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SECRET
OUTWARD TELEGRAM
FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

1960
 20 NOV 1960
 VGIOSI/173(A)

TO SINGAPORE (The Rt.Hon. Earl of Selkirk)

Simplex IRD.78/02
 Sent 24th November, 1960. 19.00 hours.

PRIORITY
SECRET
 No. 411

U.A.R. request for Consulates in British Dependent Territories.

2. Provided you see no objection I shall be grateful if, as a matter of urgency and in confidence, you will sound the Singapore Government as to whether they would be agreeable to the setting up of a U.A.R. Consulate in Singapore at an early date.
3. For your own information discussions with U.A.R. with a view to exchange of Ambassadors with the U.K. are now in advanced and delicate stage. The Egyptians are trying to tie this to the question of Consulates and have put forward a substantial list of places in our dependent territories at which they want Consulates. In almost every case the proposal is unacceptable to the Governors concerned.
4. While H.M.G. would prefer to keep these two questions separate, it too has important requirements for Consulates in various U.A.R. cities. Some sort of package-deal therefore seems inevitable, and the problem is to find places where we could meet Egyptian requests.
5. It naturally goes against the grain to allow the U.A.R. further opportunity for propaganda but great importance is attached by H.M.G. to early settlement of the Ambassadors and Consulates questions.
6. Should the Singapore Government be found to be opposed to the appointment of a Consul, it should be ascertained whether they would equally object to a Trade Commissioner.
7. The matter was discussed with Mr. Bourdillon when he was in London earlier this year. It was then thought that if, at some stage, the agreement of the Singapore Government to the establishment of a U.A.R. Consulate in Singapore was sought and obtained, it would not be practicable for H.M.G. later, as a bargaining measure, to withhold its own agreement to such a step. This point is accepted and assuming that the Singapore Government do not object to the creation of the post, will be kept in mind in the subsequent negotiations with the U.A.R.

Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. Arculus.

SECRET

1/28/60
SENT 29/11
R.O. Iwak.

CONFIDENTIAL

U.K./U.A.R. RELATIONS: CONSULAR POSTS

Progress Report

Flag A
 461051/170

Cairo telegram No. 905 suggests that the Egyptians will keep up pressure, though I am not sure that Mr. Wright is necessarily justified in concluding that they ~~are~~ are expecting a reply before December 1. The figure of five consulates on the Egyptian side in a limited agreement does not necessarily represent their minimum requirement. One would expect there to be scope for bargaining. In any case we shall not score five.

2. The position on the Egyptian requirements as notified in Mr. Khalil's piece of paper of October 31 is as follows:

Flag B
 621051/35

Aden has been dismissed as being out of the question. Kuwait telegram No. 543 shows that the Ruler is not ready to accept consulates but has said that he has no objection to an Indian trade commissioner. Whether he hopes to be able to admit the latter without admitting e.g. a U.A.R. trade commissioner is not clear (he could say that it was ~~not~~ Commonwealth countries). We have just time for Mr. Richmond to tackle the Ruler and report in time for December 1. Instructions could presumably go off to Kuwait after this afternoon's meeting with the Political Resident.

Flag C
 461051/173

Singapore. There has been much discussion over this in the Colonial Office and the attached draft telegram to Singapore bears evidence of this. While its tone is negative from our point of view I think we should be wise to authorise the Colonial Office to get it off quickly. The U.A.R. man in Kuala Lumpur has given the locals a great deal of trouble and Singapore Ministers may therefore raise some difficulties.

Hong Kong. This is agreed already.
Zanzibar
Nairobi
Kampala
Dar-es-Salaam) The suggestion in the Secretary of State's minute to the Colonial Secretary of November 5 that he should consider which of the four posts would be the least objectionable is being considered by Colonial Office Ministers. Officials recommended that all the posts are objectionable and no choice should be made at present. But if a choice were to be made Dar-es-Salaam would be best. Julius Nyerere was thought to be anti-Egyptian and his attitude is unlikely to have changed. The C.O. did not see fit to discuss this with him when he was in London recently.

Flag D
 461051/172

Salisbury. A reply is expected by telegram from Salisbury in a day or two but is likely to be negative. The C.R.O. will not be willing to exert pressure to reverse an unfavourable decision.

Freetown's reply is negative (Sierra Leone telegram No. 104). We shall want to press the C.O. to let us tell the Egyptians that the local Prime Minister considers it inopportune to admit a U.A.R. consul.

3. A submission is being prepared for the Secretary of State's consideration tomorrow.

John Bain
 NR 23

Ronney

R. Arculus
 (R. Arculus)
 November 23, 1960.

Seen by Sir R. Sparshott
 4.2.61.

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Ref: 371/150907

80301

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Al Akhbar Nov 21. Minutes.



Friendship of the Arabs

Imperialist mentality

NOTHING TO BE

متى تعود العلاقات ؟
 العربي ليجون بول - علشان تدخل من الباب . .
 لازم كرشك يصغر شويه؟! . .

"When will relations be restored?"

The Arab to John Bull - "To get through the door your stomach must be a bit smaller!"

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL

Mr. Crowe

DISTRIBUTION

No. 912
November 26, 1960

D. 5.45 p.m. November 26, 1960
R. 6.7 p.m. November 26, 1960

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

VG1051/170

VG1051/78

Wright's telegram No. 905: Exchange of Ambassadors.

I saw the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs this morning. I gave him the draft of our Note (Smith's letter VG 1051/142 of November 7). He had no comment on it. He confirmed that Khalil would deliver the UAR Note to you and we made an appointment for noon on December 1 for me to deliver our Note either to him, if he is here, or to the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Zulficar Sabri. (He said that Dr. Fawzi might not be in Cairo that day).

2. I then said that all the Press were expecting something to happen on December 1. They would be round us like flies, particularly if they saw that I had been to the Ministry that day. It would be very difficult to say nothing and if we did this would give the impression that there had been a hitch, which would be undesirable. I did not suggest any public announcement, but it seemed to me that it would be desirable that the line to be taken with the Press should be agreed between London and Cairo. General Ismail agreed at once that we should have a line ready. He even suggested that it might be desirable to say that the names of Ambassadors had been exchanged. I said that I thought that it would be excellent if we could say this. He promised to consult higher authority and undertook to let me know their views on Monday or Tuesday.

3. After some talk about when Mr. Beeley might be expected to arrive, to which I answered that we hoped he could be here by the beginning of February, General Ismail asked whether I had any news about Consulates. I replied that I regretted I had not, but that I could assure him that you were working very hard on the problem; not only were we fully aware of the U.A.R.'s anxiousness to get on with this, but we ourselves would like to get the question settled in order to be able to reopen our own consulates. The problem was, however, a difficult one and their list was so wide ranging that it required consultation

/with

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Cairo telegram No.912 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

with a large number of separate Governments spread over half the world. This inevitably took time. General Ismail then said that the U.A.R. Government hoped we could make progress because it was embarrassing for them not to be represented in places where there were numbers of their own citizens. For example, there was Kuwait where there were many hundreds of U.A.R. citizens and it was embarrassing for them to have to deal with them through Beirut. I said that this, of course, was a matter for the Ruler and asked whether they had approached him. He said they were thinking about this, but they did not want to approach him only to be referred to us. I said that there were no Consulates in Kuwait except the American, and this was not an easy problem. I concluded by saying that I hoped that you might be able to let me have an answer on the whole question in a fortnight or so's time.

