalism stronger. When the imperialists fail, they bring forward their supporters and collaborators with a view to making people fall into despair. Today they have produced Abd al-Karim Qasim and his like in order to make the Arab people dislike Arab nationalism and abandon it. However, we shall never do that or weary of our nationalism. We are resolved on Arab nationalism, and we shall be even more determined on Arab nationalism and Arab unity. And what they are doing will make us even keener to work for Arab nationalism. The national base and foundation is firm and well-established.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905		80427					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/217/A/19

We - unlike Abd al-Karim Qasim, who is about 1,000 miles from the Israeli frontiers - who have frontiers with Israel must be prepared all the time to face aggression and plots which may be directed against us. We must also face their manoeuvres in the UN, their political tricks, ambitions and attempts to seize the Arab waters of the Jordan. We must also be prepared to face their attempt not to recognise the rights of the people of Palestine. Only yesterday the Israeli Foreign Minister was very angry because the International Bank gave us a loan to widen the Suez Canal. She says that the loan was an encouragement in the attempt not to uphold international principles. Today we tell them that they will never pass through the Suez Canal [applause]. We regard this as part of the Palestine problem. The usurped rights of the Palestine people which were recognised by the UN are bound to return to the people of Palestine, whose land, property and country were usurped. Our ability to achieve this is not measured by the number of words we utter about it but by the real strength we attain.

Abd al-Karim Qasim, who cannot leave his prison in the Defence Ministry, speaks about Palestine, which is separated from him by 1,000 miles, but when the Jews commit aggression against us he does not reply. He, who dares not leave the Defence Ministry and goes outside Baghdad - he has not visited any Iraqi town - laughs at the Arabs and tries to mislead the Arab peoples, but the Arab peoples have heard a great deal of this sort of big talk. When he liberates himself from the Defence Ministry and can move in Baghdad, when he liberates himself from Baghdad and can tour Iraq, then he can talk about liberating the Arabs, Palestine, Syria or Egypt, as he says. I cannot imagine that a man imprisoned in the Defence Ministry, where he sits in fear, can say that he will liberate everyone from oppression, repression and such-like empty words [applause].

We have heard such ideas daily and have been amused by them. We are watching to see what examples he sets which will be recorded in history. All we wish Abd al-Karim Qasim is that God may restore to him his reason [word drowned by applause] and bring him back to the straight and sound path. He imagines that we are plotting against him. Of course this is unfounded. When God restores his reason for him, when he follows the Arab and national path and when he belongs to the Arabs, not to the enemies of the Arabs, there can be no reason for dispute between us and him. He imagines that he can achieve what Nuri as-Sa'id failed to achieve in destroying Arab nationalism. But he can in no way achieve this. He says that he will liberate us. All we wish to say is: Liberate yourself from the prison in the Defence Ministry and go for a breath of fresh air in Baghdad [cheers], or outside Baghdad.

Brothers, our ability to recover our rights cannot be measured by words but by the sources of real strength and by the efficacy of these words and their influence in the international field. Today, while we are facing the empty words broadcast by Abd al-Karim Qasim, Baghdad radio and the clandestine stations and imperialist trickery, we arm ourselves with vigilance and forge ahead in order to build this homeland and then to realise the sources of strength so that we may translate our words into action.

Qasim's Address to 19th Brigade

Baghdad home service 20.50 GMT 23.12.59 (recorded)

Text of speech by Maj-Gen. Qasim at party given in his honour by 19th Brigade in Baghdad:

Peace be with you, people [applause] peace be with you, faithful soldiers [applause], NCO's [applause], brave officers [applause] and faithful servants of this brave army [applause]. I am always pleased to be among you [applause]. You, members of the army, know the extent of my happiness and pleasure when I am among you [applause]. I am part of you, and my existence is part of your existence [applause]. This army, this brave army, was chosen by God, in these conditions and in the era of the glorious Iraqi Republic [applause] to be free and liberated, to serve all the people [applause] and to defend this homeland, to defend the soil of this homeland, and every inch of this homeland which is dear to us [applause].

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet							

ME/217/A/18

We have reached an agreement with the Sudan on the pending questions and the problems which existed between the two sister peoples as a result of imperialist activities. We have indeed effected a great hope which was long desired by the people in the UAR and the people in the Sudan.

Brothers, now a new world is in the melting pot. Round us we are witnessing opportunities for peace and attempts for peace. We see that the two disputing camps are attempting to eliminate the cold war. Khrushchev's visit to the USA and Eisenhower was welcomed by us. In this visit we find an attempt to establish peace. The attempt to end the cold war between Russia and the USA will benefit the world and mankind as a whole. We also welcome Eisenhower's visits to other States because we see in them an attempt for peace, and an attempt to become acquainted with the issues. We have always aimed at peace because we have suffered from aggression. Therefore we encourage any work for peace, and the putting of an end to the cold war. Our relations with other States are based on friendship. We do not want to be the enemy of any State. We make peace with those who wish to make peace with us, and are hostile to those who wish to be hostile to us [applause].

We want our relations with the Soviet Union to be good and friendly. From the first day of our relationship with the Soviet Union ~~it was clear to us and to them~~ that we differed from them ideologically. They have their own ideology and we have our own. But this ideological difference should not stand as an obstacle in the path of co-operation and friendship between the two peoples. We have not changed our attitude, and our policy remains as before. Anyone seeking our friendship will find a similar desire for friendship. We desire such a friendship with the Soviet Union.

We also welcome friendship with the USA. We have never changed our policy in any way. It remains based on complete independence, non-participation in spheres of influence, positive neutrality and non-alignment. But if the USA, which was hostile to us in the past - and we were naturally hostile to it - has now found that it should pursue towards us a peaceful and friendly policy, we welcome it.

If Britain, which committed aggression against us and inflicted on us wounds, wants to offer us sincere friendship free from the old methods, of which we and they are familiar, we say to it that we are prepared to forget the past and to begin a new era which is built on a foundation of equality. As in the past our policy will continue in the future to be hostile to those who are hostile to us and to befriend those who befriend us.

But, brothers, we must feel that peace should in no way mean that imperialism should continue to dominate peoples such as those of Algeria. I do not want to speak about Algeria and what we have done for Algeria. Of course I consider this unbecoming. However Abd al-Karim Qasim says every day that he is helping the Algerians and that the UAR is not. All right, you help Algeria but we do not. But is there anyone in the Arab world who will believe Abd al-Karim Qasim's words. Will anyone in the Arab world forget the incident of the ship in 1956 which was seized and is still detained by France? We consider it in the interests of the Algerian people not to say anything about what we do, and we do not divulge anything regarding the Algerian people, Arab questions or any other questions where secrecy is essential. He [Qasim] of course talks to the air and in the wilderness, and he cannot in any way find anyone who praises his twisted ideas.

When we talk about peace we say that peace means that the Arab world must liberate itself and that the African peoples, who have suffered, must be liberated also. We have a role to play in this. There can be no peace while there is imperialism, killing, domination and bloodshed. Today, while we see the world taking a new step to eliminate the cold war, we say to the world that we welcome this, but imperialism, domination and (killing) must be eliminated too.

Of course there are attempts to dent the Afro-Asian solidarity in which Israel takes part. But at the same time there have always been other attempts to strengthen Arab nationalism and Afro-Asian solidarity. These attempts continue. We think we must make great efforts to consolidate our Arab nationalism and Afro-Asian solidarity. At the same time we must be prepared to face Zionism and its malice.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80427		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet						

IV - THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

11.00 GMT 23.12.59 - 11.00 GMT 27.12.59

Nasir's Port Said Speech The relay by Cairo radio in the home service and the "Voice of the Arabs" on 23rd December of Nasir's three-hour speech in Port Said\*, began at 14.55 GMT, following earlier relays of the "Victory Day" celebrations. Reviewing the Arabs' struggles against imperialism and Israel, Nasir said that a third antagonist, communism, had now appeared. He repeatedly mentioned Qasim, denouncing him for co-operating with communism to divide the Arabs, for his Fertile Crescent project and for his broadcasts. He said that Eden could be excused for what he had said about the Sinai campaign but that Qasim, who had echoed Eden's words, could not.

UAR radio comment on succeeding days was based largely on Nasir's speech, or was replaced by lengthy summaries or recordings of the speech. "Voice of the Arabs" broadcasts for the "Arab Gulf" and the "South of the Arabian Peninsula" on 25th December held up Port Said as an example to the peoples of those areas.

In a Baghdad radio commentary on 24th December Muhammad Adil said that Nasir had demonstrated in his speech that he had run out of words to hurl at Iraq. Nasir, he said, was two-faced, one turned towards imperialism and the other towards the people; even his revolution had been supported by the British and the Americans. Nasir was also criticised in Baghdad radio's "Voice of the UAR" programme (see No.216), on 24th December for his promises to farmers, and on 25th December for his explanation of the steel works failure, his presentation of the Palestine "tragedy" and his attacks on Qasim.

On 23rd December Tel Aviv radio devoted three minutes of its "Radio Newsreel" to recordings of extracts of Nasir's speech with Hebrew translations. On 24th December 'Haboker' and 'Hatsofeh' were reported to have found little significance in the fact that Nasir had "shown some restraint in his statements about Israel".

Iraqi-Iranian Relations Baghdad radio broadcast a speech by Qasim made on 23rd December to the 19th Brigade\*. His main theme was the growing strength of the Iraqi army and its ability to teach aggressors "a good lesson". Iran, he said, was recklessly letting itself be pushed towards aggression by border trespasses and cutting off water from Iraq's frontier areas. Iraq was prepared to resort to the UN, he added, but if necessary would "crush Iran as well as the one who pushes it"; furthermore, the Iranian people would crush the "sinful Government" which wanted to attack Iraq. Other Baghdad broadcasts on the border dispute\* included an Iraqi News Agency denial of Iraqi troop concentrations in Amarah, and an 'Ittihad ash-Sha'b' article discerning a concerted imperialist plan to catch Iraq in a vice between Iran, the UAR and Jordan.

Tehran radio in Arabic quoted Iranian press comment\* accusing the "so-called National Voice of Iran" of supporting the "evil, tales" of Baghdad radio, and denouncing Qasim for bringing bloodshed and communism to the Iraqi people. In the series on Iranian-Iraqi relations, a commentary in Arabic\* said that Iran relied on international documents in its case in connection with the Shatt al-Arab. Another commentary in the same series in the home service\* said that Iraq was filled with Soviet oil experts, who might easily be spies, and that Qasim's Government, as soon as it came into power, had announced its intention of not altering the oil agreement with the IPC. In view of these developments, was it the Iranian or the Iraqi Government which was the imperialists' lackey, the commentator asked.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905		80427				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

IV/11

The Baghdad Trial Baghdad radio announced on 25th December that the trial of those accused of being concerned in the plot against Qasim's life would be "relayed as usual by the Iraqi Republic's radio and television network". The relay of the court's first session\*\*, on 26th December, began at 14,00 GMT and ended at 21,05 GMT when Mahdawi ordered an adjournment until 14,00 GMT on 27th December.

Cairo radio's news bulletins on 26th December publicised the opening of the trial. Throughout the period under review, Cairo radio continued its attacks on Qasim and Mahdawi, particularly in connection with the trial.

Baghdad Radio's "Voice of the UAR" This programme (see No.216) was broadcast on 23rd, 24th and 25th December. Besides commenting on Nasir's speech (above), it contained a number of commentaries and reports of press articles attacking various aspects of his policy. On 25th December the programme concluded with an announcement that the "Voice of the UAR" was supervised and produced by Muhammad Adil.

\* For further details see Appendices

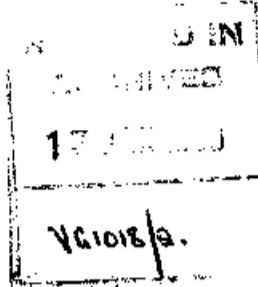
\*\* Details to be reported in the Weekly Supplement

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905				80487			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SWB 229 of Jan. 11.

ME/229/A/1

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL



Nasir's Speech at High Dam Inauguration

Cairo home service 11.13 GMT 9.1.60 (live)

Text of Jamal Abd an-Nasir's speech at the inauguration of the first stage of the High Dam at Aswan:

Citizens [applause], thank God, this is the High Dam, your High Dam, for which you have waited long and worked much. This is the High Dam for which the entire Arab nation, with its various peoples, is struggling to see realised. It pleases me and pleases us all to have this occasion, which is dear to our hearts, shared with us by HM King Muhammad V [applause, and cheers for Shukri al-Quwatli, Arab nationalism, and King Muhammad], the King of the sister Moroccan Kingdom which has struggled, under his leadership, for its independence, freedom and integrity and has been able, under his leadership, to attain freedom, integrity and independence [applause].

Brothers, this is the High Dam because of which battles were fought and for which heroes fought. This is the High Dam which has witnessed all this struggle and deserved all this struggle - not only because of its intrinsic value but also because of its meaning as a symbol of the determination of the entire Arab nation to develop its big, liberated homeland [applause].

Brothers, those who have fought to realise the aspiration, and who struggled to turn hope into reality, and those who have not been frightened by fire and steel, have not done all this merely to gain one or two million feddans from the desert or merely to have 10 million kilowatts of electricity. They have done all this to realise their independent will, which they extricated from the clasp of oppression, occupation, tyranny and domination [applause].

Brothers, there is no doubt that the new land we shall acquire through the High Dam is a very important objective. There is also no doubt that the electric power we shall obtain by means of the High Dam is another very important objective. But the greatest value of the High Dam is its worth in determination and will. Its greatest value lies in its being the determination which this people maintained after they had found and understood their road, become set on it and decided that it should be the road of dignity and honour, without weakness, illusions or desertion.

I remember, brother citizens, when the Canal was nationalised in 1956 [applause], when many obstacles stood in the way of our building the High Dam, and when I spoke to you in Alexandria; I remember having told you on that occasion that we would build the High Dam but that before doing so we should build the dam of dignity, freedom and honour, after which our aspiration was bound to be realised and the High Dam to be built.

Brother citizens, you have built the dam of dignity, freedom and honour with your struggle, fighting, patience, determination and will and by not fearing the big States and all their threats. You have triumphed in the battle of building the dam of dignity, freedom and honour [applause]. Today, brothers, you triumph in building the High Dam. Aims which are not achieved by means of dignity and honour are not worthy of the toil of struggle. The road we take in order to achieve our aims must coincide with the majesty of these aims.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref. No.		FD 371/150905		80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/229/A/2

In their great determination to succeed, our Arab people have chosen the most difficult road not because it is the most difficult but because it is the most honest and straightforward and it accords with the ends we are seeking. Its greatest value is that it represents a will, a will which was liberated by its possessors, who then honoured it and determined to follow it. They determined to convert this freedom into an active, continuous and flaming energy. After its liberation they did not allow it to stagnate. They guided it and it guided them in setting the greatest record in the history of the Arab struggle and in facing the era of construction and remaking their lives on a satisfactory basis, after they had for so long sustained a life imposed on them by internal and foreign domination - exploitative internal domination, oppressive foreign domination.

Its greatest value, brothers, is that it was with this determination that we built our power of resistance. We triumphed and proved that we could withstand storms. We withstood storms, lived through them and lived after them. We withstood aggression, lived through it, and lived after it to achieve the aim we were determined to achieve, and to develop ourselves during the second half of the 20th century through the means proper to the second half of the 20th century. This, brothers, is the greatest value of the High Dam for the whole Arab nation.

Peoples erect monuments to immortalise their great victories. We consider the High Dam a monument representing the Arab battle and the surge of Arab nationalism towards the fulfilment of its historic and human roles. It is a memorial which, in its magnitude, benefits and effects, accords with the greatness of the nation which has established it. It is a living, creative memorial and not just a mute stone upon which flowers are thrown on occasion. It is a new and self-reviving life; a driving, developing force; an aid, a potentiality, and a support in long battles over a long road, for the achievement of the great Arab aims.

It is a continuous driving force which reminds our nation that nothing is unattainable if we have the determination and will to attain it. We are confident that this High Dam will be a driving force for nations other than our Arab nation - many nations in Africa, from the heart of which flows this great Nile, and nations in Asia, into which our triumphant UAR extends.

I remember, brother citizens, when we were facing obstacles to the building of the High Dam - when it appeared to all the world that we could not build this dam, which we had announced we were determined to build; when I informed you of this and asked that all of us should offer our blood, sweat and souls for the attainment of this target; when I told you that we must depend on ourselves, our will and our power.

While we were confronting this gloomy picture, hope was filling the heart of this people. When I finished that speech, there were great cheers among the masses of people in Alexandria, in Cairo and in every town I arrived at or visited while on my way from Alexandria to Cairo. Those great cheers were simply an expression of a hope, of determination and will. Every individual everywhere and all the people were shouting from the bottom of their hearts: "We shall build this dam". It has become a national slogan and even a national song: "We shall build the dam, we shall build the dam with our arms and our hearts" [cheers].

Today, brothers, this hope comes true. Today, brothers, when I speak of the triumphant Arab Republic I mean that your hopes have triumphed, your determination has triumphed. The high spirit with which you have faced these difficult days and with which you have faced threats and blockade - this spirit, today, is reaping its rewards. Today, in this place, in the extreme south of the UAR southern region, it has found the symbol of its realisation, of its determination, and its will. It sees this symbol in the building of the High Dam [applause].

Brother citizens, this work, as I told you, has a great meaning. It signifies that no matter how small nations are they can do great deeds. They can perform such great acts if their will is united, if they take a decision and struggle to attain their targets. By this great action, brothers, by this patience, determination and struggle, you have given the entire world an example that small nations can put their will into force despite the wishes of the great Powers and foreign treachery and arbitrariness. If small States resolve to sacrifice souls and blood for the sake of their major objectives, they can attain these



1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905				80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

NE/229/A/3

objectives despite fleets, aircraft, aggression, threats and blockade, and despite the black atmosphere all round them.

By our patience struggle and determination to put our will into force we have been able to dissipate their darkness, put an end to the aggression, go ahead on our way and see the great target for which we have worked appear and enter into reality. This, brothers, is simply an example to all States in all parts of the world.

The High Dam being built today is a permanent beacon for all States in Africa and Asia, one which will always remind them that small nations, no matter how few atomic, destructive weapons they possess, can always achieve great constructive acts and can, if necessary, dig their road with their finger nails. They can dig this road even through rock. Our people, brothers who are not the strongest nation in arms nor the richest in funds, are able to build the greatest dam in the world and in history and to do this in extremely difficult circumstances and amid dangers which have included a most severe and violent armed battle.

When our people bore arms, persisted in fighting and were victorious, other attempts were made, brothers, to defeat them; attempts to blockade them, in order to bring about what weapons had not been able to achieve. Perhaps starvation, brothers, would weaken their determination, and perhaps starvation would succeed where arms had failed. But this small nation was able to win the war of weapons and compel the aggressive forces to withdraw in defeat with flags at half mast. They were also able to triumph in the war of starvation and in that most rigorous period to take the first steps towards industrialisation.

All of us know, brother citizens, that we decided, while facing blockade and a war of starvation, to begin the five-year plan for industrialisation. We decided to invest ££303,000,000 for industry; we decided despite these circumstances surrounding us and which were appearing around us - the economic blockade, the freezing of our funds, the conditions of starvation and pressure - that we could reduce the period of the five-year plan so that it could finish in two years.

Despite all this, we were able to triumph and put our will into force because our will had been freed and because we had actually built the high dam of dignity, freedom and honour [applause]. We were able, in those days, to go ahead with industrialisation: threats could not intimidate us, nor could blockade or starvation. In that period, which was the most severe for our nation, we were able to carry out the greatest acts, and to advance on our way towards the great target - the High Dam.

We followed, brother citizens, the course of setting up a basically liberated economy on the strongest pillars. Neither threats nor aggression frightened us or dissuaded us from deciding to put our will and determination into force, so that our economy could be a free, national and sound Arab economy.

We Arabised the foreign companies which were controlling our economy, we Arabised banks and even nationalised them. We Arabised insurance companies and nationalised them. Then the national economy in these difficult days - the economy controlled by the foreigner - became a national economy emanating from the will of this people. We went on, in those difficult days during which we were struggling for our freedom, to fight for freedom and independence, to repel aggression and defeat aggressors, and later to build a strong, national, Arab, liberated economy. We were also looking ahead to ensure that this dam, for which battles had taken place, should become an established fact.

Today, brothers, we have a right to be proud. We were able to achieve independence, strengthen it, and at the same time put an end to aggression - aggression by big Powers. We were able to go ahead with our industrialisation programme. We were able to establish a national Arab, liberated economy and also able to make progress in developing our country. Today, brothers, we see that we have attained the target which we hoped to attain in the year 1956. Today we see that we have brought into reality the High Dam - this huge building, the gigantic building, the building which is an expression of the victory of your will and your desire.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905			80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

ME/229/A/4

By this, brothers, the people have triumphed. They have triumphed for themselves, their nation and many other nations in Africa and Asia which are facing the great battle for freedom and construction. They too have triumphed in many battles that are being waged throughout the Arab world to preserve nationalism and safeguard the rights of freedom and life. These battles extend from the Arab Gulf to the Arab Maghrib; from Oman in the Arab Gulf to Algeria in Arab Maghrib.

These are battles for which you too have fought and the standard of which you have always carried. You have always proclaimed your support for the Arab sons engaged in these battles - by offering your blood, prosperity and lives. These battles, which extend to Arab Palestine, are to safeguard Arab nationalism against collapse and ruin. Every member of this people knows that these battles are his battle. Any battle in any part of the Arab nation is our battle, that of every one of us.

Through this unity and solidarity, brothers, we can triumph. We shall never forget that the Arab peoples throughout the Arab world, from the Arab Gulf to the Atlantic, have supported us in our struggle and stood at our side. Every member of the Arab nation felt that the battle was his. I heartily believe, brother citizens, that every member of the Arab nation throughout the Arab world now feels that the construction of this dam is a victory for him, for his own determination and struggle, and for his support of the WAR people when they were withstanding aggression and fighting the economic blockade, and were determined to continue their struggle until victory [applause].

Brother citizens, this is the great value of the High Dam, its significance to the WAR people, the whole Arab nation and the Afro-Asian nations. Today we are celebrating the start of the High Dam's construction, in self-content devoid of any bragging or boasting. We are celebrating with a satisfaction that will lead us to greater steps. Our movement is unaffected by fancy or conceit. We are celebrating for ourselves and for those before whom the High Dam will remain as an immortal model.

We are celebrating this, brothers, while sincerely expressing gratitude and appreciation for the assistance offered us in the building of the Dam. We celebrate this day without harbouring hatred for those who fought against us, for they have given us the opportunity to triumph to win a victory that depended solely upon ourselves. It was our determination to build the Dam in our liberated country, and it is our determination to pursue the path we wish for ourselves. While celebrating the construction of the High Dam, brothers, we should render acknowledgements to the State which agreed to assist us in this project by offering a loan and technical assistance for it - the Soviet Union [applause].

The Soviet Union's assistance by its offer of a loan for the construction of the first stage of the High Dam and of technical help with the construction has been sincere aid to which no strings were attached, assistance dictated by the friendship and amity which link the Arab and the Soviet peoples. It was most sincere assistance, unconditional and free of any pressure. May I take this opportunity to extend to you, on behalf of the Government and myself, gratitude to the people and Government of the Soviet Union for this assistance [applause].

I wish to express appreciation for the Soviet technicians working with us in this project and for their co-operation with their Arab fellow-engineers on the basis of friendship, amity, and determination to complete the project within the shortest possible period. May I also take this opportunity of expressing the appreciation of all of us to Arab engineers and workers who have commenced work on this Dam and who will be employed thus until it comes into operation and has been completed. All the Arab peoples, all of us, look upon them with appreciation, sincerity and gratitude. I take this opportunity to express thanks and appreciation to them [applause].

Brother citizens, the world today is passing through a decisive stage in history. It is proceeding towards peace and harmony, and towards consideration for the States which opportunity had formerly passed by. We have contributed to the creation of this atmosphere. We have affirmed by our determination and will that the policy of force which prevailed in the 19th century cannot succeed in the 20th century. We established this by our resistance to the triple aggression against our country, and by our determination, our determination to build the High Dam.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/229/A/5

The small nations cannot be defeated if their will is united and their resolution firm. You have been united in your will and sincere in your determination to defend your country's freedom. You have indeed defended your country against aggression and invasion. You have triumphed and you have been united in voice and in determination to build the High Dam, in whose construction we have encountered all sorts of obstacles. Your will has triumphed, and here you are now building the High Dam. Therefore, brother citizens, you have laid down a new principle in the 20th century. This principle is that the small nations cannot in any way relinquish their free will or give up their resolution. They will, moreover, proceed with their determination to the end, and achieve their aspirations.

The methods used in the 19th century for the domination of one State over another - a big Power over a small State - are outworn. No people, however limited their weapons, can accept them. In defending your freedom, brothers, you have set an example of how small nations defend their freedom. You have also demonstrated, brothers, by your determination to build this Dam, how nations can carry out their will.

Today, while we are facing this new phase in the history of mankind and the whole world, today, while we are awaiting a world summit conference, we believe that we have laid down and founded a great sublime principle, that is that the small States shall proceed in their course and endeavour to develop their economy. Today, brothers, we feel proud that the big Powers have begun to realise that these States will never submit, accept domination or exploitation, or agree to remain within the spheres of influence, or to remain a source of raw materials. They wish to take their proper place in the world and consequently in life.

We have established this now. We feel that all States are adopting this lesson, which we have set before the whole world in our struggle for freedom and for the construction of the High Dam. It is a lesson for the achievement of which we have offered up martyrs and sacrifices. Nevertheless, we feel that by this lesson we have served all humanity. The parts of all humanity complement each other and are linked together. There should be no distinction or discrimination among the peoples. The right to development and for a prosperous life should not be accorded to certain peoples while others are being deprived of it. Today we feel proud that we have fought, and have proved to the whole world this great lesson. We shall proceed in our path relying upon God and our unity and ourselves. May God grant you success, and peace and mercy be upon you.

Arab Palestine Committee's Memorandum to Arab League States

Baghdad home service 14.30 GMT 8.1.60

Text of "memorandum sent to the Arab League member States by the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine, dated 9th November 1959":

His Excellency the honourable Foreign Minister of the Iraqi Republic, Baghdad:

Peace be with you. The cause of Palestine is going through a delicate stage these days. The enemies are exerting all their efforts in an attempt to liquidate it and wipe out all trace of its Arab populace, as is evident from the web of plots which they are still hatching against the Arabs. They are seizing every opportunity of carrying out these plots, whether at the present session of the UN General Assembly or at the forthcoming international conferences, including the summit conference. Britain, for instance, is insisting on putting Middle East problems on its agenda.

The statement recently made by the American Secretary of State calling on the Arabs to negotiate with the Jews with an eye to liquidating the state of tension arising from the Palestine problem, the statements from time to time that the subsidies to UNRWA are running short and will eventually be exhausted, the brutal maltreatment of the Arabs in occupied Palestine, Ben Gurion's recent statement during the election campaign that both banks of the Jordan must be merged with the Jewish State, and many other statements, present the Arabs with fresh evidence of the imperialist-Zionist designs for the liquidation of the Palestinian problem.

1980

V  
 LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG. 1018/3

FROM Mr. S. S. Shaw  
 Cairo.

SUBJECT: EGYPT

*Restricted*

*Press conference given by NASSER to German journalists who accompanied Professor ERHARD on January 25.*

No. 17 Incoming.  
 Dated January 28.  
 Received February 1.

1018

References

MINUTES

This seems quite a candid and revealing interview. Note particularly the references to aid from all quarters (para 2); the preference for loans rather than investment of foreign private capital (para 3); the Qattara Depression (para 6); and the denial that any agreement had been reached between Mr. Hammarskjöld and Dr. Fawzi about Israeli cargoes (para 10).

(Printing Instructions)

*Minutes*  
 (R. Arculus)  
 February 1, 1960.

(Outward Action)

Mr. Tesh (Para 10) *2/2*  
 E.R.D. (paras 2 - 6, 8) *2/2*  
 Eastern Dept. (Para 11) *2/2*  
 Western Dept. (Para 13) *2/2*  
 F.O.R.D. (M.E.) *2/2*  
*10.29/2.*

*§2 Doubting the N.I. means v. little unless related to population growth.*

*2/3*

*2/2.*

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

*1961 11.2.60.*

*23 5/61*

*-19.*

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

ADVANCE COPY

CB

RESTRICTED

OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

By Bag

From G.T. Crowe

No. 17 Saving  
January 28, 1960.

RESTRICTED

On January 25 President Nasser gave a long press conference for the German journalists accompanying Professor Erhard. The full text of the questions and answers was published in the Cairo press on January 27. The president said little that was new; but since his replies constitute a fairly full account of his current philosophy at home and abroad, the following summary of what he said may be useful.

Economic and Social

2. The President said that the U.A.R. aimed to double the national income in ten years: the first five year plan would begin next July. They must invest £E400 million in industry and £K450 million in agriculture. So they needed co-operation with Germany: indeed they could not achieve their aim without the support and co-operation of developed countries "such as the Soviet Union, Germany, Britain and the United States".

3. The U.A.R. needed foreign capital, but they preferred loans to private investment. Foreign investment meant paying interest for ever - they had had bitter experience of this in the past, especially with the Suez Canal Company - but foreign loans were ultimately paid off, and that was that. However, they were not entirely against foreign investment, especially where they needed technical help to run a concern, as for instance with iron and steel works and pharmaceutical factories. A law of 1953 gave guarantees for such investments.

4. They must be rid of the social and economic exploitation which they had inherited from the imperialists and feudalists: hence agricultural reform and the strengthening of the Government interest in commerce and industry. No economy was absolutely free, for Government must step in to avoid monopoly.