4. Have you any views about the line to be taken with the Press? It seems to us that if it can be admitted that names have been exchanged this would be most useful and should prevent further speculation.

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News Department

ADVANCE COPIES

Private Secretary
Sir P. Reilly
Mr. Brain
Head of Levant Department
Resident Clerk

bbbbb

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO

Cypher/OTF
VG

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

No. 1127

November 28, 1960

D. 11.10 p.m. November 28, 1960

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

Your telegram No. 912 [of November 26: Exchange of Ambassadors]

I agree that any questions arising from your appointment on December 1 and Khalil's interview in London should be answered by saying that they dealt with the exchange of Ambassadors; it could be confirmed that the names have in fact been communicated but cannot be revealed until agreement has been given. (We recognize that the names may leak in Cairo and are prepared for this). On the assumption that General Ismail confirms his agreement to this line we are sending guidance to Middle East posts accordingly.

2. On consulates, I doubt whether we shall want to give a substantive reply within "a fortnight or so" of the date of your interview. Provided that all goes well on December 1, I shall shortly thereafter be discussing the whole matter with my colleagues. It will not be at all easy to produce an offer which would please the U.A.R. For example, the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone does not want to be bothered with the Egyptians yet awhile, and the Ruler of Kuwait has recently said he is not yet ready to admit foreign consuls. I would hope therefore to have the agreements for the two Ambassadors safely exchanged before we show our hand on consulates. Perhaps the fact that Ismail will be away with Hakim Amer in Moscow will help.

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V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

V G.1051/179.

FROM **Sir E. Chapman, Ambassador
 Beirut.**

Confidential.

 No. 881.
 Dated November 25.
 Received November 26.

SUBJECT:

 U.K. - U.A.R. relations: Nasser's visit to the Sudan
 Fawzi seemed to go out of his way to avoid meeting Sir E. Chapman. Everyone else including NASSER was friendly.

References
 V410350/12.

MINUTES

 The attitude of Ali Salari was encouraging; that of Fawzi hardly significant - I am sure it is not he who raises obstacles.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

Minutes ~ 28/11.
Phillips 28/11
to Nov 29
Africa Dept. Done 29/11

(Action completed) <i>28/11/50</i>	(Main Indexed) <i>5.61</i>
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CONFIDENTIAL
FROM KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

✓

Cypher/CYP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Sir E. Chapman Andrews

No. 881

November 25, 1960

V4105/170

D. 7.21 p.m. November 25, 1960

R. 7.36 p.m. November 25, 1960

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 881 of November 25
Repeated for information to: Cairo

My telegram No. 880: *VG10350/12* Nasser's visit.

I was going to report the following by the next confidential bag but Mr. Marett who has just come from Cairo thinks you may be glad to have [gp undec] by telegraph.

2. Some days ago Wing Commander Ali Sabry, whom I knew in Egypt ten years ago, sent me a friendly greeting by General Hassan Beshir. I, therefore, took a favourable opportunity at last night's banquet to thank him and have a brief conversation. In the course of it I asked him how relations stood today between Egypt and Britain and he replied that since Mr. Macmillan's meeting with President Nasser at the United Nations they had taken a definite turn for the better and that Ambassadors were to be exchanged in the near future. He said nothing about any conditions (e.g. Consulates). I replied that I was naturally extremely glad to hear this.

3. ^{two} Zakaria ~~El~~hieddin also greeted me in a friendly way on several occasions and even President Nasser, who addressed me in English when I was presented to him on his arrival at the airport, afterwards invariably nodded and smiled when he saw me. But Fawzi, unlike all the others, seemed to be trying to avoid meeting me. I did not deliberately seek him out but it seemed on more than one occasion that when, if we had continued on our respective courses we should inevitably have met, he took evasive action.

/4.

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Khartoum telegram No. 881 to Foreign Office

-2-

4. The foregoing, though possibly of no special significance, may, on the other hand, reflect Fawzi's personal attitude towards Her Majesty's Government and explain the raising of obstacles, possibly on his own initiative, to early exchange of Ambassadors.

Foreign Office pass Cairo as my telegram No. 71.

[Repeated as requested]

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4/105/178

U.K./U.A.R. RELATIONS: EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS

Flag A Please see Cairo telegram No. 912. It is satisfactory that Mr. Crowe has his appointment on December 1 to communicate Mr. Beeley's name to the U.A.R. Government. We may expect the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires to seek an appointment with the Secretary of State on the same day to communicate the U.A.R. name, which is still unknown to us.

2. General Ismail suggested that it might be desirable to say, in answer to any press enquiries, that the names of Ambassadors had been exchanged. Mr. Crowe recommends that we should agree to this (para. 4). The normal procedure is to refrain from all comment until the agrément has been given, but in these circumstances it would clearly be helpful to News Department and in Cairo to answer questions by saying that the respective calls of Mr. Crowe and Mr. Khalil were indeed in connexion with the exchange of Ambassadors and to confirm, if asked, that the names have duly been communicated. We should decline to give the names until the agrément has been given. We cannot be sure that the U.A.R. will exercise similar discretion. Personnel Department have checked with the Palace that they have no objection to our answering in this way the questions that will inevitably arise from Mr. Khalil's call. Protocol Department see no objection.

3. On consulates, Mr. Crowe gave General Ismail to understand that he might be able to deliver a substantive reply in a fortnight or so (i.e. from November 26). This is perhaps a little earlier than we contemplated. Once the exchange on December 1 has been safely passed the Secretary of State will wish to consider the matter with the Ministers concerned. Some replies from the territories concerned are still outstanding and it will take time to draft a reply. Moreover we had wanted, if possible, to get

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the exchange of agréments on either side safely concluded before showing our hand on consulates. General Ismail is reported to be accompanying Field Marshal Hakim Amer to Moscow on November 30 and thus may be away for ten days or so, which may be helpful.

4. On a point of detail, it is interesting that General Ismail emphasised that it was embarrassing for the U.A.R. not to be represented in places where there were numbers of their own citizens. In fact Kuwait is the only place on the Egyptian list of consulates where there is a large U.A.R. colony (about 4,000).

5. I submit a draft telegram to Cairo on the lines suggested above. A guidance telegram to Middle East posts is also in preparation.

J.G.S. Beith

(J.G.S. Beith)
November 28, 1960.

Copies to:

Lord Privy Seal
Mr. Godber
Chief Clerk
Head of Protocol Dept.
Head of Personnel Dept.
Head of News Dept.
Head of I.P.D.

ll
28/60

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Office of the High Commissioner
for the United Kingdom,

P.O. Box 1482,

Salisbury,

S. Rhodesia.

FED. 5/6/3

24th November, 1960.

Confidential

Dear Peter,

Thank you for your letter, ME.429/259/4 of 17th November, about the proposed establishment of a U.A.R. consulate in Salisbury. I have discussed this with Federal officials and their first reactions, as you can imagine, were unfavourable. They will, however, want to put the proposition to their Ministers and I will telegraph their more considered reactions, when they have been received. They are quite convinced that the main purpose in setting up a U.A.R. consulate here would be the promotion of mischief. The number of U.A.R. citizens in the Federation is minimal and the amount of trade between the two countries very small; in fact the U.A.R. only sold £414 worth to the Federation in the last year for which figures are available.