The High Dam, the Soviet Union, and the West

5. The U.A.R. Government were determined to build the High Dam. When they gave the work to the Soviet Union, some people said it was a move against Germany. This was wrong: it was for the

/benefit

RESTRICTED

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905		80487					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

RESTRICTED

benefit of the U.A.R., not a move against another country. The Soviet Union had made an offer: the Germans had not. Foreign newspapers were always saying that either the Soviet Union or the West had gained ground in the U.A.R. They were wrong: it was the U.A.R. that made gains.

The Gattara Depression

6. This would provide electricity for the Delta: power from the High Dam would reach Cairo only. The President said that he had mentioned the project in general terms in his discussion with Dr. Erhard.

European Economic Community

7. The President indicated his dislike of this in somewhat obscure terms, referring to the membership of "colonial powers like France" who had opportunities, based on the very existence of colonialism, to obtain raw materials, such as cotton, from their colonies.

Syria

8. Here too there were big development plans in agriculture, irrigation, industry, petroleum, and communications. Again, the aim was to double the national income. Foreign press speculations about Amer's appointment had been an organised plan "for which many newspapers and broadcasting stations fell unwittingly". Amer's job was to speed up reform and development and to organise the National Union. The U.A.R. was one country, not a federation. The recent resignations of Syrian Ministers had no special significance.

The National Union

9. Parties in the U.A.R., and in the area as a whole, were no good. Some would be supported by colonial powers, others by the communists, and nationalists would suffer as a result. No parties with foreign support should take over power. The National Union was founded to give an opportunity to nationalists to build up the country. It was not a system of monopoly by one party: it embraced all the people.

Palestine

10. The President repeated his usual thesis that the passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal was not a question of freedom of navigation, but part of the whole Palestine problem. Israel ignored the United Nations resolutions she did not like: she wanted to take everything and give nothing. The ships at present detained in Port Said could unload their cargo, which was the property of the people of Palestine, and return at any time. The President categorically denied that any agreement had been reached between Mr. Hammarskjöld and Dr. Fawzi that Israeli cargoes could pass through the Canal provided that they were f.o.b. or c.i.f. as appropriate.

/Iraq

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905			80487			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

RESTRICTED

Iraq

11. Relations between the U.A.R. and Iraq were like those between brothers, who disagreed sometimes but must come together in the end. Asked whether he still hoped to reach agreement with the Iraqi Government, the President replied "I think nothing is impossible. Inshallah!"

An Arab Summit

12. The President said that he had not had any contacts with other Arab governments about a meeting with heads of Arab states, nor had he discussed this question with the King of Morocco.

East Germany

13. Asked whether he intended to establish a U.A.R. Consulate in East Berlin, the President replied that he thought the West Germans had made an unnecessary fuss about this question, but that it had now been settled. He did not see much difference between having a D.D.R. Consulate in Cairo and a U.A.R. Consulate in East Berlin. The U.A.R. wanted to strengthen friendly relations with West Germany, and had made it clear that their action in this matter was not intended to harm the Federal Republic.

RESTRICTED

7030

V  
 LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG. 1018/4.

FROM Chancery, Cairo to Levant Department  
 Confidential  
 No. 1045/60.  
 Dated February 12.  
 Received February 16.

SUBJECT: **EGYPT**  
ARMOUR BROWN, Cairo correspondent of the Daily Mail had an interview with President NASSER on February 10.

References  
 10161/15

MINUTES  
 Nasser was evidently in one of his most touchy moods & suspicions are well to the fore. See underlined passages.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

*Minutes*  
 17/2.  
*Johnstein*  
 17/2.  
 1 P.D.A.R. 22/2  
 P.O.D. (un. dep) 12/2.  
 News Dept. 3/3  
 E.R.D. 4/3  
 Mr Stevens 8/3

(Action completed) (Main Indexed)  
 8-3-60 23- 8/61

a) Chancery Cairo to Levant Dept. 1045/60  
March 4

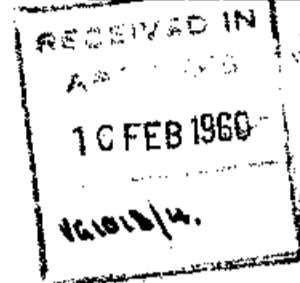
Can you please attach copies.  
 Press Cuttings Section. Sent by 6/3.  
 12/9/3.  
 10/3.  
 10/3.





CONFIDENTIAL

(1045/60)



BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,

CAIRO.

February 12, 1960.

Dear Department,

In the evening of February 10 Anthony Brown, the Cairo correspondent of the "Daily Mail", had a two-hour interview with President Nasser. We think that this is the first time that Nasser has given an interview to a correspondent of a British paper since Suez. It was arranged through Heikal, who was himself present. According to Brown, Nasser looked rather "seedy" and tired: he was always tapping his foot on the carpet, as though in nervous impatience, and he was certainly not in the best of tempers with Britain. Brown told us some of the highlights of his interview later the same evening, and on the next day he gave us the full account contained in the following paragraphs. He intends to turn the interview into three articles, the first of which he thinks will appear on February 15. He was due to compare notes last night with Heikal, who reserves the right to publish part or all of the interview in "Al Ahrām" on the day after it appears in the "Daily Mail".

2. We should add that Brown said he was surprised to find how badly Nasser talked English; he had always heard that his English was pretty good. Perhaps the bad English was due to Nasser's tiredness. The interview also seems to have been fairly confused and Nasser kept on jumping back and forth from the present into the past. He apparently spoke of himself often in the third person, like General de Gaulle.

3. Crowe has already sent letters to Sir Roger Stevens and Belth about Nasser's reactions on an exchange of Ambassadors and Zarb, but you may like to have what Brown claims is the verbatim record of what Nasser said.

4. On the present state of U.K./U.A.R. relations, he said: "The plot with Israel in which Britain attacked Egypt with Israel, and in which Britain appeared to be the defender of Israel at the disregard of Arab rights, is a black point in our relations. This has caused profound mistrust which persists and has affected the whole respect for Britain in the area. But our hope is to try and improve relations, particularly in trade, and open a new door in our relationship. It is not on the agenda at the moment to exchange Ambassadors."

5. On Zarb, Nasser said: "You must understand that Zarb was a spy and guilty of espionage, and while we give great consideration to the humane side of this case, I must give equally great attention to the security of the country. We must not give any encouragement to anyone who wants to spy against us. This is the main question. Israel is trying by all means to spy upon us and we must not allow foreigners to believe that espionage is so light an affair in this country that a man can come here and spy and get away with it with one or two years imprisonment. But I would prefer you not to report this, as I do not want to close any road of opportunity."

/6.

Levant Department,  
Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

1)	2)	oms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905		80457					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							



CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

6. Brown asked Nasser if he could comment on the fact that both countries believed that each was intriguing against the other. On this Nasser said: "We continue to support the policies of self-determination, liberty and the end of Colonialism. This we continue to believe and support, but you take this as an intrigue against you. But we are a small country. We have no ambitions to have an Empire. We support Arab and African countries to be independent. Britain looks at Arab nationalism still as a danger to her interests in the area, and all efforts must be made to liquidate these ideas [sic] and we consider that you are plotting against us by rumours and broadcasts against us, encouraging splits in the Arab countries. By these means you believe that you will maintain your interests in the area, but this is short-sighted. What you believe is that by these means you will keep your petrol. We know that the Arab countries have to sell their petrol to Britain, but at the same time we welcome trade relations and aid which we would accept with thanks from anyone, including Britain, on the basis of equality."

7. Nasser said that he was disappointed with Sir Anthony Eden's memoirs: they were little more than repetition of what Sir Anthony had said in Parliament and in public. He had liked Eden when they first met. Eden had listened to his views, but had been unable to understand the point of Arab nationalism and desire for unity - he had feared that these were directed against Britain's interests. Nasser then tried to show at some length how Eden's comparison of him with Hitler was misconceived, and he added that he thought that Eden had been motivated by personal hatred of him.

8. As another example of the failure of understanding, Nasser described his meeting with the Secretary of State in the spring of 1956 when the news came to Cairo that Glubb Pasha had been dismissed from Amman. Nasser thought that the Secretary of State had concluded that Nasser was behind Glubb's dismissal and the stones that were thrown in Bahrain. He had had nothing to do with either.

9. Reverting to relations with Britain Nasser said that he would welcome an increase in trade: he was ready for economic cooperation. The best thing that Britain could do for the U.A.R. was to offer credit facilities: they needed especially tractors and electrical plant. They were prepared to take aid without strings from anyone. The Soviet Union had offered such aid, the West had not.

10. Nasser went on to say that Britain should not try to retain spheres of influence by force. She was commercially of great importance, and she had unlimited prospects in this field; but she must stop intriguing. In the past she had tried to spread disaffection in the Egyptian army and Air Force (and here Nasser referred to "proof" that we had spent £2160,000 on this in 1957); and she still kept a secret service in the Middle East. He asserted that the British Embassy in Beirut were still spreading false stories and rumours which were picked up by the press and broadcast. He hoped, however, that things would be better in future. He applauded Britain's policy of leading the African states to independence.

/11.

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905		80427					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							



CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -

11. On Israel, Nasser took his usual line. He was not trying to get rid of Israel and kill all the Jews. But Israel must allow the return of the Arab refugees. (On this point he seems to have hinted that if Israel contained two million Jews and a million and a half Arabs, the two communities could live together). However, Israel was preparing to occupy the demilitarized zones and had territorial ambitions. This being so, the possibility of a military solution had to be reckoned with.

12. Nasser refused to discuss Iraq or communism. He did however say that he had no ambitions to be the head of a large pan-Arab state. That would pose too many problems. He had told an Iraqi emissary shortly after the Iraqi revolution that he was not interested in union with a country that was not itself united in seeking union.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

CONFIDENTIAL

**V**

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

**V** G.1018/6

FROM *Admancy, Beirut to Levant Department.*

*Unclassified.*

No. *1024/17/100.*

Dated *February 19.*

Received *February 22.*

SUBJECT: **SYRIA**

*Main points in NASSER's speech in Latakia, Hama, Hama, Hama, Hama and Aleppo during his Syrian tour*

References  
*101017/6*

MINUTES

*The B.B.C. World Summaries have contained full reporting on the speeches. See marked passages within.*

*W. H. ... 23/2*

(Printing Instructions)

*Mr. ...*

(Outward Action)

*I am afraid it looks as if President Nasser will make no play with the P.P.S.*

*Maybe he is thinking of ... 23/2.*

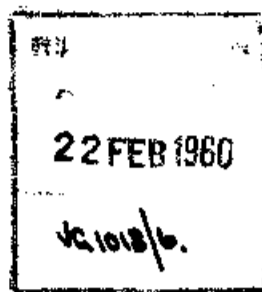
*to C.I.A.*

*23/2.*

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
<i>23/2</i>	<i>23/2</i>

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371/150905</u>			80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

(1024/17/60)  
UNCLASSIFIED



Dear Department, *MVR*

Please refer to para. 2 of our weekly letter on Syria No. 1024/15/60 of February 18. The following are the main points raised by Nasser in his speeches in Syria to date.

Lattakia. Nasser said that the United Arab Republic was a concrete expression of Arab nationalism and the aspirations of the Arab people towards unity. Imperialism had always tried to split the Arabs into small units, as the French had done during their occupation of Syria, which had always been the heart of Arab nationalism. The imperialists still sought to create discord in the U.A.R. but they had not succeeded, nor would they succeed. The Union frightened the enemies of Arab nationalism and Zionism and guaranteed the interests of the people of Palestine whose country had been stolen by Israel. He protested strongly against the French atom bomb test in Algeria.

In a later speech, he said that the Communist attempts at infiltration into "the Arab ranks" were doomed to failure. He rejected the charge made by Iraq and Tunisia that the U.A.R. dominated the Arab League. He said that Iraq and Tunisia had acted in contradiction to the spirit of Arab cooperation and that their purpose was to sabotage the Arab League.

Kameshly: Nasser affirmed that the U.A.R. would work to establish a free and equal Society, a social democracy of which the National Union would be the expression. Each citizen had his part to play and through unity could achieve the goal once reached by Saladin.

Hassake: Nasser said that the people of Hassake had in the past been able to prevent the imperialists from separating the Jezira from the rest of Syria. The frontiers of the U.A.R. were no longer determined by the imperialists but by the people of the U.A.R., freed from all foreign influence. He spoke again of the National Union, of plots against the U.A.R. and of the steadfastness of the people. He referred to the refusal of Iraq and Tunis to attend Arab League meetings and ridiculed Iraqi accusations of Egyptian imperialism.

Deir es Zor: Nasser, strongly attacking General Kassem, said that the Iraqi leaders had betrayed the revolution and had fallen under the control of the communists, the imperialists and individual greed. Kassem, like Nuri Said, had said that he wanted to liberate Syria. The U.A.R. would not offer to liberate Iraq because the Iraqi people were themselves capable of doing so. He spoke of the reign of terror in Iraq and the mockery of justice in Col. Mahdawi's court. He accused Kassem of playing politics with the Palestine question. Kassem had collected 11,000 dinars for Palestine; the U.A.R. faced Israeli aggression with troops. He called on Kassem to provide Iraqi troops on the Israeli frontier and share the sacrifices of the U.A.R., in accordance with the collective defence agreement signed by Iraq and the U.A.R. after the Iraqi revolution.

/On Israel

Levant Department,  
FOREIGN OFFICE.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: <u>FO 371/150905</u>		<u>80427</u>				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						



- 2 -

On Israel, he said that the Israelis dreamed of an Empire from the Nile to the Euphrates; the United Arab Republic would frustrate these ambitions and destroy the Israelis. The United Arab Republic had the responsibility of safeguarding the right of the people of Palestine to their usurped land.

Aleppo. Nasser reminded the Syrians that they, the Egyptians and the Palestinians, under Nour el Din and Saladin had routed the forces of aggression, tyranny and imperialism hundreds of years ago. The same forces fought the United Arab Republic. He attacked the Parti Populaire Syrien (P.P.S.) as betrayer of Arabism and stooges of imperialism who continued, in the Lebanon, to work as mercenaries for the imperialists. The Communists, now living on foreign money in Sofia, had also fought Arab nationalism but this had brought about their downfall as it enabled the people to recognise them as their enemies. Kassem was attacked on the lines of the Deir el Zor speech.

Nasser announced that in no circumstances would Israeli ships and goods be allowed to pass through the Suez Canal. Any such goods reaching a United Arab Republic harbour would be considered the property of the people of Palestine. Nasser again spoke of the United Arab Republic's sacred duty to restore the rights of the Palestinians.

Nasser said that Sir Anthony Eden's memoirs had revealed the evil intentions of the imperialists towards the Arabs. The tripartite aggression against Egypt had been precipitated by the spread of Arab nationalism and unity. Britain which wanted to keep the Arab world within her sphere of influence, had to conquer Cairo in order to crush Arab nationalism.

United, the people of the United Arab Republic would go forward to greater achievements despite imperialism, communism and their agents and mercenaries.

We are copying this letter to the Chancery, Cairo.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

*Curt*

V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG. 1018/7.

FROM Mr. S. G. Snow,  
Leiso.

SUBJECT: EGYPT

PRESIDENT NASSER made three speeches in Damascus on February 23 which he called "The Heart of Islam".

No. 141.  
Dated February 23.  
Received February 24.

References

MINUTES

1. Copied to Washington & Paris.
2. H.B. para. 2. Tripartite Declaration. *Minister*  
He didn't like the P.Q.'s  
... of the replies  
*Atkinson*  
24/2.

*by*  
Feb 24

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

1. Paris no. 77.  
Washington no. 78

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

R2  
25.2.24

*John*  
23

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

✓  
FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
WHITEHALL 14/10/18/7.  
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Crowe

No. 121  
February 23, 1960  
IMMEDIATE

D. 5.23.p.m. February 23, 1960  
R. 5.35.p.m. February 23, 1960

President Nasser yesterday made three speeches in Damascus which he called "The Heart of Arabism". These celebrated on the usual lines the union of Egypt and Syria, the triumphs of Arab nationalism, the evils of Qasim and the discomforture of imperialists and Zionists.

2. The President was particularly severe on Israel during his first speech he said that he had heard that the tripartite declaration had been reaffirmed by its signatories and he knew that Israel was mobilizing. There was evidently to be another attack on Arab nationalism and unity. But they were stronger than ever: from Nubia to Northern Syria the people had the faith to foil imperialist plots. He was not surprised to hear [corrupt word? statements] reassuring to Israel, nor to hear that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd had announced that Britain reaffirmed the tripartite declaration and was consulting with her co-signatories. But where was the tripartite declaration when Britain and France launched their aggression against Egypt? The declaration had been buried in Port Said with the blood of the martyrs. It had gone irretrievably and the U.A.R. would never permit any power, big or small, to include them in spheres of influence.

3. There were also statements from Britain, France and America that the situation in the Middle East was deteriorating. These made the Arabs feel confident, for they showed that the U.A.R. had been victorious. Imperialism, Communist stooges, and enemies of Arab nationalism had thought that they had found a new weapon against Arab unity in Qasim but the weapon was faulty: the Iraqis themselves did not believe in Qasim. The West had tasted the strength of Arab nationalism. "These Powers" whether large or small, would not deter the U.A.R., who would recover the rights of the people of Palestine in their sacred march. These Powers had shown their indifference towards the rights of the Palestine people, though they repeatedly talked about the alleged rights of Israel in the Suez Canal and in Arab land. But the U.A.R. would not forget, whatever others said about Nasserism, Hitlerism or empire [corrupt word].

/ 4. In his second



1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371/150905</u>		<u>80427</u>				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

Cairo telegram No. 111 to Foreign Office.

- 2 -

4. In his second speech the President described the occupation of Palestine as part of a joint attempt of imperialism and neo-Zionists to crush Arab nationalism. Israel had grown so arrogant as to dream that she would extend from the Nile to the Euphrates. But the Arabs were not intimidated: all that the enemy had done was to kindle the fire in their hearts and speed up the proclamation of their unity. The President ended by saying that the second anniversary of the union found them stronger than at any time in the past. They hoped that by the next anniversary they would have gained more victories and achieved more of the aims of the Arab nation.

5. Today's "Gumhuriya" [? words omitted] all usurped parts of Arab [? word omitted] will be liberated by the time we celebrate the third anniversary of the union.

ADVANCE COPIES:

Private Secretary

Sir F. Hoyer Millar

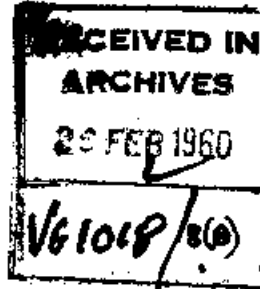
Sir R. Stevens

Head of Levant Department

@@@@@

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/267/A/1



A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL

Nasir's speeches in Damascus

(a) Damascus home service 12.10 GMT and Cairo home service 12.30 and 18.30 GMT 22.2.60 (recording)

Text of President Nasir's speech at the Guest Palace in Damascus:

Dear brother compatriots, I welcome you. I welcome the people of Damascus, the immortal city. I welcome you. This is what I say to you here in your city - the beating heart of Arabism [applause].

Brothers, this is the holy march; what we have seen today is an expression of the holy march of the people. The army is the vanguard of the holy march, your holy march. This people has become united; this army has united with the people. The army, which has been on parade before us today, will give effect to the aims of this people; it is the vanguard of the holy march towards the realisation of the objectives to which you aspire, of the holy march on which you are so firmly resolved [applause].

Today, dear brothers, as I meet you in your dear city, after a tour of the provinces, cities, and villages of the northern region, I can tell you that I have seen the people strongly resolved to proceed with the holy march until the objectives which you seek are realised, until the objectives for which you have made sacrifices are realised, and until the objectives which you are determined to achieve are realised.

You have achieved your independence and defended it; you have destroyed imperialism and have progressed in your holy march towards the union in which you believe, seeking to raise the banner of that Arab nationalism you have always preserved, and of that Arab unity for which you have struggled so hard.

Today, dear brothers, as I meet you here in your immortal city, I feel confident, having met your brothers elsewhere. Imperialism is trying to convince itself that this union has weakened. What have I seen? I have seen our union stronger and more determined [applause]. Imperialism and the enemies of Arab nationalism believe that they can destroy the unity of this people. What have I seen? I have seen this people bring their [the imperialists'] intentions to nothing, turning them to storm-blown dust. Throughout last year, imperialism tried by every means to overcome the vigilance of this people. As I have told your brothers during my present tour, I believe that this people leads, and cannot be led [applause]. Because this is a vigilant and constructive people, a people who, despite imperialism and all its tricks, have continued to raise the banners of Arab nationalism and Arab unity.

Throughout last year, imperialism tried to convince itself that our forces were destroyed; it tried to convince itself that it had succeeded in sowing partisan-ship, sectarianism, and opportunism among this people. But imperialism forgot that this vigilant people is creative and cannot under any circumstances be affected by such methods, since it struggled for long in the past and understands the methods of its enemy.

Imperialism succeeded in convincing itself that the deviation by the Iraqi revolution, by the leaders of the Iraqi revolution and the Iraqi rulers, would weaken Arab nationalism, or might enable it to see Arab nationalism brought to disintegration and destruction. Imperialism used all its methods and means against Arab nationalism; it used armed forces, threats, and terrorism and economic pressure against this Arab nationalism and against your holy march. In his memoirs, Anthony Eden said that in his aggression he sought to destroy Arab nationalism and the Arab power which had begun

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/267/A/2

growing in our army, and to mediate in the region and force the Arabs to accept Israel's conditions.

What was the result, dear brothers? Anthony Eden launched his aggression against your brothers in Cairo and Port Said. Here in Syria you rose. Every Arab in every Arab country rose and carried arms, because all believed that the battle of Arab nationalism was the battle of life or death for every one of them - the battle of destiny for the whole Arab homeland. The fleets were defeated; the great countries were defeated, and became second-class States. This people, who believed in freedom and life, in Arab nationalism and Arabism and in the holy march, triumphed. They pledged themselves to join the holy march for the achievement of all their objectives.

Imperialism found, or came to believe, that in Iraq there were rulers who might stand against Arab nationalism, or who had made themselves enemies of Arab nationalism and the UAR. And after the imperialist lackeys in Iraq had been destroyed and cut to pieces by the people, imperialism believed that it could use the new rulers in Iraq against you and against your objectives. The enemies of Arab nationalism, the Arab nation and the UAR imagined that they could use Iraq's Qasim as a new means of destroying Arab nationalism and provoking the people of the UAR.

So, dear brothers, I saw last year, and I have seen ever since my visit last year to you in the northern region ended, that imperialism hoped to destroy this union, this force, and to bring us back within its spheres of influence. Imperialism had despaired of using its forces directly against us, but in the new faces in Iraq, imperialism found new hopes - such as the Communist lackeys. The enemies of Arab nationalism found hopes of destroying your holy march, your nationalism, your Arabism, and the symbol of Arab nationalism.

Last year, dear compatriots, was a decisive year in the history of our country and of our nation. That was because imperialism and the Communist agents announced in their broadcasts and press that the union had been destroyed, that Arab nationalism had come to an end, that the holy march had ceased, and that this people, defenders of their Arabism, nationalism and unity, had fallen prey to sectarianism, partisanship, individualism, and regionalism.

Accordingly, last year, we saw imperialism, the enemies of Arab nationalism, and the Communist agents, waging a fierce battle against this northern region. They believed that they could destroy the unity of our northern region. What was the result? The result was clear and firm. During this, my present tour, from Latakia, Dayr az-Zur, Qamishli, Hasakah [Hassetche], Aleppo, Hamah, Hama and all the villages in the northern parts of this region, from east to west and here in Damascus - the beating heart of Arabism - the result, dear brothers, was this mighty clamour which I heard in every town I visited. The result was this thunder which has disturbed and alarmed imperialism and its lackeys.

Imperialism, its lackeys and the Communist agents realised that their belief that Iraq's Qasim might help them to destroy Arab nationalism and your holy march was mere fantasy. Israel had been able to convince itself that, by co-operating with imperialism and the enemies of Arab nationalism, it had succeeded in cutting the claws of Arab nationalism's power or in destroying it, thus enabling itself to feel confident that it could usurp the right of the Palestinians for good. That was the belief of Israel and all our enemies, for they announced it over and over again and then believed it; because they forgot that this people is a creative and vigilant people and cannot be deceived. Just as they succeeded in unmasking the ugly faces of the old lackeys, so this people has succeeded in unmasking the faces of the new lackeys; just as it had succeeded in foiling the tricks of imperialism in the past, so it has succeeded in destroying the present conspiracies and, with the help of God will succeed in destroying all future conspiracies.

Today, dear brothers, and during this week, we look around us and see an overwhelming revolution. We see statements announcing that the situation in the Middle East and in the Arab States is deteriorating; we also hear statements that the States of the tripartite declaration have renewed this declaration. Then we see concentrations

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80487			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/267/A/3

and the mobilisation of the Israeli forces. We also see that those who have antagonised us have awakened from their sleep, in the belief that there are people who can destroy our nationalism and Arabism. But during these past few days the people have succeeded in announcing, clearly and strongly, that they will continue with their holy march. Imperialism and the Communist agents failed to realise the truth that today, dear brothers, two years after the revolution, we are stronger and even more determined.

Today, we fully and wholeheartedly believe that we are to continue with our holy march for the raising of the banner of Arab nationalism and Arab unity. Today, dear compatriots, in every village, from the south to the north, from Aswan to Qamishli and from Nubah to Dayr as-Zur, all the people of this Republic believe it their duty to proceed with the holy march and destroy every imperialist conspiracy.

What have I seen, dear brothers? I have seen this people, whose enemies believed that their unity had been destroyed, united as one man and one heart upon these noble principles, principles which have issued from your hearts and souls. I have seen the people as one man and one heart, united in love and fraternity. What I have seen, dear brothers, is the practical reply of this vigilant and noble people to all the plans of imperialism, the Communist agents, and all the enemies of Arab nationalism. For this reason we were not surprised; nor are we surprised today, when we hear all these statements which bring peace of mind to Israel.

A few days ago, Selwyn Lloyd announced that Britain was consulting the States of the tripartite declaration, and that it was reaffirming its existence - this declaration, with which they protected the frontiers and guarded against the prevailing situation. I ask them on behalf of this people, where this tripartite declaration was when Britain and France launched their aggression against Egypt, a part of the Arab homeland? The tripartite declaration was issued by Britain, France, and America. The tripartite declaration, dear compatriots, was buried in Port Said under the blood of the people of Port Said. This declaration has gone for ever. Under no circumstances do we agree that any State, big or small, shall put us into spheres of influence.

Today, dear compatriots, when we hear these statements coming from America, Britain and France, that the situation in the Middle East is deteriorating, we feel confident and satisfied because we feel that we have triumphed. For they believed that Iraq's Qasim would destroy the unity of this people, and was their new weapon. But their new weapon is a defective weapon; the Iraqi people do not believe in him; the noble Arab people in Iraq do not believe in him, because he disavowed the revolution, his Arabism, and the Iraqi people who supported the revolution of 14th July, supported it with their blood and lives; Qasim and the Communist agents who killed all the free people and dragged their bodies through the streets.

Dear compatriots, imperialism, the enemies of Arab nationalism and the Communist agents believed that in Iraq's Qasim they had found the new weapon, the atomic weapon, with which they thought they would be able to give effect to their policy of destroying the holy march and the call to Arab nationalism. But this new weapon has proved a defective weapon, unable to operate among the people of this nation which produces noble people.

Brother compatriots, today as we hear these statements from those States to the effect that the situation in the Arab world and the Middle East is deteriorating, we believe that these States have succeeded in understanding what they forgot in the past - that they have succeeded in sensing the strength, solidity, faith, and resolve of this people to continue with their holy march towards unity, strength, and life; the resolve of this people to march on to raise the banners of Arab nationalism and Arab unity as it has always done in the past.

These States, which make statements, support what they allege to be Israel's rights, support what they allege the UN has decided in favour of Israel, and try to forget the rights of the Palestinians. These States, whether they are big or small, will not frighten us, because we shall get the Palestinians their rights by our holymarch. If these States allege that they protect right and justice, then where are the rights of the Palestinian people? They have forgotten the rights of the Palestinians decided upon by the UN, but have reiterated over and over again the alleged rights of Israel in the Suez canal and in Arab territories.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/267/A/4

In the name of the Arab people, who have undertaken to join the holy march, I announce from this very place that if these States have forgotten the UN resolutions and the rights of the Palestinians, we shall never forget the rights of the Palestinians. These rights, dear brothers, come within the sphere of our holy march. We shall continue to march along our road, the road of unity, force, and life. We shall raise the banners of Arab nationalism and Arab unity. We shall pay no heed to their propaganda and to what they say; they may say whatever they like; they may call it empire, Nazirism, and imperialism; but, dear brothers, for us it is Arab nationalism and Arab unity.

They may say whatever they like. This will not affect our determination; it will not divide our ranks. On the contrary, it will strengthen our determination, and our power, and will make us march along the road of unity, life and power, because this road is the road to peace and security. They may say whatever they like. They may call it Hitlerism, or whatever else they like, because it is this vigilant people which leads. This is a creative people, a people proceeding with the holy march, and which announced its revolution before 1958, the great revolution of Arab nationalism. This people announced the great revolution and its course, and imposed its will and gave effect to it. The result of your revolution, dear brothers, was the establishment of the UAR. This revolution, achieved in 1958, was the result of the great revolutions which you carried out in Syria and which your brothers in Egypt carried out there. This great revolution was the fruit of the revolutions for which you sacrificed your blood and lives, to free your country, and to expel French imperialism. It was, too, the result of the struggle of your brothers in Egypt. They struggled and sacrificed their blood and lives to destroy imperialism and the British occupation; and they destroyed imperialism and the British occupation.