2. Officials here realise that there is nothing much that can be done about the proclivity of Governments in exile to set themselves up in Cairo or about the welcome which the Egyptians give to African nationalists, whether from the Federation or other countries, and naturally this sort of thing does not endear them to them. But they do consider that the Egyptians could moderate the attacks on the Federation that emanate from Cairo Radio. While I gather that they have diminished recently in intensity, they have, as you know, been fairly vicious in the past and the Federal authorities might well wish to make it a precondition of accepting a consul that they should either cease or at least be toned down.

3. Another point in which they are interested is the result of the Colonial Office approach to the East African Governments: if there is any information on this which I could pass on to them I should be glad to have it.

Yours,

Sgd. Godfrey Bass.

(H.G.M. BASS)

G.P. Hampshire, Esq.,
Commonwealth Relations Office,
LONDON.

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ME. 50/32/2

COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE,

DOWNING STREET, S. W. 1.

29th November, 1960.

Thank you for your letter ^{VG1031/182} ~~FED.~~ 5/6/3 of 24th November about the proposed establishment of a U.A.R. Consulate in Salisbury.

For your own information, the fact is that all four East African Governments (Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar) have declared themselves strongly opposed to the establishment of U.A.R. Consulates in their territories. This of course has created a serious obstacle in the way of the plan for restoring diplomatic relations and exchanging consulates between the U.K. and the U.A.R. in the near future; and the whole matter is likely to be considered shortly by Ministers, to decide whether further efforts will have to be made to persuade the East African Governments to be more helpful.

Against this background we would prefer you not to volunteer to the Federal Authorities any information at this stage about the results of the parallel approach to the East African Governments. If, however, the Federal Authorities again put the question to you, you could only say that the initial reaction of these Governments to the proposal has not been favourable but the whole question is under Ministerial consideration here.

H.G.M. Bass, Esq.,
SALISBURY.

(G. P. HAMPSHIRE)

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

V. G. 105/184

Mr. Crowe

No. 925

November 30, 1960

D. 6.25 p.m. November 30, 1960

R. 6.45 p.m. November 30, 1960

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

V. G. 105/178

Your telegram No. 1127, paragraph 2, and my letter to Sir Roger Stevens of November 29: Consulates.

N/Y/R

2. Heikal has been ill but he asked me if I could see him today. After some talk about the Sudan (he accompanied Nasser on his recent trip) Heikal asked me what news I had brought back about consulates. When I said I had none but that you were working on the problem, he expressed great disappointment. He said he had specially asked to see me to learn what we were prepared to offer, and he asked if I could not possibly get an answer by tomorrow, December 1. I said of course that this was out of the question. He asserted that this had become a matter of prestige for the U.A.R. Suspicions of our policies and motives were still very much alive and many people were asking what good an exchange of ambassadors would do. They asserted that Her Majesty's Government's policy had not changed. The U.A.R. had asked for some consulates many months ago and we had given no answer of any kind. Could we not at least give them one or two and discuss the rest in due course? For their part they did not mind giving us posts in Aleppo, Deir ez Zor, Qameshli or wherever we wanted. (I doubt whether we should take the last two names seriously) I could only repeat that you were working on the problem, that there were a number of governments all over the world to be consulted, that some of their requests, as he knew, were very difficult and that we would reply as soon as possible.

3. Heikal's remarks bear out what Ismail has said on numerous occasions to Wright and myself. There was no (repeat no) suggestion that the exchange of ambassadors was

/conditional

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Cairo telegram No. 925 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

conditional on a favourable reply on consulates. On the other hand there is no doubt at all that the whole effect of an atmosphere created by the agreement to exchange ambassadors will be frittered away if we cannot give some reasonable answer on consulates in the very near future; and I should not be surprised if agreement was held up until such time as we have given our answer. It would be most undesirable to risk finding ourselves in a position where we were delaying our reply on consulates until we had received agreement, while the Egyptians delayed agreement until they had received our reply on consulates; this could only exacerbate all their suspicions, and would either result in deadlock or in one side or the other having to climb down.

4. I think it important therefore that we should make our offer in the course of the next week. I would hope that we could offer the U.A.R. Liverpool, Singapore, Hong Kong and an East African post. We could expect Alexandria, Damascus and Port Said in return. We could go on to say that their other requests were being examined; that as they knew they presented numerous difficulties (we would refer to their virulent propaganda to East Africa and Aden) and that we would discuss them in due course. If we cannot offer an East African post we should at least offer Freetown and Salisbury.

5. I have considered whether if we cannot reach some decision on an African post we might just offer Liverpool, Singapore and Hong Kong, but I fear this might do more harm than good, tie the question of consulates inextricably to ambassadors, and not get us Damascus. If we want Damascus, as we do, we must recognize that it is an even more sensitive place for the Egyptians than any East African post for us, and we must be prepared to offer them an adequate quid pro quo.

6. I should be grateful for your early instructions.

ADVANCE COPIES :-

Private Secretary
Sir F. Hoyer Millar
Sir R. Stevens
Head of Levant Department
Resident Clerk

0-0-0-0

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V. Gios/124(A).

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTF

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Crewe
No. 926
November 30, 1960

D: 6.50 p.m. November 30, 1960
R: 7.09 p.m. November 30, 1960

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

My immediately preceding telegram: Consulates.

Following for Sir Roger Stevens.

I am sorry to face you with this, but I fear we cannot delay an answer much longer. The question is uppermost in these people's minds. Quite apart from a possible delay in agreement (and there has been no suggestion on the Egyptian side that there might be a hitch), if we cannot make a reasonable offer very soon we run the risk of precipitating the same dreary pattern of events which has dogged Anglo-Egyptian relations whereby the effect of every promising initiative is nullified by some other development which plays into the hands of our enemies and enables them to claim that it is no use trying to do business with the British.

ADVANCE COPIES

Private Secretary
Sir M. Hoyer Miller
Sir R. Stevens
Head of Levant Department
Resident Clerk

JJJJJ

CONFIDENTIAL

11 DEC 1960
K/108/48



CONFIDENTIAL

BRITISH EMBASSY

TEHRAN

(1678/60)

November 30, 1960

Dear Department,

During the past week there has been an unusual concentration of hostile criticism of President Nasser in the Iranian press, indicative of the bitter feeling against him that persists here.

2. We enclose a brief summary of the articles we have seen. Two had as their subject the Arab petroleum conference at Kuwait, to which Iran, as a non-Arab state, was not invited. Four others were obviously sparked off by the false rumours, last Monday, of a coup d'etat in Iran, which was instantly ascribed to Colonel Nasser's agents. One article, which harked back to the Egyptian defeat in the Sinai at the hands of the Israelis, was probably just an attempt by the editor of a new paper to curry favour with the Government.

3. The latter's own high sensitivity on this subject was perhaps illustrated on November 23 by the non-appearance of the English language 'Kaihan International'; many ascribed this mainly to an article ("The View from Tewfik's Room", by John K. Cooley, taken from the "Observer News Service") in its issue of November 17, which presumed to take a favourable look at modern Egypt. The article it published on its front page on November 24, when it was allowed to reopen, was obviously in humble expiation of this misdeed.

We are sending a copy of this letter to the British Diplomatic Mission in Cairo, the Embassy at Ankara and the Regional Information Office, Beirut.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY. *g*

Eastern Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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SUMMARY OF IRANIAN PRESS COMMENT
CONCERNING PRESIDENT NASSER DURING
WEEK ENDING Nov. 27 1960

"Kaihan" (Independent)

November 19: Article representing the Petroleum Conference at Kuwait as an Egyptian manoeuvre to extend her own control in this field and make propaganda against Iran out of the sale of ex-Iranian petroleum to Israel.