After our will had been liberated and restored and we had become free to exercise it, there was the great revolution which reverberated throughout Syria and Egypt and resulted in the establishment of the UAR. This revolution is not the end of the road, but a step along the road; this revolution, which took place in 1958, is not the end of the road, but a step along the road - the road of the holy march which was started by our forefathers, and whose banner has been passed down to us. For the holy march for Arab nationalism and Arab unity is not a new march, but began when the Arab nations did, because it is a protection for the entity of the [whole] Arab nation and its existence.

Today, dear compatriots, while we are celebrating the second anniversary of our revolution, our Arab revolution, the revolution for unity, we thank God for granting us this resolve and power to resist. We thank God with all our hearts, because today, after two years of the revolution, we feel that we are stronger and more determined, and that we are proceeding with our holy march for freedom and life. May God bless you and protect you; peace and God's blessing be upon you.

(b) Damascus home service 19.15 GMT 22.2.60 (recording)

Precis of speech made by President Nasir from the Guest Palace balcony:

Brother citizens, we meet once again in your beloved city on the second anniversary of the union and of the establishment of the UAR. While we are celebrating our union and victories here, your brothers in Cairo are also celebrating. We are celebrating after a long struggle and sacrifices to gain freedom; we have sacrificed ourselves and shed blood in order to throw imperialism and agents out of our homeland. Having gained freedom, we proclaimed our nationalism and our union by establishing the UAR.

Union is a revolution; it has come about as a result of the holy march in which you sacrificed life and property. "To us, brothers, union is the greater revolution. The revolution of 23rd July in Egypt was only a revolution against imperialism and foreign domination; and your 1945 revolution here was for the sake of freedom. When freedom was gained in Syria and Egypt, we - the Arab people in Egypt and Syria - proclaimed the Arab nationalist revolution which seeks Arab unity".

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

ME/267/A/5

I have always told you, brothers, that the struggle for Arab nationalism is not a new one, but has been going on for years. Hundreds of years ago, the Syrian army marched to Cairo to join forces with the Egyptian army and drive off foreign invaders. This unity has existed in our hearts ever since, despite imperialist attempts to divide the Arab nation. The Palestine tragedy in 1948 was nothing but an imperialist-Zionist plot to crush Arab nationalism. By the establishment of Israel, imperialism and Zionism thought that they would be able to separate Egypt from Syria. Israel bragged about an Israeli kingdom from the Nile to the Euphrates; Israeli leaders announced that Israel must expand, and that Arab nationalism must be wiped out, believing that the Arab people had weakened. The Palestinian people were massacred and expelled from their country with the knowledge, and even the support, of the great Powers. We realised then that Israel had been created as a bridgehead from which imperialism could invade our homeland and subjugate us. We were not frightened by the massacres and atrocities committed by Israel. In spite of all this, the brave and creative Arab people insisted on independence and unity; the strong will of the Arab people destroyed imperialist influence in the Arab homeland.

When imperialist collaborators tried to set up the Baghdad Pact, the Arab people in Egypt and Syria rose against it, "because such pacts are always aimed at Arab nationalism and Arab unity. Furthermore, when the Arab people proclaimed the establishment of the UAR, imperialism and its collaborators opposed this move by establishing the false Arab Federation, which was sponsored by imperialism".

What have we seen, citizens? The Arab people were able to prove their existence and achieve their objectives, and your republic triumphed while the imperialist collaborators vanished. "Today, brother citizens, we find that in all their actions the enemies of the Arab nation seek solely to destroy Arab nationalism and Arab unity, and ignore the rights of the Palestinian people. We tell the entire world that we firmly adhere to Arab nationalism and unity, and will sacrifice everything for their sake. The new weapons which they use against us are merely defective weapons, which will turn against them and can never deceive the free and vigilant Arab people, who always lead the struggle.

"I tell them, brothers, in the name of this struggling and advancing Arab people, that while they may have ignored or forgotten the rights of the Palestinian people, we have not, because these rights belong to our nation, us, the Arabs, who have been born in this area".

The Arab people in the UAR and elsewhere are determined to strengthen their nation. The Arab knows that unity is the only path to freedom and independence. "Strength is the only way to regain the rights of the Palestinian people. In order to be strong, we must organise our society on the basis of social justice, and must work extremely hard in order to strengthen our economy and industrialise our country, so as to depend on ourselves and be able to face imperialism and Israel. We must depend on our own strength to face the aggressors.

"A few years ago, brothers, we were less strong than we are now, but we were able to face the great Powers; we were able to nationalise the Canal and restore the rights of the Arabs". We faced imperialist fleets and aircraft, and the Syrian people fought beside us as they did in the past.

"Today, brothers, we are on a holy march to build our homeland on the basis of social justice; we are building a socialist, democratic, and co-operative society, free from political and economic exploitation. We are building this society in order to wipe out all the vestiges of imperialism in our country." We believe that this is the way to strength.

In celebrating the second anniversary of the union, we feel that we are stronger than before. God willing, next year we will celebrate our third anniversary while even stronger and with a greater record of victories. "We hope that by the third anniversary of our revolution, all the usurped parts of the Arab homeland will have been liberated. We shall go ahead with our holy march to fight and struggle for the principles we believe in, and in the cause of our nationalism and Arabism". Peace be with you.



RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES  
2 FEB 1960  
V61018/8(c)  
Monday P.9.1

25/2

Please see X.

Mr Tebbitt

M/S may  
P.9.1

like to see (cont)

Lohmstein  
Feb 23

Handwritten signature  
27/2

News report for Tuesday  
23rd February, 1960

Soviet Union.

- Mr. Khrushchev yesterday addressed a meeting in Surabaya, East Java. He continued to boast of Russia's industrial and scientific achievements. He said Russia would draw level with the United States in industrial and agricultural production by 1965. He also claimed that "Sputnik" rockets, recently tested in the Pacific, would be used for flights to the planets. Promising continuing Russian economic aid to Indonesia, Mr. Khrushchev said that the rooting out of the last vestige of colonialism could not be delayed. Tele. p.7. Times. p.12. Guardian.p.1
- Pravda yesterday declared that the Soviet Union wants disarmament plus control, not control plus disarmament. It went on to say that "Since the United Nations began to discuss disarmament, the Western Powers have always put control in the forefront, attempting in effect to secure control without disarmament". Worker. p.3.
- Telegraph article by David Floyd "Behind the Curtain". p.10.
- Telegraph article by Frank Robertson: "Indonesia's Crisis that is Different". p.10.
- Mr. Nehru said in Delhi yesterday that there had been no reversal of Government policy towards China. He hoped that Chou En-lai would accept India's invitation to visit New Delhi. It was stated that Chou's reply has arrived or is on the way. Times. p.10. Tele p.22.
- A new Ministry was sworn into office in Kerala yesterday. The new Government is a coalition of Congress, who have 8 members in the Cabinet and the Praja Socialist Party, who have 3 including the Chief Minister, Mr. Patton Tamu Pillai. Times. p.10. Tele p.22.
- Prince Sihanouk, the Prime Minister of Cambodia, addressing the Congress of the Cambodian People (a "folk-moot" of about 7,000 delegates held every six months) said that the Communists were trying to create anarchy in the Kingdom, and that they were plotting to assassinate him. He said: "My Days are numbered". He went on to say that the Cambodian Communists had held a secret congress at the end of last year, and that documents later seized by his Government proved that they had decided to take full political advantage of any disorder in Cambodia. They had also set up an "assassination committee" directed against him. He asserted that neutrality remained the only policy for Cambodia. Times. p.10.
- The recent visit to Pakistan of the Afghanistan Foreign Minister, Sardar Mohammed Naim, has raised hopes of an improvement in Pakistan-Afghan relations. Tension has been high between the two Moslem nations since the Kashmir issue first arose in 1947, and Pakistan is now further concerned about the apparent increase of Russian influence over her neighbour. Guardian. p.9.

Middle East.

- President Nasser yesterday in Damascus said that the UAR rejected outright the 1950 tripartite declaration, in which Britain, the United States and France guaranteed the current status quo in the Middle East. "It has been buried in the earth of Port Said". Guardian. p.9. Tele p.17.
- Telegraph article by John Osman: "Syrian Tour Success for Nasser.p.10.
- A security tribunal in Jerusalem has given judgement in the case of 17 Jordanians charged with affiliation to the Communist Party and propagation of Communism in Jordan. The President/tribunal said that the tribunal would sit again at the beginning of next week to try another group of Jordanians on a charge of "Communist affiliation" he brought against them by the Attorney-General. Times. p.10



1960

V  
 LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG. 1018/9.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

SUBJECT: EGYPT

Interview given by President NASSER to German Press correspondents on January 26. extract concerning foreign investment in Egypt.

FROM Mr. J. R. Wright, Cairo  
 to Mr. A. Stubbins.

Restricted.

No. 1014/60.

Dated February 19.

Received February 24.

References

-12

MINUTES

The preference for foreign Government loans is not surprising when the U.A.R. can obtain such loans at low interest rates, e.g. the U.S.S.R. loans for the 5-year industrialisation plan and the French High Plan, which are for repayment over 12-17 years at 2 1/2% interest. A successful industrial project, financed partly by foreign private capital, would involve anything from 6-7% (or more) in annual remittances of dividends to the foreign firm concerned.

*J. Arthur*  
 29/2.

ERD *just*

"a more" I think and, as President Nasser says, freedom - or, at least, to keep as the manner remains in being.

Mr. Stubbins H. 1/3

*J. Arthur* 1/3

J-121 54817-2F

h 3/3

FORD (M.E.) 4.3

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

ERD 4.3.60.

J. 24. 8.6

1/6.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905			80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

/no.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN EGYPT

Extract from an interview given by  
President Nasser to German Press  
Correspondents on January 26, 1960

---

Question: Mr. President, do you think that private capital, foreign private capital investment can play a real important role in Egyptian industrial development? If so, are you going to provide special guarantees for the security of private capital investment in Egypt?

President: Let me tell you our views frankly. In fact we give first priority to national capital, then in dealing with foreign countries we prefer to have loans, and after that we consider private investment. As for the guarantees, there is a law for foreign investments which gives all these guarantees.

Question: Mr. President, the German industrialists are not very well informed about these laws.

President: This law was published in 1953 concerning the profit which they can take outside the country, the conditions for participation of foreign capital and so on, but I want to assure you that we give priority to the national capital and we prefer to have loans as is the case now.

Question: Why, Mr. President?

President: Well, I'll tell you why. Before the nationalisation of the Suez Canal we used to give 20 million pounds as interest on foreign capital. They used to transfer this big amount in foreign currency. After the Egyptianisation of some of the British and French assets after the Suez war, we only give them two million pounds, so we saved 18 million pounds.

Question: Two million pounds?

Answer: Yes, that is for the assets which were not Egyptianised. Two million pounds instead of 20 because we Egyptianised some of the assets of the British and the French. So if we open the door for foreign investments, what will the result be? The result will be that we will give them interest every year and we have to give that in foreign currency. If we have loans we will pay these loans and we will not be paying forever, but if we have big foreign investments, we will be giving interest forever. You understand me. But this doesn't mean that we are completely against foreign capital. For instance, as regards pharmaceutical factories, we agreed on the participation of foreign capital because by that we will have technical help and technical cooperation and they have the opportunity for further research. Concerning the Iron and Steel Works we agreed to give Demag a share in the profits because by that also we were able to have technical help and technical cooperation. We welcome foreign capital for industries which need technical help or advice and which need research work, the opportunity of which is not available here; consequently, we can depend on these researches.

---



<p>1960</p>	<p>LEVANT DEPARTMENT</p>	<p>VG1018/10 / G</p>
<p>FROM F.O. Minute (M. Beth)</p> <p><b>CONFIDENTIAL</b></p> <p>Dated 10/2        Received in        Registry— 2/3/60</p>	<p>Egypt.</p> <p><u>"Nassei's balance sheet"</u></p> <p>Comparison of his position at the        time of Suez &amp; now.</p>	
<p>References to former relevant papers</p> <p>251022/47 (57)</p>	<p>MINUTES</p> <p>The S. of S. has the balance sheet.        PD 4/3        PUSD (Mr. Ramsbottom) 4/3        15/2</p>	
<p>(How disposed of)</p>	<p><u>A F.O. Minute (M. Arculus)</u></p>	
<p>(Action completed)</p> <p>BAH 17/3/60</p>	<p>(Index)</p> <p>28/5/60</p>	<p>M 10/3 28/2</p> <p>M 20/3.</p>
<p>References to later relevant papers</p>	<p></p>	

to 21/12  
 50

RECEIVED IN  
 ALBANY  
 1 MAR 1960  
 V61018/10'60  
 Enter G

CONFIDENTIAL

(Nasser)

The Secretary of State recently asked Sir Roger Stevens to have a balance sheet prepared showing President Nasser's position now as compared with the time of Suez. I attach a paper prepared in Levant Department which was seen and agreed in substance by Sir Roger Stevens before he left. It has however been recast to bring out clearly the main points on the credit and debit side.

Copies have been sent to Mr. Profumo and Mr. Ramsbotham, P.U.S.D.

John Beith  
 (J.G.S. Beith)  
 February 10, 1960.

THIS IS A COPY  
 THE ORIGINAL HAS BEEN RETAINED  
 IN THE INFORMATION  
 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958

Am. S. Stead

2.  
 There is no doubt that apart from the temporary setback caused by Anglo-U.S. intervention in the Lebanon, Nasser's position has been greatly strengthened since the end of 1956. He may not be so highly popular inside Egypt as he was in the early days of his regime, but he now appears to be much more firmly in control of the real sources of power than he was then, and he appears to have eliminated effectively all serious rivals such as the old political parties and also other potentially ~~more~~

CONFIDENTIAL /serious

CONFIDENTIAL

serious dangers, e.g. discontented junior officers.

3. I think, however, that the "debit side" is far too rosy.

4. As regards paragraph 4(a), the operative word is no doubt "immediate", but the moment Western political and financial support is withdrawn Jordan and the Lebanon will surely be in the greatest danger, whether from Nasser or from Kasem, and although the threat to Saudi Arabia, Libya and the Gulf Sheikdoms may have receded a little, the ultimate threat to their independence remains. I find little consolation in the view that it is only because the threat to the Persian Gulf from Iraq has increased that the threat from Nasser has temporarily lessened.

5. As regards para. 4(b), I am doubtful about the seriousness of the rift between Nasser and the Russians. If it were really serious, I cannot see the Russians providing the vast sums which they have promised for the Aswan Dam. Surely all that has happened is that the Russians are having to go more slowly in the Middle East - as indeed elsewhere in the world. If they ever intended to set up communist regimes all over the Middle East in a short time, they have learnt that this is no longer possible since the local governments do not want it and the West are alive to the danger. It is therefore to their interest to cause the maximum degree of confusion and instability in the area and thus to undermine the political and economic position of the Western Powers. It seems to me that for this purpose both Nasser and Kasem are admirable tools. They can play one off against the other and so prevent either from becoming too powerful or too independent of their aid, and thus ensure that in spite of a show of independence both Nasser and Kasem must turn to them from time to time for help. It seems to me that the degree of favour shown by the Russians to Nasser and Kasem will vary from time to time and the cordiality of the relations between the two Arab leaders and with the West respectively will vary accordingly. But at bottom Nasser and Kasem remain violently anti-west, and I do not think we should act on the assumption that because Nasser - or Kasem - appear temporarily out of favour with the Russians they are necessarily at heart more inclined to favour us.

6. On paragraph 4(c), I think it is optimistic - if that is the right word - to think that either Nkrumah or Bourguiba is in a position to rival Nasser. It seems to me likely that before long Bourguiba may be replaced by somebody further to the left and Nkrumah, even if he survives, has other interests. *In any case in the Middle East moderate leaders tend to be forced leftwards or to disappear.*

7. Finally, on paragraph 4(g), I hope it is true that Nasser has now become so heavily preoccupied with internal affairs and the state of the economy that he will have less time for outside adventures. This is certainly not the usual experience with dictators, who, when they find their economic and internal difficulties too much, turn to external issues to distract attention. If all were to go really well with the Egyptian economy and development plans in the next five to ten years, Nasser might be less troublesome, but surely that is a very large assumption, particularly when he is so reliant as he is on Russian financial and economic aid. If for one reason or another the Russians cut off or diminish their aid, he is likely to be in serious difficulties,

*(to this they may well do in pursuit of a policy of fostering instability)*

/when THIS IS A COPY  
 THE ORIGINAL HAS BEEN RETAINED  
 IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES COLLECTION  
 UNDER THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371/150905</u>				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

when, unless the Americans bail him out, it seems very probable that he will start causing trouble in Libya, the Gulf or Saudi Arabia.

P. Dean.

(P. Dean)  
February 15, 1960.

Sir P. Dean's criticisms are rather far-reaching. I think the best way of proceeding would be to have a word with Sir Roger Stevens on the latter's return next week and see whether they can agree on a combined appreciation which could then be put up to the Secretary of State. I myself am rather inclined to share Sir P. Dean's view that the original paper was too optimistic. *I if he has a word*

FLM.

February 18, 1960

Flag A.

You may like to see Levant Department's comments on your minute of February 15. In general I agree with them. The emphasis in the paper turns largely on the purpose for which it was designed. I think, however, that there is some substance in your criticism that there are implications in (a) to (d) of paragraph 4 which are unduly optimistic. I suggest that this passage might be redrafted as follows:

(a) The British and American interventions in Jordan and the Lebanon have given Nasser a pause. He appears content to leave the position in the Lebanon as it is, and is pursuing his policy towards Jordan by developing the notion of a Palestine "entity" rather than by direct subversion;

/(b) events in Iraq

3 (4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ms	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905		80487					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

(b) events in Iraq have thrown up a nationalist rival to Nasser, weakened his claim to represent the Arab world as a whole, and finally opened his eyes to the dangers of the spread of Russian influence in the Middle East;

(c) as a result he now appears to wish to pursue, and be capable of pursuing, a policy of deriving what financial benefit he can from both East and West but remaining politically independent of both;

(d) the emergence of African territories into independence tends to reduce the effectiveness of Cairo propaganda and render any hope Nasser may have entertained of establishing a government subservient to himself, at least in the non-Arab parts of Africa, much more remote.

2. Levant Department agree. I should be glad of your comments.

*ell*

Sir P. Dean

February 24, 1960.

Thank you very much for showing me your comments and those of Levant Department my minute.. The fact that the paper was meant for rather special purposes and not as a complete appreciation of the whole situation puts the whole matter of course in a very different light. In these circumstances I should be very content to accept the amendments proposed in your minute.

2. There are two points on which I should like to express personal doubts though these need not affect what is said in the paper. These are:-

(a) The fact that Nasser may be "more on an even keel" between the eastern and western blocs does not necessarily mean that the general position of the West in the Middle East is greatly improved. It may lead to an easing of our relations with Nasser and this in turn may lead to a genuine improvement in time. But I personally feel - and I quite accept that I may be wrong - that though the immediate threat from Nasser has to some extent receded, he still constitutes a very serious menace to the Western position in the Middle East.

(b) I am afraid I distrust completely the Russian motives and objectives behind projects such as the Aswan High Dam. The Russians intend of course to make as much

**THIS IS A COPY**

THE ORIGINAL HAS BEEN RETAINED

/propaganda

IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION

OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371		150905		80427		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

propaganda as possible out of this, but their more serious intention is I think to put themselves in a position where, by threatening to withdraw their aid, they can exert a direct influence on Egyptian policy. Again, I may be entirely wrong, but I have an uncomfortable feeling that whatever Nasser may or may not think about the Communists his country has fallen a very long way under the Russian thumb.

3. However, as I say, I do not want to argue and am perfectly content with what is now suggested. *Thank you*

*Sir R. Stevens.*

*P. Dean*

(P. Dean)  
February 26, 1960.

Flag A. I now submit a memorandum for the Secretary of State, revised in the light of these minutes. If you agree, I think that it might go forward to the Secretary of State under a short separate submission. I hardly think that he will wish to see the minutes which, in that case, could perhaps be detached and returned to the Department for entry.

*U.B. Stevens*

February 26, 1960.

*Sir F. Hoyer Miller*

*I've seen his revised memorandum on 10th Sept ✓ return them minutes.*

*John -*  
2 p. 2

*Levant Dept.*  
*6/28/2*

CONFIDENTIAL



1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	Ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371150905		80457					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

Levant Department's comments on Sir P. Dean's minute of February 15: Nasser's balance sheet.

As I understood it, the Secretary of State wanted this balance sheet for use with, for example, back bench members of Parliament, who might think that we had lost much more than we had gained. The memorandum we prepared was therefore more of a list of talking points and a line of argument than a full-scale appreciation of the present situation. The idea was to show that there was a debit, as well as a credit, balance.

2. On the points made by Sir P. Dean in his minute of February 15, I have the following comments.

Para. 4(a) Surely neither Nasser or Qasim has any wish to be saddled with the expense of Jordan, and we think Nasser is now content with the present régime in the Lebanon. It is, of course, true that we cannot claim any credit for the fact that Nasser's threat to the Persian Gulf has now diminished - but it has.

Para. 4(b) The Russians could not very well have failed to go on with the Aswan High Dam. It is in fact something which will contribute towards the stability of Egypt, rather than produce "confusion and instability". We would not suggest that the fact that Nasser and the Russians have had their differences makes Nasser "at heart more inclined to favour us". What we do say is that Nasser no longer willingly plays the Communist game, and has realised that it is not the same as his own. He is now on a much more even keel between the Eastern and Western blocs, and in a position to carry on a policy of "positive neutrality".

Para. 4(c) In Africa it is true that Nasser's ambitions are unchanged, but the high point of his influence seems to have passed and the more countries move towards independence the less they will want to kowtow to him. No single African leader may rival him in the near future, but the emergence of a number of African leaders may further diminish his influence.

3. On the last sentence of Sir P. Dean's paragraph 6, it may well be that Nasser will make trouble again in Libya and elsewhere before too long. Our memorandum was really meant to refer to the present situation. The tide is not running Nasser's way at present.

4. If we were producing a basic appreciation of the situation we would certainly have to take into account all the points made by Sir P. Dean

I do not think

/however

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

however that they invalidate the line of argument in our memorandum, bearing in mind the purpose for which it was designed.

*J.G.S. Beith*

(J.G.S. Beith)  
February 23, 1960.

*See separate minute.*

*ll*  
*24/2.*

THIS IS A COPY  
THE ORIGINAL IS  
3 (4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES  
10 MAR 1960  
VG1018/106 (A)

Nasser's standing

In our recent "balance sheet" of talking points for the Secretary of State we argued that Nasser's standing and general position in the Middle East and Africa was by no means what it had been two years ago. It is of some interest that recent annual reports for 1959 and other despatches from H.M. Representatives in the Middle East bear this out. The following are examples.

2. Yemen. The Imam is now discouraging the extension of U.A.R. influence and tending to turn Westwards, especially to the United States and Italy, and has improved relations with the United Kingdom.

Libya. There has been some decline in Nasser's popularity because of the failure of his Iraqi policy. The tide of Arab nationalism as personified by Nasser and dominated by Egypt is well past its flood. The discovery of oil has shown that the independence of Libya is worth while preserving. The danger to this independence is from the U.A.R. not from the West. (This was from the Annual Review for 1959. The following is from a report in mid-February). The apparent diminution in Nasser's influence has continued. Crowds in Tripoli and other towns can no longer be relied upon to turn out for Nasser. Educated Libyans are unanimous in regarding the decline of Nasser's prestige amongst their class. This could grow again if Libyan aspirations are unsatisfied.

Ethiopia. The Emperor's visit to Egypt in the summer was fruitless. Cairo Radio afterwards resumed attacks on Ethiopian imperialism at the expense of the Somalis. The Nile Waters agreement took the Ethiopians by surprise.

Morocco. The visit of the King to Cairo was not a great success. There was suspicion and contempt on either side.

Jordan. The mutual distrust continued even after the resumption of diplomatic relations, and Nasser's influence, though still powerful, continued to decline throughout 1959. He lost the support of Jordan Ba'athists. In Jordan eyes Syria is suffering under an Egyptian Pro-Consul.

Persian Gulf. The influence of Nasserism has declined. Events in Iraq have frightened the rulers. There is disillusionment in Kuwait with Nasser (and with Qasim).

*R. Arculus*  
(R. Arculus)  
March 9, 1960.

This was the view of the recent NATO meeting of

M.E. experts.

*VR*  
9/III

GA 11/13  
Arabian  
Arabian  
Egyptian

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES 22 MAR 1960  
VG1018/10G (B)

On February 1, the Secretary of State asked that a kind of balance sheet, showing the extent to which Nasser's position had been strengthened or weakened by Suez and related events, might be drawn up for use by him in conversation. I now submit a paper about which, since it was drafted on February 10, there has been a good deal of discussion. This accounts for the delay in submitting which I regret.

U.B. Stevens.

February 26, 1960.

I am afraid that, although  
as the last para. of his paper says,  
Nasser may have been considerably  
'cut down to size', he remains  
too likely to remain a very  
considerable figure in the middle  
East Africa; that his influence  
is

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	CMS	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905		80457					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

likely to continue

to be generally ~~likely~~ directed

against our U.K. interests.

J. H. H. H. H.

2 P. 2

W

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371/150905</u>		<u>80427</u>					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

The Secretary of State has asked for a Middle East balance sheet, with particular reference to Nasser's present position and the consequences of Suez, and including the extent to which Nasser has obtained his objectives, the amount of aid he is receiving from East and West, and his relations with the Arab world.

Aid for economic development

2. The amounts of aid for economic development from East and West of which Nasser presently disposes, or which is promised, are:

<u>Soviet bloc</u>	£ E.M.
U.S.S.R. (for industry)	61.0
(High Dam)	135.0
E. Germany	7.5
	<u>203.5</u>
 <u>West</u>	
W. Germany	30.0
I.B.R.D. (Suez Canal)	20.0
Italy	32.6
Japan	10.4
U.S.A.	52.0
Yugoslavia	3.5
	<u>148.5</u>

Note 1. Actual drawings on western credits are about £E 20m., but on bloc credits may be under £E 15m.

Note 2. Total credits from the bloc and the West are not so far enough to cover the £E 400m. foreign exchange costs of the £E 950m. 5-year plan. More will be needed.

Note 3. To the figures for the Soviet bloc has to be added the value of credits for arms purchases, totalling about £E 200m.

Nasser's credit sheet

3. It cannot be denied that Nasser enjoys the following advantages as a result of the events of the past three years:

/a)

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

- a) he has all the foreign exchange for the whole High Dam promised by the Russians;
- b) he has received large quantities of U.S. aid in an unobtrusive manner;
- c) the West Germans are also most anxious to give him aid;
- d) he has the fruits of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company (with increasing revenues) and even a loan from the International Bank which will enable him to use the revenues for purposes not connected with the Canal;
- e) he interferes at will with Israel cargoes in the Canal and brushes off the Secretary-General of the United Nations;
- f) at the same time he is comfortably cushioned from Israel by the presence of U.N.E.F.;
- g) he has absorbed Syria into the United Arab Republic with reasonable success, and confounded those who thought the union artificial and not durable;
- h) he has continued to repress communism at home and survived bad patches in his relations with the Russians;
- i) he has recently improved his relations with most Arab countries;
- j) he has mended his fences with the United Kingdom comparatively cheaply and without any loss of prestige in the Arab world; and
- k) he profited by the sequestration of British property to expropriate what he wanted of British property in Egypt; this has helped him with his policy of Egyptianisation.

Nasser's debit sheet

4. To conclude from this that our position vis-à-vis Nasser has deteriorated would be an over-simplification and ignores

/a

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

a number of important developments which tend to cut Nasser down to size:-

- a) the British and American interventions in Jordan and the Lebanon have given Nasser a pause. He appears content to leave the position in the Lebanon as it is, and is pursuing his policy towards Jordan by developing the notion of a Palestine "entity" rather than by direct subversion;
- b) events in Iraq have thrown up a nationalist rival to Nasser, weakened his claim to represent the Arab world as a whole, and finally opened his eyes to the dangers of the spread of Russian influence in the Middle East;
- c) as a result he now appears to wish to pursue, and be capable of pursuing, a policy of deriving what financial benefit he can from both East and West but remaining politically independent of both;
- d) the emergence of African territories into independence tends to reduce the effectiveness of Cairo propaganda and render any hope Nasser may have entertained of establishing a government subservient to himself, at least in the non-Arab parts of Africa, much more remote.
- e) because of the danger of Iraqi interference Nasser is treading softly in the Persian Gulf, and no longer represents such a serious threat to our interests there; our firmness over Muscat and Buraimi has probably had a useful effect on him;
- f) neither does he inspire nervousness in e.g. King Saud or the Ruler of Kuwait to the same extent as previously;
- g) he has become heavily preoccupied with internal affairs, the need both to consolidate the Union with Syria and to build up the economy; the five year plan, the High Dam and the Suez Canal development, and the building up of the National Union, will keep him busy and leave less energy available for outside adventures;

CONFIDENTIAL

/h)



1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905		80457					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

a number of important developments which tend to cut Nasser down to size:-

- a) the British and American interventions in Jordan and the Lebanon respectively have removed the immediate possibility of those countries falling an easy victim to Nasserism;
- b) events in Iraq threw up a dangerous rival to Nasser, to some extent split opinion in the Arab world, threatened Syria and - most important - caused a rift between Nasser and the Russians;
- c) Russian and U.A.R. aims no longer coincide - there would be no place for the "bourgeois gangster" Nasser in a communist Middle East or Africa and Iraq has now become more valuable to the Russians than the U.A.R., so that Nasser sees himself becoming expendable to the Russians one day;
- d) Nasser is not now the only conspicuous player on the field - Nkrumah in Africa is a rival and other African leaders are asserting themselves; in North Africa Nasser has failed to shake Bourguiba;
- e) because of the danger of Iraqi interference Nasser is treading softly in the Persian Gulf, and no longer represents such a serious threat to our interests there; our firmness over Muscat and Buraimi has probably had a useful effect on him;
- f) neither does he inspire nervousness in e.g. King Saud or the Ruler of Kuwait to the same extent as previously;
- g) he has become heavily preoccupied with internal affairs, the need both to consolidate the Union with Syria and to build up the economy; the five year plan, the High Dam and the Suez Canal development, and the building up of the National Union, will keep him busy and leave less energy available for outside adventures;

CONFIDENTIAL

/h)

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905		80487					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

(h) in Africa the emergence of independent countries, and the prospect of independence in more territories, breeds a determination in local leaders to be independent of all outside influences and this may well reduce Nasser's influence in Africa (though he still makes a nuisance of himself through Cairo Radio in the Horn of Africa and our East African territories).