"Paigham-e-Esruf" (Independent)

November 19: Editorial on the same lines as "Kaihan".

"Ettelaat" (Pro-government)

November 22: Blamed false rumours of a coup d'etat in Iran upon the machinations of Nasser's agents.

"Jahan" (Radical)

November 23: Same line as "Ettelaat".

"Farman" (Strongly pro-government)

November 23: Same line as "Ettelaat".

"Ettelaat" (Progovernment)

November 23: Frustration of Nasser's plots against Jordan.

"Setare-ye-Tehran" (Independent)

November 24. Editorial raking up Nasser's ignominious defeat by the Israeli's in the Sinai.

"Kaihan International" (Independent)

November 24: Article "exposing" Nasser's "poisonous dagger at the back of Sudan".

"Toly" (Pro-Government)

November 25: Article describing Nasser as the enemy of peace and security in the Middle East.

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GUARD

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LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG. 1018/49.

FROM Mr. M. J. Davis,
Washington to Mr. G. J. J.
Smith.

Secret.

To: 10620/118/60.

Dated December 7.

Received December 13.

SUBJECT:

Conversation with ARNOLD MEYER - American aid -
 MR. REINHARDT does not get on with NASSER as
 well as MR. HARE did.

References

MINUTES

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

JST
5.1.61.

(Main Indexed)

JK 8.61

This is revealing. Mr. Meyer seems to have been hardening in his views on the Egyptians recently. Of course, the State Department's view varies in proportion to the extent to which at any given time the Egyptians are or are not playing the Russian game. It may be recalled that when we were in the throes of negotiating the Financial Agreement, we were often hard put to it to justify its conclusion to Mr. Dulles, and the State Department on the grounds that it would not represent a victory for Nasser, which they were anxious to avoid. It was not long before we were having to restrain the State Department from authorising the release of Egyptian funds and the resumption of aid programmes, while we were still in difficulties. Then after the swing of the Iraqi situation in favour of the Russians, the Americans began to see Nasser as a bulwark against Communism. Now the pendulum is swinging again and, partly because of the Congo, they again see him as a tool of the Russians. Several months ago the C.I.A. were saying that there were signs of a U.A.R./U.S.S.R. rapprochement.

2. I doubt whether the nationalisation of Belgian assets will be enough to cause the State Dept. seriously to revise their programme of aid to the U.A.R., nor whether the International Bank will seriously consider interfering with the payments under the I.B.R.D. Loan Agreement for Suez Canal development.

3. It is disappointing that the new American Ambassador in Cairo is not doing better, and this underlines the need for the appointment of our own Ambassador. Not that Mr. Hare was much help to us, since he held his cards exceedingly close to the chest, and I think we only saw extracts from one despatch of his during the whole time he was in Cairo. There is now a better working relationship between the British Diplomatic Mission and the U.S. Embassy. It is also a great pity that the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. Arnold Smith, who had comparatively good contacts with Egyptian military leaders, is being transferred. None of the other Western Ambassadors seem very well informed, to judge from the material we get.

ER
 H. V. 3/1
 American
 157xii

(R. Arculus) MY
 December 14, 1960.

020
M T W T F S S

Mr Reinhardt is a very good man and seemed to me much more of a personality than Mr Have. So I don't think it's his fault. His experience may not augur well for Mr Geelay's first efforts.

L. Whitaker
Dec 15

[Signature]
15/xii

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BY AIR BAG
SECRET AND PERSONAL
10620/118/60

Sir R. Stead *lms*
to M.
W

*Forwarded with the Compliments
of M. S. Weir
of the British Embassy,
Washington, D. C.*

G.G. Arthur, Esq.,
British Diplomatic Mission,
Cairo.

10620/49.

December 7, 1960

SECRET
GUARD

BY AIR BAG
10620/118/60

British Embassy,
Washington, D.C.
December 7, 1960.

At dinner last night Armin Meyer had some interesting things to say about Nasser.

2. He said that the nationalisation of Belgian assets in Egypt, coming on top of everything else, made one wonder whether the man was beyond hope. When he was over in this country, the State Department had made a determined effort to demonstrate just how much the United States had done for him over the years and had produced figures showing that he had received some \$400 million in American aid since the revolution, \$300 million of which (admittedly mostly in P.L.480 supplies) had been made available within the last two years under the "normalisation programme". This had indeed seemed to make an impression on Nasser, and the Americans thought they had detected a falling off in anti-American propaganda for a fortnight or so following his return to Egypt. Now he was back at his old tricks again. On the U.A.R. experience in the Congo, Meyer thought that it had been a salutary lesson for Nasser, though he feared it would take a lot more than that to make him realise that he was not destined to be the standard-bearer of anti-colonialism in Africa. (In connection with the seizure of Belgian assets Iliff of the World Bank, who was present, remarked that he had shaken the Egyptians here by telling them - albeit in jest - that this kind of behaviour might cause the Bank to think twice about continuing payments under the Suez Canal Loan).

3. Asked how Reinhardt was doing in Cairo, Meyer said that frankly he was disappointed. After all the heart-to-heart talks which Ray Hare had had with Nasser, Reinhardt since his arrival had had only one conversation that had achieved anything like the same degree of intimacy. In the course of this Nasser had referred cheerfully to a series of contacts he had had with Moshe Sharett between 1952 and 1955, as if to imply that he was not implacably opposed to a settlement with Israel. This comparative lack of rapport was not Reinhardt's fault, merely a reflection of the fact that with Arabs one could not expect to inherit from one's predecessor as a matter of course the kind of relationship that Hare had had with Nasser. Personally Meyer thought it had been a mistake to bring Hare away from Cairo, especially as he had not wanted to leave himself. He thought it quite likely that Hare would be moved from his present job under the new Administration. He did not know about Lewis Jones but put the chances about even.

4. I am sending a copy of this letter to Geoffrey Arthur in Cairo.

(M. S. Weir)

J.G.S. Beith, Esq., C.M.G.,
Levant Department,
Foreign Office, S.W.1.

SECRET AND GUARD

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V
 LEVANT DEPARTMENT

V G. 1018/50.

FROM Mr. S. H. Jones, Cairo.

Confidential.

No. 178 Saving.
 Dated December 27.
 Received December 29.

SUBJECT:

President NASSER's speech at Port Said on "Victory Day" on December 23.

References

MINUTES

D. Mr. S. H. Jones, Cairo - 178 Saving - December 27.

He may mean what he says about obtaining atomic weapons at any cost if Israel gets them.

PAK Blaker.

30/12.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

- 3/1*
Mr. Jenkins - para 4 of 178 Saving and 2(c) of 179 Saving.
- Mr. Mohr - 3 of 178 + 2(c) of 179
- A E + J Dept - 4 of 178 + 2(c) of 179 *abs 4/1.*
- African Dept - 7 of 178. *File 12/178.*
- U.N. Dept - 2 of 178 *201.*
- Western Dept - 5 of 178 + 2(c) of 179.
- American Dept - 6 of 178 + 2(c) of 179. *✓ KST 23/*

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

24.1.51.

*JM 8/61
 Lc.*

EAST PAPER

The scathing attack on King Hussein (para 3) may well have been prompted by the prosecutor at the Amman treason trial describing Nasser as "a shedder of blood + an enemy of Arabism" on Dec 19.