(i) while it is convenient for the Russians to undertake to build his Aswan High Dam for him he is playing a dangerous game with the Kremlin which must cause him increasing anxiety (we should not make a bogey of the number of Russian technicians involved, as reports suggest that Nasser can probably keep this well within bounds);

(j) the oil supply position has moved against the Middle East, because of the discoveries in the Sahara and Libya, the failure of demand to keep up with expectations, the recent ten per cent. reduction in Middle East posted prices, and the surplus of tankers. Nasser's control over the Canal and pipelines is not therefore such a powerful weapon as previously; there is also more substantial oil production in Egypt, and his entry into the ranks of minor oil producers is doubtless proving educative to Nasser; and

(k) he must now realise the difficulty of absorbing even other Arab countries, from the difficulties he has had in Syria.

General Considerations

5. Two years ago Nasser appeared to be in a very commanding position and it seemed likely that he would achieve further success. He had the ability seriously to threaten the régimes in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Libya and the Lebanon (and possibly also the Sudan and Tunisia) and to make very serious trouble for us in the Persian Gulf. There was an alarming

CONFIDENTIAL

/prospect

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905			80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

prospect of his influence penetrating rapidly into Africa. There was the possibility of his coming to exercise a destructive influence in oil politics. His relations with the Soviet Union had suffered no setback and his short-term anti-imperialist aims coincided with theirs, so that he was a dangerous instrument for furthering Communist policy.

6. Since then Nasser has changed the emphasis of his policy in two significant ways. He appears to eschew foreign adventures for the present (though it is not to be excluded that he would accept an extension of territory or influence which simply fell into his lap e.g. Libya). He has also done a good deal to mend his fences with the West. He agreed to pay substantial (compared with his resources) compensation to the Suez Finance Company, and has been meeting his obligations. He settled with the French over their property in Egypt. He concluded the Financial Agreement with us, and has returned the majority of our property. He has resumed diplomatic relations with us. He has resumed quite close economic relations with the United States. He is allowing e.g. the West Germans, Italians, Japanese increasing opportunities in commerce. On the other hand we know that he is increasingly suspicious of communist activities e.g. in the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council Secretariat and by the Chinese who are making increasing efforts to penetrate the Middle East. We know that he has had difficulties over the quality of goods from the Soviet bloc and in obtaining spares; also that he has been worried by the political indoctrination of Egyptian students in Iron Curtain countries, and has in fact asked Western countries to take more Egyptian students.

/Conclusion

CONFIDENTIAL

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905		80457					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

Conclusion

7. To sum up, one can adduce a good deal of evidence to support the claim that Nasser has been cut down to size quite substantially in the past two years, that (though his standing is very high in Egypt) his influence in the Middle East and Africa is probably past its zenith, and that he does not represent so great a threat to our own interests as formerly. It is also reasonable to argue that he has learned a number of lessons from recent events, particularly in Iraq, and is likely to be less wild in future. He is now on much more of an even keel in his relations with East and West, and is more likely to be able to keep himself in a genuinely neutralist position.

February 10, 1960.

CONFIDENTIAL

1960

V  
LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG. 1018/11

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC.

FROM Mr. J. M. Dewar,  
Jairo.

SUBJECT: EGYPT

No. 210.  
Dated March 8.  
Received March 9.

NASSER's speeches on March 7 and March 4.  
He attacked the Arab League Declaration and Iraq,  
Jordan and Britain.

References

VJ10316/11.

MINUTES

a). Mr. J. M. Dewar, Jairo - 211 - March 8.

Para. 2 is right (rel. no. 211).

The references to "Anglo-Communist" policy are offensive & I think this is a new catch-phrase (rel. no. 210). A tel. is being sent to Washington on this.

R. 10/3.

Mr. Feak 11/3  
Mr. Molyneux 14/3  
Mr. Saunders 14/3  
E. Dept.

The memoir has caused considerable ill feeling in Iraq too. The book has been banned.

J89 54407-2A

J.P.D. 17/3

Mr. Chamberlain  
R. 15/3. 14/3

(Action completed)

17.3.60

(Main Indexed)

24. 3. 60



1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371/150905</u>				80427		
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND V61012/11 (A)  
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Crewe

No. 211  
March 8, 1960

D. 7.34 p.m. March 8, 1960  
R. 7.51 p.m. March 8, 1960

PRIORITY  
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 211 of March 8.

Repeated for information to Amman Baghdad  
Tel Aviv UKMia New York  
Washington

And Saving to Beirut P.O.M.E.F.  
Jerusalem

My telegrams Nos. 209 and 210: <sup>V510314</sup> <sup>V61018</sup> Nasser on Jordan and Britain.

A full scale propaganda offensive is being mounted against Jordan. Although there is an immediate cause of dissension between the two countries in the dispute over the status of Palestine, I do not think Nasser (nor for that matter the U.A.R. Press and radio) would have attacked Jordan publicly if it had not been for King Hussein's broadcast of March 1 (Amman telegram No. 206).

2. Nasser's attacks on Britain are probably the result of sheer rage at the "resurrection" of the Tripartite Declaration and Ben Gurion's forthcoming visit to London. He is evidently breeding over Sir A. Eden's memoirs, which have revived all his old hatred and bitterness.

3. The violence of Nasser's speeches is perhaps partly to be explained by the fact that they are being delivered in Syria. A British correspondent, who accompanied him on some of his speech-making tours, has told a member of my staff that the Syrians welcomed him with an enthusiasm which bordered on hysteria. The correspondent got the impression that, if Nasser

CONFIDENTIAL

/ had

NW  
4/3

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371/150905</u>		<u>80427</u>					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

CONFIDENTIAL

Cairo telegram No. 211 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

had not lived up to the image which the Syrians have formed of him, they might have turned against him. This factor (of which Nasser is undoubtedly conscious) is probably leading him to greater excesses than he would have committed on a similar tour in Egypt.

Foreign Office pass Amman, Baghdad, Tel Aviv, UKMis New York, Washington and Savig to Beirut, P.O.M.E.F. and Jerusalem as my telegrams 14, 5, 11, 13, 13, 7, 6 and 3 respectively.

[Repeated as request].

11111

CONFIDENTIAL



1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905		80487					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

**SECRET**

**FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON**

Cypher/OIP

**FOREIGN OFFICE (SECRET) AND  
WELLSALL (SECRET) DISTRIBUTION**

No. 1010  
March 10, 1960

D: 3.05 p.m. March 10, 1960

**IMMEDIATE  
SECRET**

Addressed to Washington telegram No. 1010 of March 10.

Repeated for information to	Cairo	Jerusalem
	Amman	P.O.M.E.F.
	Baghdad	Tel Aviv
	Beirut	U.K. Mission New York

Cairo telegrams Nos. 209, 210 and 211 [of March 8: President Nasser's speeches in Syria].

I am concerned about the tone and substance of President Nasser's speeches in Syria. Though I realize that the special circumstances mentioned in paragraphs 2 and 3 of Cairo telegram No. 211 may have provoked these excesses, it would seem that he is tending to revert to his state of mind in 1956. This does not augur well for the policy of rapprochement with Nasser which the United States Government have pursued with such patience and persistence and which we have attempted to follow with the conclusion of the Financial Agreement, the resumption of diplomatic relations, and concurrence in the International Bank loan for the Suez Canal.

2. I should be glad if, provided you see no objection, you would draw Mr. Herter's attention to the telegrams under reference and speak to him on the following lines.

3. Nasser's speeches in Syria will no doubt have been giving some concern to the United States Government as they have been to Her Majesty's Government. We realize that his outbursts may be due in part to genuine nervousness of Israeli intentions following upon the Tanaik incident and that recent and forthcoming visits of Israeli personalities to Western countries may have influenced him still further. Representations made by the U.A.R. Diplomatic Mission in London during the last few days suggest that there has also been

/serious

**SECRET**

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: <u>FD 371/150905</u>				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

**SECRET**

Foreign Office telegram No. 1010 to Washington

- 2 -

serious anxiety in Cairo resulting from recent public but unavoidable references to the Tripartite Declaration, though I hope that what I said in the House on March 7 will serve to quiet these fears. For the rest I cannot see that there is any justification for Nasser's renewed attacks. I accept that the Israelis are largely to blame for the Tawafik incident but consider that this was the outcome of a nervous state of mind provoked to a great extent by the recrudescence of a feeling of claustrophobia in turn due to Arab opposition to their Jordan Waters plan and more particularly the frustration arising from the detention of the ASTYPALMA. In other words the U.A.R. Government have it in their power to bring about a relaxation of tensions in Israel without lowering their guard if they so desire.

4. As regards the attacks on Jordan the provocation here appears to have been entirely on the U.A.R. side, beginning with the attempt to question the basis of Jordanian occupation of the West Bank by the terms of the Letter of Appointment of the Consul-General in Jerusalem (Jerusalem telegram No. 8 [of January 17]) and continuing with the plan produced at the Arab League meeting for a Palestine entity. These incidents suggest that perhaps encouraged by receiving the International Bank loan Nasser has decided within the last three months to resume a policy of subversion as regards Jordan.

5. As to the references to Anglo-Communism in Iraq, these are patently ridiculous. Indeed I find it hard to believe that such views have been held seriously in the U.A.R. at any time since last April.

6. I should like you to go on to say to Mr. Harter that, tempting though it would be for me to remonstrate with Nasser, I do not think that any representations by Her Majesty's Government would do any good. They might indeed merely serve to inflame him further. I would, however, be interested to know whether he thinks that the United States Government would be in a position to take any useful action. No doubt Mr. Reinhardt will be seeing Nasser when he returns from Syria. Mr. Harter might consider that on such an occasion, in the course of a general survey of the situation in the Middle East, the United States Ambassador might be able to take the opportunity of emphasizing the importance which the United States Government attach to stability in the area, which appears to them to have been somewhat threatened by recent developments. Against

/this

**SECRET**

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905		80427					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

~~SECRET~~

Foreign Office telegram No. 1010 to Washington

- 3 -

this background it could be pointed out that a fresh attempt to reach a modus vivendi with regard to the passage of Israeli cargoes through the Suez Canal would do a great deal to reduce tensions and remove the causes of recent Israeli activity which has been a source of anxiety to the U.A.R.

7. At the same time Nasser could perhaps be asked about the significance of his present policy towards Jordan, which appears to be a further disturbing element in the situation. Accusations that the Jordanian Government are a stage of imperialism are quite baseless. But Nasser should be the first to recognize that if the stability of the Jordanian régime is undermined it can only help to serve the interests of Israel, which is presumably the last thing he would desire.

8. The United States Ambassador might feel disposed to say in conclusion that all these dissensions can in the view of the United States Government only help to give encouragement to Communist influences in the Arab world, which Nasser recognizes as contrary to Arab interests.

9. You will want to use your discretion as to how far you make specific suggestions to Mr. Herter as to what might be said in Cairo; but I have set out my thoughts on this in some detail in the hope that he may be receptive.

10. It is also important that it should not get out that we have spoken to Mr. Herter in this way. You might be able to raise the subject when you have been discussing something else. I want to see that the Americans are aware of the unfortunate fact that Nasser just pockets any benefit given to him and then behaves worse than ever.

VVV

~~SECRET~~

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: <u>FO 371/150905</u>		<u>80427</u>					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

**SECRET**

**FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO WASHINGTON**

Cypher/OTP

**FOREIGN OFFICE (SECRET) AND**  
**WHITEHALL (SECRET) DISTRIBUTION**

No. 1029  
March 11, 1960

D: 12.55 p.m. March 11, 1960

**IMMEDIATE**  
**SECRET**

Addressed to Washington telegram No. 1029 of March 11.

Repeated for information to: Cairo. Amman.  
Baghdad. Beirut. Jerusalem. P.O.M.E.F.  
Tel Aviv. U.K. Mission New York. *VG 10/18/12*

My telegram No. 1010 UAR/Jordan [of March 10].

In speaking to Mr. Herter it would be well to point out that Her Majesty's Ambassador in Amman is strongly urging restraint upon King Hussein and the Jordanian authorities (see Amman telegrams Nos. 234 and 235 [of March 10]). This seems highly desirable; I am under no illusion that in any slanging match the advantage lies with Nasser. It will not, however, be easy to continue to urge restraint convincingly if the U.A.R. maintain their unwarranted campaign against Jordan.

JJJJJ

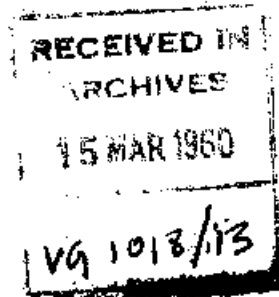
*Ah 14/3*

**SECRET**

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: <b>FD 371/150905</b>		<b>80427</b>					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

OFFICE OF THE  
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA

CONFIDENTIAL



FORWARDED WITH THE COMPLIMENTS  
OF THE OFFICE OF THE  
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA

Copies also referred to CRO

March 14, 1960.

R.L. Rogers.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

*Mr. Anglin  
etc*

CAIRO MAR 10/60 CONF

TO TT EXTERNAL 263 DEFERRED FM LDN

INFO LDN

TT NATOPARIS WASHDC PERMISNY FM LDN

BAG BEIRUT TAVIV ANKARA BRUS GENEVA FM LDN

UAR

PRESIDENT NASSER AND HIS PRESS WRITERS HAVE REVERTED LATELY TO OLD GAME OF LAUNCHING VERBAL ATTACKS IN VARIOUS DIRECTIONS AT ONCE AGAINST A SELECTION OF TARGETS SO WIDE AS TO SEEM NOT RPT NOT MERELY IMPARTIAL BUT SELF-CANCELLING. DURING EARLIER PART OF HIS SYRIAN TOUR, PRESIDENT AIMED MOST OF HIS ABUSE AT KASSEM. AS TOUR PROCEEDED, HIS LINE BECAME PROGRESSIVELY MORE VIOLENT AND HIS TARGETS MORE WIDE-SPREAD. WHEN PUBLIC REF WAS MADE AROAD TO TRIPARTITE DECLARATION, HE TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO RAKE OVER EVENTS OF 1956 AND TO FLAY USA AS WELL AS BRITAIN AND FRANCE FOR THEIR ALLEGED FAVOURING OF ISRAELI AS AGAINST ARAB INTERESTS. MORE RECENTLY, NEWS OF BEN GURIONS PROJECTED VISIT TO USA TURNED HIS HOSTILITY MORE DIRECTLY AGAINST USA ALTHOUGH HE HAS CONTINUED TO PICTURE USA, BRITAIN AND FRANCE AS CONTINUING TO FORM AN ASSOCIATION FOR DEFENCE AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF ISRAEL. IN HIS SPEECH OF MAR 4, HE INQUIRED HOW IT COULD OCCUR THAT AN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY COULD AWARD A LAW DEGREE TO BEN GURION WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS BIGGEST WAR CRIMINAL OF THIS CENTURY. THIS HE THOUGHT WAS A GOOD INDICATION OF VALUE PLACED ON LAW AND RIGHTS OF MAN IN USA TODAY AND HE REMINDED HIS LISTERNERS THAT, WHEN ISRAEL AND HER LEADERS WERE MURDERING ARABS IN PALESTINE, THEY WERE DOING SO WITH BACKING OF USA AND ITS PRESIDENT. HE CONSIDERED BEN GURIONS VISIT A GOOD OCCASION ON WHICH TO WARN USA THAT, ALTHOUGH IT MAY HAVE BEEN COLONIZED AND DOMINATED BY ISRAEL AND ZIONISM, ARABS FOR THEIR PART WOULD NEVER ACCEPT DOMINATION BY ISRAEL OR BY USA. AS HISTORY

\*\*\*2

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FO 371/150905		80427					
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records leaflet							

PAGE TWO 263

OF TRIPARTITE DECLARATION INDICATED, NO RPT NO TRUST WAS TO BE PUT IN GOOD WILL OF ITS SIGNATORIES WHO REMAIN COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING INTERESTS OF ISRAEL. PEACEFUL PROFESSIONS FROM ISRAEL WERE SIMPLY PART OF A CAMPAIGN TO MISLEAD WORLD OPINION. AS FOR TALK IN LDN, PARIS AND WASHDC ABOUT A CRISIS IN MIDEAST, HE WOULD REMIND THESE PEOPLE THAT A CRISIS HAS EXISTED IN MIDEAST SINCE 1948 AND THAT PEACE WILL NOT RPT NOT RETURN TO AREA UNTIL PALESTINE IS RETURNED TO ITS RIGHTFUL OWNERS. UAR WOULD MAINTAIN ITS HOSTILITY TO ISRAEL AND WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE DETERRED BY NEWS OF MORE WESTERN ARMS DELIVERIES. HE SAID THAT UAR KNEW ITS ENEMIES AND WAS PREPARED TO OPPOSE BOTH ISRAEL AND THOSE WHO STOOD BEHIND ISRAEL.

2. YESTERDAY (THOUGH THIS MAY BE PARTLY IN RESPONSE TO WHAT IS BEING SAID IN AMMAN), CAIRO PRESS HAS EMBARKED ON WHAT APPEARS TO BE A CAMPAIGN AGAINST JORDAN. ONE NEWSPAPER HAS ATTACKED HAZZA MAJALLI WHO IS DESCRIBED AS HAVING BEEN IN HIS TIME A MOUTH-PIECE OF ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, A PUPIL OF GENERAL GLUBB, A BRITISH INTELLIGENCE AGENT, AND AN ENEMY OF ARAB NATIONALISTS AND IN PARTICULAR OF PALESTINIAN ARABS. ANOTHER ARTICLE DESCRIBES KING HUSSEIN AS A TRAITOR AND A CRIMINAL WHO IS ASSISTING TO IMPLEMENT A PLOT FOR LIQUIDATION OF PALESTINIAN REFUGEE PROBLEM BY BUYING UP REFUGEE RATION CARDS IN JORDAN AND ARRANGING EMIGRATION OF REFUGEES TO DESTINATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA. ANOTHER ARTICLE PURPORTS TO REVEAL WHAT WENT ON IN SECRET DISCUSSIONS OF HEADS OF DELEGATIONS AT RECENT ARAB LEAGUE COUNCIL SESSION ON PALESTINIAN QUESTION AND PICTURES JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AS BLOCKING ANY PROGRESS TOWARD RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AS A SEPARATE POLITICAL ENTITY.

3. ATTACK ON JORDAN PROBABLY HAS DEVELOPED, AT LEAST IN GOOD PART, IN ANOTHER CONTEXT, BUT IT ALSO FITS IN TO SOME EXTENT WITH NASSERS

...3

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905		80427				
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

PAGE THREE 263

ATTACKS ON WESTERN POWERS IN HIS SYRIAN SPEECHES. PICTURE WHICH HE SEEMS INTENT ON DRAWING IS THAT OF A UAR BESET BY POWERFUL EXTERNAL ENEMIES BUT FULL OF NEW-FOUND STRENGTH AND QUITE CAPABLE OF DEFENDING BOTH ITSELF AND REST OF ARABS AGAINST HOSTILITY OF WEST AND THEIR AGENTS AND SERVANTS WITHIN ARAB WORLD

ARNOLD SMITH



SECRET



RECEIVED IN  
ARCHIVES  
24 MAR 1960  
V6 1018/14

BRITISH EMBASSY,  
WASHINGTON.

March 22, 1960

*Mr dear Roger,*

As I told you in my telegram number 528 of March 12, Herter suggested that I should take up with Livingston Merchant the question of Nasser's recent outbursts. I accordingly wrote him a letter setting out the views in your telegram number 1010 of March 10, and I now enclose a copy of his reply. When I saw Herter on March 20, he said he had given his personal attention to this matter and that Livingston Merchant's letter represented his and the State Department's considered views.

*V61018/12(A)*

*V61018/12*

I am sending copies of Merchant's letter and this to Johnston, Hancock, Trevelyan, Crosthwaite, Dixon, Crowe, and to McDermott.

*Yours ever  
Harold Caccia*

Sir Roger Stevens, K.C.M.G.,  
Foreign Office,  
London, S.W.1.

SECRET

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	2
Ref: FD 371150905			80457			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet						

COPY  
VG 1018/14)

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRET

MAR. 18, 1960.

Dear Harold,

The points raised in your letter of March 11 regarding Cuba and the Middle East have been given serious study within the Department. I understand that further discussion of Cuba will take place separately.

With respect to the Middle East, we share your concern at the recent disturbing trend of UAR propaganda in which Nasser has attacked Jordan, "Western Imperialism", alleged British actions in Iraq, and the United States.

Like you, we are inclined to regard these outbursts as motivated in part by concern at Israeli intentions following Israel's raid on lower Tawafiq in the Syrian demilitarized zone on January 31, The Ben-Gurion visit to Western capitals and Nasser's desire to rally popular support in Syria during his tour there have also undoubtedly been contributory factors. The key question is whether Nasser's speeches and other propaganda represent a significant shift in UAR tactics or whether they merely reflect spontaneous and transitory reactions to passing phenomena.

It is difficult, as always, to ascribe cause and effect to Middle East tensions. We would agree that the Israeli action at Tawafiq may have reflected in part frustration on the Suez transit issue. We do not believe, however, that this was the chief motive. Incidents at Tawafiq have occurred almost annually since 1949. The recent heightened tension in that area could well be related to the long-standing problem regarding the status of the demilitarized zones. As you know, the Israelis continue to insist, contrary to the UN position, that they hold complete sovereignty in these zones. The Egyptians, sensitive as always regarding their Syrian partners in the UAR and aware of the unfortunate history of the al-Auja demilitarized zone on the Sinai border, are no doubt anxious to forestall an Israeli fait accompli. Thus occasional flare-ups in these zones appear almost inevitable.

We too have been greatly disturbed by the heavy UAR propaganda barrage against Jordan. King Hussein's public remarks on March 1 obviously aimed at Nasser would not appear to explain the intensity of Nasser's subsequent propaganda assault. Our Ambassador in Amman has taken a strong line with the UAR Ambassador. Ambassador Spinelli of the UN has, we understand, been closely following developments. We had considered whether it might be suggested that he approach the UAR directly. However, we note that, as of March 14, the Jordanian authorities believed the present propaganda flare-up would play itself out. Whether the recent UAR attacks reflect a calculated decision to resume a policy of subversion as regards Jordan will depend on how long the attacks are kept up and whether or not they are accompanied by other UAR-stimulated actions from within Jordan itself. Nasser's present concern seems to us perhaps more closely related to the long-standing UAR-Jordan differences regarding Palestine. These differences have been exacerbated in recent months by the pronouncements of Premier Qasim on this subject. Particularly in the light of the continuing UAR-Iraq rivalry, the firm Jordanian opposition, at the recent Arab League

/meeting,

His Excellency,  
Sir Harold Caccia,  
Ambassador of the United Kingdom.

1	2	cms	PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE	ins	1	1	2
Ref: FD 371/150905				80427			
Please note that this copy is supplied subject to the Public Record Office's terms and conditions and that your use of it may be subject to copyright restrictions. Further information is given in the enclosed 'Terms and Conditions of supply of Public Records' leaflet							

SECRET

- 2 -

meeting, to any plans for Palestine likely to threaten Jordan's integrity certainly increased Nasser's annoyance with Hussein. We do not exclude the possibility that this UAR propaganda may serve, as in the past, to strengthen rather than weaken King Hussein, who is replying courageously to Nasser's charges. We hope that Hussein's comments on March 12 regarding the UNEF presence in the Sinai and Aqaba areas will not imperil the future of this useful instrument.

We have noted your opinion that any British remonstrances with Nasser might only inflame him further. We incline to the view that any formal approach by our own Ambassador might have little beneficial effect, particularly at this moment when Arab opinion is quite aroused by Mr. Ben-Gurion's visit to Western capitals. In any event, it has not yet been possible for our Ambassador to present his Letters of Credence due to Nasser's absence in the Syrian Region. However, we have already informally expressed, both through our Chargé in Cairo and the UAR Embassy here, our disappointment at recent developments.

Regarding your suggestion that a fresh attempt be made with the UAR to reach a modus vivendi on the Suez transit issue, we understand that Secretary General Hammarskjold has examined the papers in the Astypalea case and is continuing his efforts to work out a compromise. We fully support these endeavours. This has been made clear to the UAR as has our long-standing support for the principle of freedom of passage through the Canal. We would not wish any unilateral action which we might take in Cairo at this stage, outside of the UN frame-work, to complicate Mr. Hammarskjold's efforts.

We shall continue to watch the situation closely, hopeful that the recent propaganda exchanges may be followed by a return to relative calm. If this hope proves ill-founded, we shall wish to consider the situation further with you at that time.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Livingston T. Merchant

Livingston T. Merchant

SECRET

## PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE (PRO): TERMS AND CONDITIONS FOR THE SUPPLY OF COPIES OF RECORDS

### Copyright

1. Copies of public records in Crown Copyright: most public records in the PRO are in Crown Copyright and the use of copies of them is subject to the following conditions:
  - a) black and white photocopies and prints from publicly available film and fiche no restrictions
  - b) all other copies (including microform and digital copies, photographic prints and transparencies) may be used only for
    - research or private study
    - education: copies may be used, and further copies of those copies may be made, for education purposes in the course of instruction or examination, or of preparation for instruction or examination by a person giving or receiving the instruction or preparing or taking the examinationApplications for permission for any other use should be addressed to the PRO Image Library.
2. Copies of public records in privately owned Copyright: are subject to the following conditions:
  - a) use for the purposes of research, private study or education (as defined in 1(b) above) no restrictions, within the limits of fair dealing under UK Copyright Law
  - b) other use: applications for permission for any other use must be addressed to
    - the current owner(s) of the Copyright in the original document: anyone wishing to reproduce the material in transcript, translation or facsimile is responsible for identifying the current owner and for obtaining any permission required
    - and to
      - the PRO Image Library for use of the copy.
3. Copies of non public records and of published Copyright works held in the PRO: are supplied subject to the customer completing a declaration form and observing the conditions it contains. Any infringement of these conditions may result in legal action.  
The PRO Copyright Officer will provide further information on request.

### Supplying copies

4. Prices quoted on estimates are valid for three months.
5. Orders for copies placed in person at one of the PRO's Reprographic Ordering counters are accepted on the following conditions:
  - a) The PRO may cancel the order if the copying process paid for subsequently proves to be unsuitable, e.g. if it may damage the document or fail to produce good copies. If an order is cancelled for such reasons the PRO will offer to refund the payment and if feasible will provide an estimate for completing the work by an alternative copying process.
  - b) The PRO may cancel the order and refund payments if markers are found to be missing, documents are incorrectly marked up, or customers' instructions are unclear.
  - c) If the customer's calculation of the number of copies required proves to be an under-estimate the PRO will complete the order but will retain the copies until the balance of payment has been received. If it proves to be an overestimate the PRO will refund customers where the balance exceeds £3.00 (or £5.00 for overseas customers).
6. The PRO will securely package copies supplied by post and will not accept liability in the event of damage or loss in transit. It can, however, arrange insurance cover at an additional cost if customers request it when they place their order. Such cover will usually be provided by a lower rate international recorded delivery unless otherwise requested by the customer.
7. Customers are advised to seek advice from their Internet Service Provider before placing any order for electronic images to be delivered electronically. Customers should note that email attachments are supplied in compressed jpeg format and CD images are supplied in tif format. A0 images can only be supplied on CD-rom.
8. The PRO will normally aim to provide 'research' quality copies, i.e. sufficient to convey the written or graphic information in the original document. There can be no guarantee that it will be able to do so or that the copies will be suitable for any other purpose, e.g. if the original documents are of poor quality. Higher quality copies or copies suitable for other purposes can be supplied if requested when placing an order. Customers are advised to discuss their requirements with PRO staff to ensure the most suitable process can be recommended.
9. Image sizes:
  - a) Photocopies and digitally scanned images: the PRO will normally produce copied images which are approximately the same size as the originals. Photocopies will normally be printed onto sheets of paper of the appropriate size in the A2 to A3 range (within preservation guidelines and at the discretion of the operator) and charges will be based on the size of the paper. In the case of digitally scanned copies the images will normally be printed onto paper approximately the same size as the original and charges will be based on the size category into which the paper falls (i.e. A0 to A1, A1 to A2, A2 to A3, A3 to A4). The PRO can supply images or sheets of paper of different sizes if customers request it when they place their order.
  - b) Prints from microfilm: Images will normally be printed onto A3 size paper and may be larger or smaller than the original documents
  - c) Photographs or transparencies can be supplied in the specified dimensions. These will normally be required if a copy is for publication. The Image Library provides such images at the rates indicated in the appropriate leaflet.

### Deemed Acceptance

10. The PRO will display these terms and conditions at all points of sale. Customers will be deemed to have accepted the terms and conditions in completing an order form, submitting a counter order or accepting copied documents by any means.