2/1

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According to Mr D. Newson, of the US Embassy,
 The attack on the US was prompted by two
 interviews to which the OAR Ambassador was summoned
 by the State Dept. I said, rather unkindly, that Mr Cruise
 had recommended that our reply on Cambodia be handed over
 after Dec. 23, & Mr Newson said regretfully that he
 wished the State Dept had shown equal sense.

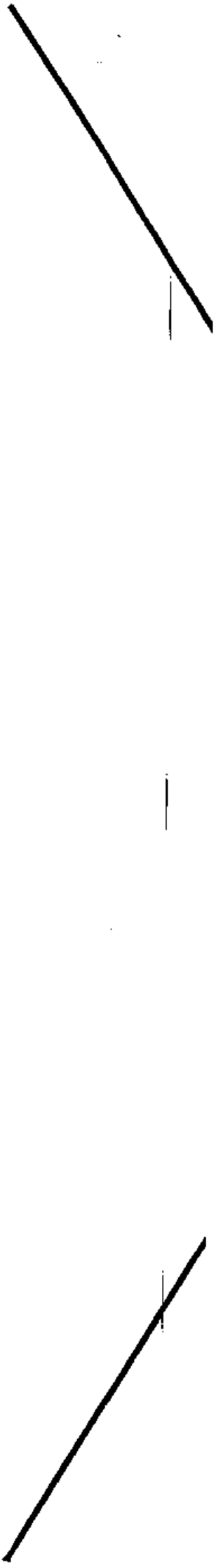
Mr Regan or

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Philly 9/41

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11/12/60

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16-10-18/50.

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OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

FROM BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

By Bag
From C.T. Crowe
No. 178 Saving
December 27, 1960.

Rec'd 29/12

Fowlt

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Addressed to Foreign Office Saving Telegram No.178 of December 27, repeated for information Saving to:-

- Beirut 121
- Baghdad 63
- Amman 50
- POMEF 108
- POBFAP 36
- Washington 80
- Paris 34
- UK Del. NATO 31
- Tel Aviv 47
- UK Mission New York 60

President Nasser delivered a two hour speech to the people of Port Said on "Victory Day" on December 23.

2. Nasser began with a long dissertation on the fearless and successful struggle of the Egyptians and Syrians to rid themselves of imperialism and its stooges and to establish the principles of Arab nationalism and unity, social justice, and the socialist democratic co-operative society. He spoke of the relentless but unsuccessful opposition of the imperialists to these principles. After familiar references to the "eleven secret radio stations" established by imperialism to create dissension between the U.A.R. and the rest of the Arab world, and to the role formerly played by British Ambassadors in Egypt, he concluded that imperialism, having failed in all direct operations, was now using Israel and imperialist stooges as its spearhead.

3. Nasser then launched a scathing attack on King Hussein, pouring scorn on Hussein's allegations of U.A.R. plots. The U.A.R. was responsible for the freedom of the Arab nation and for the establishment of social justice in every Arab

/country

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country. The U.A.R. would eradicate the stooges of imperialism throughout the Arab world. Imperialist stooges, including King Husein, were trying to destroy the union between Egypt and Syria by casting doubt on the strength of the Syrian economy.

4. Turning to reports about the manufacture of an Israeli atomic bomb, Nasser declared that the Arabs were no more frightened of this than they had been of Britain, herself an atomic power, in 1956. If Israel could make an atomic bomb, so could the U.A.R. The U.A.R. would always maintain superiority over Israel, regardless of sacrifice or expense. If Israel was making an atom bomb, the U.A.R. would have to attack the base of aggression. If the imperialists gave Israel atomic weapons, the U.A.R. would secure such weapons at any cost. If Israel was in alliance with the West against the Arabs, the U.A.R. would adopt any means to safeguard the country and destroy her enemies.

5. On Algeria, he concentrated his attack on NATO, which he described as the Arabs' enemy No.1, for it supplied France with arms and fought against the principles of the U.A.R.

6. Nasser then turned on the United States. The Americans had accused the U.A.R. of voting at the United Nations fourteen times with the Russians, and not once with the United States. U.A.R. votes were not for sale, they were cast on principle. The United States had given Israel \$3,000 million during the last ten years. Thus, if Israel was now manufacturing an atomic bomb, the money had come from the United States. Every bullet fired to kill an Arab was paid for by American and Western imperialism. The same applied in Algeria.

7. Turning to the Congo, Nasser accused the United Nations of carrying out United States policy. The United Nations Organisation had become a vehicle for imperialism and had betrayed itself in the Congo. The United Nations Secretariat was also responsible and must be re-organised.

8. Nasser concluded his speech with a passage on the realisation of the social, economic and political objectives of the Egyptian revolution.

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INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

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CONFIDENTIAL

OUTWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

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FROM BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

BY BAG

From C.T. Crowe

No. 179 Saving
December 27, 1960.

Recd 29/12

CONFIDENTIAL

VG1018/50(a)

Addressed to F.O. Saving telegram No. 179 of
December 27 repeated for information Saving to:

- Beirut 122
- Baghdad 64
- Amman 51
- POMEH 109
- POBFAP 37
- Washington 81
- Paris 35
- UKDel NATO 32
- Tel Aviv 48
- UKMis New York 61

VG1018

My immediate preceding Saving telegram: Nasser's Port Said speech.

The speech was rambling and repetitive, the tone harsh and demagogic. Though Nasser said nothing new, his attack on the West was more thoroughgoing and comprehensive than usual.

2. The main points of interest were:
- (a) Nasser attacked the United States more often and more fiercely than any other Western power.
 - (b) He was particularly hard on NATO and his remarks on this theme were not confined entirely to the context of Algeria.
 - (c) When speaking of positive neutralism and the Israeli atomic bomb, he made it clear by implication that he was prepared to go to any lengths to obtain nuclear or other weapons from the Soviet Union if Israel got them.
 - (d) The only spontaneous reaction from the crowd seemed to be when Nasser poured his scorn on King Hussein. He was at his most effective in this part of his speech.

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE ✓

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Crowe

No. 601
July 27, 1960D. 1.38 p.m. July 27, 1960
R. 2.44 p.m. July 27, 1960 Vg1018/31

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 601 of July 27.
Repeated for information to Tehran, Ankara and Savig to Baghdad,
Beirut, P.O.M.E.F., Tel Aviv, Washington, UKHS New York, Amman,
Khartoum and Karachi. - Vg10334/1

My telegram No. 599: Nasser's Alexandria speech.

Nasser spoke at the celebrations in Alexandria on July 26
of the Eighth Anniversary of the revolution and the Fourth
Anniversary of the nationalisation of the Canal.

2. Nasser began by welcoming the presence of General Abbud
of the Sudan and the Cuban Defence Minister, Raoul Castro.
He expressed his support for Fidel Castro's struggle for freedom
and spoke of the battles fought by Egypt during the past eight
years against intimidation and pressure. Egypt had not been
deceived by the false slogans of Imperialist stooges nor by
foreign propaganda.

3. The Baghdad Pact.

When the Imperialists established the Baghdad Pact Nuri
said that it would increase the strength of the Arabs against
Israel. Nasser had, however, realized that the Pact was
intended to destroy the independence of the Arab nation and to
bring it within a foreign zone of influence. Eden had confirmed
this in the Commons in 1955 by saying that the Pact had ensured
the continuation of British influence in the Middle East. No
member of the Arab nation had been deceived by Nuri Said's fraud
nor by the open and secret broadcasts of Imperialism and its
stooges. Nobody could believe that Britain, who had created
Israel, would help the Arabs to defend themselves against Israeli
aggression or to restore the rights of the Palestine Arabs.

4. Subsequently it was claimed that the Baghdad Pact was an
Islamic Pact. This trick also failed to delude the Arabs. An
Islamic Pact could not be established under the auspices of
Britain or the United States.

/5.

Cairo telegram No. 601 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

5. Iran.

Iran, who had joined the Baghdad Pact, had entered the war against the U.A.R. and Arab Nationalism, and had recognized Israel. The Shah had announced this at a Press Conference. Three years ago the Shah had said that the Baghdad Pact was designed to support the Arabs against Israel. In fact, the Shah had worked against the Arabs at the time of the Egyptian Revolution in 1952 and when the U.A.R. was established in 1958. He had encouraged and supported Britain during the tripartite aggression. He was a stooge, an enemy of freedom, and a tyrant. Ever since Musaddeq's liberation movement, the Shah had looked with terror at all such movements in the Arab World. It was this that kept him within the sphere of foreign influence. He had sold himself to Imperialism at a low price, and had recognized Israel to satisfy America and his other Imperialist masters. The Iranian people were, however, not for sale. They would refuse to submit to Colonialism, or to permit world Zionism to control them.

6. Nasser then announced the closing of the U.A.R. Embassy in Tehran, (my telegram No. 599). This was the U.A.R.'s answer to the Shah's provocative act. The U.A.R. supported the people of Iran in their fight to rid themselves of Feudalism and foreign influence. The Iranian people had been struggling for independence. Only a week ago the Shah had dismissed 500 officers. After the revolution against Musaddeq he had executed 600 officers. He might think that through Israel and Zionism he could get more dollars and support from the United States in order to dominate the people of Iran.

7. In 1953 the Shah had escaped to Nuri Said's Iraq. Where was Nuri Said today? Where was Adnan Menderes? Where was Suhrawardy? They had all gone except for the Shah of Iran.

8. The United States.

The political parties in the United States were wooing Zionism to win the elections. If they wished to talk nonsense in Washington this would not influence U.A.R. policy, which was not designed by either the Democratic or Republican party. The Democratic Party had announced that it would work for the achievement of freedom of passage for Israeli ships through the Suez Canal. The U.A.R. would defend Arab rights to the

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Cairo telegram No. 601 to Foreign Office

- 3 -

last drop of blood. Sovereignty in the U.A.R. rested with the people and did not belong to any political party in Washington. The Republican Party could have spoken about the rights of the people of Palestine and the United Nations resolutions, but they only remembered that which benefited the Jews.

9. Nasser concluded with a passage on Africa (summary in my immediately following telegram - not to all).

Foreign Office pass saving to Baghdad, Washington, UKMIS New York, Amman, Khartoum and Karachi as my telegrams Nos. 23, 31, 32, 27, 4 and 2 respectively.

[Repeated as requested.]

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

TTTTT

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V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG 1018/32

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

FROM Mr Browe, Cairo,
 CONFIDENTIAL.
 No. 604
 Dated July, 27.
 Received July, 28.

SUBJECT:
 Comments on NASSER's attack on
 the Shah during his Alexandria
 speech.

1018

References

/31.
 VG10334/1.

MINUTES

The Iraq press has launched
 a severe campaign against Iran,
 and it will be interesting to see
 to what extent other Arab countries
 follow on.

M. Jenkins
 29/7

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

Eastern Dept.
 I.P.D. 1/9/6
 F.O. O.D. (ME) 2/5

R.
 29/7/6

The campaign is relatively moderate
 by Iraqi standards so far — + is more
 slightly more in some than in
 other

M. Chamberlain
 28/8

(Action completed)

AI
 25/6

(Main Indexed)

AI
 25/6

Mr Whitcomb
 2/8/6

17/1/6

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

VC 1018/32

Gypher/OTF

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Cross
No. 601
July 27, 1960

D: 3.14 p.m. July 27, 1960
R: 3.48 p.m. July 27, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 601 of July 27.

Repeated for information to: Tehran. Ankara.
and Saving to: Baghdad. Beirut.
P.O.M.E.F. Tel Aviv. Washington. U.K. Mission New York.
Amman. Khartoum. VC 10334/11 VC 1018/32

My telegrams Nos. 599, 601 and 602: Nasser's Alexandria Speech.

This was one of Nasser's worst efforts. In his attack on the Shah his delivery was unrestrained and violent, and his language that of the Cairo streets. His remarks about the United States were only slightly more restrained.

2. Nasser is traditionally expected to deliver a sensational speech on this occasion. Rumours had been current the day before that he was even thinking of cancelling his speech for lack of suitable matter.

3. It is difficult to say at this stage what Nasser expects to achieve by the break in relations with Iran or whether his reaction was dictated by sheer emotion. It may well have been the latter: I doubt in fact whether he would have gone so far had not the Shah's statement come shortly before the Alexandria speech. Much will now depend on whether he can get other Arab States to follow his example.

Foreign Office please pass Tehran and Ankara and Saving to Baghdad, Washington, U.K. Mission New York, Amman and Khartoum as my telegrams Nos. 4, 6, 24, 34, 34, 28 and 5 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

JJJJ

CONFIDENTIAL

O N R E E E

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
 WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Crowe

V6108/33

No. 607
 July 29, 1960

D. 10. 20 a.m. July 29, 1960
 R. 11. 10 a.m. July 29, 1960

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 607 of July 29.

Repeated for information to: Tehran
 and Saving to: Ankara
 Baghdad
 Beirut

Amman
 P.O.M.E.P.
 Washington

Nasser delivered a further speech on July 28 at Alexandria University.

2. After defining the part to be played by universities in building the new socialist, democratic and cooperative society, Nasser again attacked colonialism, Zionism, the Baghdad Pact and Iran. Britain, he said, could not tolerate the fact that the U.A.R. could produce jet aircraft and armaments. Colonialism and Zionism believed in the policy of divide and rule, and could not bear the idea of Arab nationalism. They were the stumbling block to Arab unity. Having failed by direct methods of aggression, subversion and economic warfare, colonialism and Zionism were relying on their paid agents. After referring to the Hashemite Federation in contemptuous terms as a British creation, Nasser quoted a passage in the Eden memoirs to the effect that there were three rulers in the Middle East, apart from Nuri Said, who had sought the destruction of the Egyptian régime. One of these was Nenderes, who had been swept away. All imperialist stooges feared liberation movements. The Shah of Iran had opposed Egypt at the time of the Suez war. He was attached to imperialism and had conspired against the Arabs by pretending that the Baghdad Pact was an Islamic pact. How then could he cooperate with and export oil to Israel and open Iran to Israel and the Zionists? Thus the Arabs found out that the Islamic pact idea was also a British creation. An Islamic pact under the leadership of Eden or Selwyn Lloyd was an absurd notion.

3. Colonialism had instigated the Shah of Iran to

/announce

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Extract from Summary of
World Broadcasts
No. 398 of 30th July, 1960

MR/398/A/2

Nasir's Speech at Alexandria UniversityCairo home service 20.00 GMT 28.7.60 (recorded)

Excerpts of Nasir's speech at Alexandria University:

[Introductory passage on the function of universities in training men to build up the socialist, democratic, co-operative society and eliminate class-feeling and class-differences.]

Through national unity, we expelled imperialism, achieved independence and faced and took up the challenge of the big States. A British paper ['Daily Express'] yesterday said that since the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, the West or imperialism was being defeated everywhere, because the nationalisation of the Suez Canal was a lesson to the whole world on the method by which the small States could confront the imperialist States. The paper said that they were being defeated everywhere - in Korea and in Africa. In nationalising the Suez Canal we found ourselves confronted by difficult circumstances. But through national unity, we succeeded in overcoming these difficulties.

The triple aggression against our country was not an easy thing. Through national unity we succeeded in confronting this aggression. We have confidence in God and in ourselves, and are resolved to safeguard our independence. But despite all these victories, do imperialism and Zionism agree to let us go our own way? The article published in this British newspaper, which represents the spirit of imperialism, gives us the idea that imperialism cannot allow us to build ourselves up.

Naturally, Britain cannot bear seeing us produce jet aircraft or weapons; imperialism and Zionism cannot easily agree to let us industrialise our country. We imagine that under no circumstances can they accept Arab nationalism or Arab unity, since their principle has always been one of disagreement and disunity; they divided the Arab countries to weaken them...

Their great reliance was on their agents; imperialism continues to rely on its agents. Did this deceive the Arab people? They try to depend on their old agents, even though the number of these is continuously decreasing - they are falling like the autumn leaves. Their number is decreasing for the simple reason that national vigilance has reached the stage where every individual in every Arab country knows who the imperialist lackeys and agents are and what are the aims of imperialism and Zionism.

The people of the UAR know the aims of imperialism and Zionism. The anti-UAR clandestine stations have had no effect. Rather, they have had a contrary effect. The hostile broadcasts against the UAR have had no effect because the people have become vigilant. Ever since the establishment of the union between Syria and Egypt, imperialism has been trying by all means and methods to turn its spear against Arab nationalism; imperialism believes that the concept of Arab nationalism threatens its spheres of influence.

The imperialist agents in Iraq established the Hashimite union in order to confront the UAR with it. But every individual in the Arab world knew that the Hashimite union was of British make and not Arab-made. It is impossible for an Arab to believe in anything of British make because, being an Arab, he would like to see Arab-made things, and not those of British, American, or Zionist make. Whatever they do now is known to all Arabs to be foreign-made, and no foreign-made thing can succeed. The imperialist agents in the Arab world are foreign-made, and therefore they cannot continue with their work; the people will wipe them out to destroy the imperialist foundations in this region.

In 1958, when the revolution in Iraq took place, everyone knew that the King, the Crown Prince, and the Premier were British-made. For this reason, no one hesitated to destroy this British-made thing. This is the vigilance of the Arab people - and these are the dangers which threaten us. Whatever we build and however we develop ourselves, we must always be on the alert, because imperialism and Zionism have made many attempts to destroy us and destroy the possibility of developing our country and (each time have) failed.

ME/398/A/3

In his book on Suez, Eden says that Nuri as-Said asked him to destroy Egypt and the existing regime there because he considered that this regime was a threat to his existence, and to the friends of Britain. In his memoirs, Eden said that there were three other rulers in this region who asked him to take this step.

Naturally, we know that in Turkey, Adnan Menderes felt that a revolution in the Arab world, or any revolutionary development in the Arab world, would spread to Turkey and be echoed there. Of course, he considered this a danger to his position. Therefore, he was one of those who asked Eden to destroy all revolutionary ideas existing in this region. During the Suez Canal [crisis] and the Suez war the Shah of Iran stood out against us. We tried in every way to forget these faults, because we respect the people of Iran and there are old ties between us and them. But the Shah's relations with imperialism have always had great influence on his policy. To please imperialism, it was necessary to attack us and conspire against us in the name of the Baghdad Pact, and, as I have said, to coin slogans in the name of an Islamic Pact. This coining did not deceive any of us, because if the Shah of Iran wanted to form an Islamic Pact, how could he co-operate with Israel, send oil to it, and open wide the gates of his country to Israel and Zionism? His purpose was to deceive us and include us in the spheres of influence. This idea could not deceive the Arab people in any Arab country, because the Arab people knew that the idea of an Islamic Pact, which the Baghdad Pact also advocates, was a British-made idea. It is impossible for the States which agreed to submit to Britain in the Baghdad Pact, and to accept Britain's and America's partnership, to say: We are the Islamic pact. It is illogical to have an Islamic pact under the leadership of Sir Anthony Eden, Lloyd, or any other of these people [applause].

The Shah of Iran holds a press conference, and to please America he declares his country's recognition of Israel. Thus, he expresses his antagonism to the Arabs, and challenges them, claiming that he wants to form an Islamic pact. Naturally, it was impossible to face this challenge with folded arms. We kept silent before the Suez Canal (crisis) and during the time of the Baghdad Pact, when we faced conspiracies. After the Baghdad Pact, at the time of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal the Shah incited the British to attack us, supported them at the London conference, and joined with the 18 countries in demanding the internationalisation of the Suez Canal. During all this time the rulers in Iran were against us, and with imperialism and Zionism. We know that the people of Iran do not accept this, because they have always stretched their hands out to us in friendship and fraternity. We had to meet this provocation with a similar provocation and this challenge with a similar challenge.

We severed our relations with the Shah of Iran because there was no need for our Embassy in Iran. When we severed our relations, we were confident that the people of Iran would not let the Shah or the rulers of Iran continue to march along this road. The people of Iran cannot agree to be ridden by imperialism or Zionism.

[Concluding passage attacking Zionism.]

Explosions in Amman

Damascus news service 11.15 GMT 28.7.60

Excerpts of commentary:

... The Jordanian people received the news [of Iran's recognition of Israel] with great indignation and denunciation of imperialism, its agents and lackeys, and also with great exasperation against King Husayn for his close co-operation with the Shah of Iran in this policy, which conspires against the Arab people...

The struggling Arab Jordanian people have disturbed the agents with dreadful explosions, which occurred in Amman at 01.30 after midnight last night near the building of the Ministry of Agriculture and upset and terrified the agent rulers, who are always trembling in fear of the people's wrath. Their explosions occurred outside the city

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Wright 4/10/66

No. 686
September 12, 1960

B. 1.20 p.m. September 12, 1960
R. 1.50 p.m. September 12, 1960

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 686 of September 12
Repeated for information to U.K. Mission New York

The timing of President Nasser's departure for the United Nations depends on what can be done about the proposed visit to Cairo of Sekou Toure (due September 23). I understand that the President wishes to get to New York soon, if possible for the opening of the Assembly, and has not decided how long he will stay. Sekou Toure is said to be thinking of attending the United Nations himself and the U.A.R. Government are trying to get in touch with him to see if his visit here can be adjusted or postponed.

2. There is also a good deal of activity about plans for the President's journey, and several commercial airlines in Cairo have been approached, including TWA and Air India. The Egyptians would like him to travel in a Misrair Comak, but there are technical difficulties and it cannot be excluded that route will be via the United Kingdom under arrangements made by one of the commercial airlines. I will telegraph immediately I hear that a decision has been made.

Foreign Office pass U.K. Mission New York as my telegram No. 36.

[Repeated as requested]

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INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

RESTRICTED
SECRET SAVING TELEGRAM

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FROM BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

By Reg.
No. 123
September 12, 1960,
From P.M.C. Wright
RESTRICTED.

CB

ADVANCE COPY

191018/36

Addressed to Foreign Office Saving telegram No. 123 of September 12, repeated for information Saving to U.I. Mission New York 44 and Romar. 53

- 191018/35

By telegram No. 686 (not to all): President Nasser and United Nations.

President Nasser's decision to attend the General Assembly has been acclaimed in Cairo as a master stroke, a symbol of the importance which the U.A.R. attaches to the United Nations, and a blow to Israel's designs in Africa.

2. Nasser's proposed journey has been the main subject of news and comment in all papers since his decision was announced. The press claims that the whole world is talking about it and that many Heads of Governments will now think again about whether they should go to New York.

3. Comparisons with Bandung are freely drawn. President Nasser is expected once again to play an important part on the world stage. The universal interest in his attendance in New York is taken as a tribute to him personally and as recognition of the importance of Cairo as one of the great capitals of positive neutralism, now a potent force in world affairs.

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<p style="font-size: 2em; text-align: center;">1080</p> <p>FROM <i>Vocant Hood</i> <i>Washington</i> <i>Confidential</i></p> <p><i>No. 2007</i> <i>Dated Oct 3rd 1960</i> <i>Received Oct 4th</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center; font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">V</p> <p style="text-align: center; font-weight: bold;">LEVANT DEPARTMENT</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC</p> <p style="text-align: right; font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">V_G 1018,37</p> <p>SUBJECT: <i>Reported conversation between President Nasser and Mr. HARE. Situation in the Middle East.</i></p>		
<p style="text-align: center;">References</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">MINUTES</p> <p>This is encouraging. Mr. Heikal this morning gave the impression that the interview with the Prime Minister had been a success.</p> <p>2. President Nasser's attitude on Jordan does not seem to be fully ^{entirely} negative.</p> <p>3. The reference to "a flicker of interest" in the idea of maintaining arms at a given level as between Israel and the U.A.R. is extremely interesting. Evidently the State Department were throwing a fly over the President as a result of our initiative in discussing this idea with them. We shall be receiving records of the Bipartite and Tripartite talks in Washington and New York, and it may well be that paragraph 3 of this telegram will give us the necessary opening to suggest to the Americans that they should take this a little bit further with the Egyptians, so that if it comes to a U.S./U.K. approach to the French in due course (perhaps in December in Paris when there may be more Tripartite talks) we have something more constructive to put to them than the mere unpalatable request that they should refrain from supplying Mirages. Nasser is quoted as saying that the Israelis "had got super-sonic aircraft", and it will therefore be important that he should get the facts straight.</p> <p>4. The immediately following telegram referred to in paragraph 5 is about the Congo.</p>		
<p style="text-align: center;">(Printing Instructions)</p>	<p style="text-align: right; margin-right: 50px;"><i>Arulus</i> (R. Arulus) October 4, 1960.</p> <p style="text-align: right; margin-right: 50px;"><i>PO Regan 4/x</i></p> <p style="text-align: right; margin-right: 50px;"><i>Nasser presumably meant the Super-Mystère, which is super-sonic but not so fast</i></p>		
<p style="text-align: center;">(Outward Action)</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;"> <p style="text-align: center; font-size: 0.8em;">(Action completed)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>6/1/60</i></p> </td> <td style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;"> <p style="text-align: center; font-size: 0.8em;">(Main Indexed)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>24 5/61</i></p> </td> </tr> </table> <p style="text-align: center; margin-top: 10px;"><i>VJ 10316/112.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center; font-size: 0.8em;">(Action completed)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>6/1/60</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center; font-size: 0.8em;">(Main Indexed)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>24 5/61</i></p>
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The Viscount Hood

No. 2007
October 3, 1960D: 9.49 p.m. October 3, 1960
R: 10.40 p.m. October 3, 1960**PRIORITY
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Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 2007 of October 3.
Repeated for information to U.K. Mis. New York (for Secretary of State), Cairo and Amman.

U.K. Mis. New York telegram No. 952 to you : meetings with President Nasser and King Hussein.

The State Department informed us today that when the Deputy Under-Secretary for Political Affairs (Mr. Hare) saw President Nasser on September 30 the latter had referred to his conversation with the Prime Minister on September 28. President Nasser had gone out of his way to express pleasure at having had this conversation, and appeared greatly impressed by the friendly attitude of the Prime Minister.

2. On Jordan, President Nasser told Mr. Hare that he had nothing against King Hussein personally, but on the subject of propaganda he reiterated the line that the U.A.R. was obliged to hit back when attacked. He volunteered the statement that it would not (repeat not) be possible for him to meet King Hussein while in New York, but he commented at one point that Iraq's cessation of hostile propaganda attacks on the U.A.R. had made it possible for the U.A.R. to reciprocate. The State Department thought that in this reference to Iraq President Nasser was implying that similar easing of tension might be possible between the U.A.R. and Jordan.

3. On arms supplies to Israel and the Arab States, President Nasser had agreed with Mr. Hare that the present competitive acquisition of modern weapons was undesirable. He said, however, that since the Israelis had got supersonic aircraft he had had to approach the Russians. He seemed to show a flicker of interest in the idea of maintaining armaments at a given level on both sides, taking the line that if the Israelis would abandon their present tactics it would not be necessary for the U.A.R. to seek additional arms.

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/s.

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Washington telegram No. 2007 to Foreign Office

-2 -

4. In giving us this account of Mr. Hare's talk, the State Department particularly asked us to respect his confidence.

5. See my immediately following telegram (not repeated to all).

Foreign Office please pass to Cairo and Amman as my telegrams Nos. 15 and 16 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

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LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG 1018/38

FROM Mr Wright, Cairo

SUBJECT:

PREIDENT NASSER'S speech on Oct 5th on his arrival in Cairo from the U.N.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 754
 Dated Oct 6th
 Received Oct 7th

References

VS 10316/110

MINUTES

A nasty crack at Mr. Nasser, which will not help U.S./Australian relations; an Australian minister to Cairo has just been named (see VG-1061/17 (A) below).

10.7/10.

(Printing Instructions)

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 FORD (M.E.) 17/10
 UN. Dept 17/10

(Outward Action)

AD Mr P. Wright, Cairo No 756 October 6th
 Submitted within

(Action completed)

18/10/60

(Main Indexed)

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

Mr. Wright

No. 754

October 6, 1960

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL

DISTRIBUTION

D. 5.0 p.m. October 6, 1960

R. 5.55 p.m. October 6, 1960

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 754 of October 6.
Repeated for information to UEMis New York

	Washington	Tel Aviv
and Saving to	Amman	Paris
	Baghdad	Jerusalem
	Beirut	Moscow
	HQ BFAP	PCNSP

President Nasser returned to Cairo on October 5 and addressed a large crowd from the balcony of the Egyptian Executive Council building.

2. Nasser began with a review of his visit to the United Nations. He said that he had felt it his duty not to leave the international scene to the great nuclear Powers. The moral force represented by the free peoples who had fought for and won their independence was more powerful than rockets and atomic threats. This moral force had enabled Egypt to defeat the aggression launched against her by two great Powers. Countries recently independent should play a part in the international scene; world public opinion had to be taken into account by the nuclear Powers. Those countries which had adopted a policy of non-alignment had to show the world that it did not exist simply for the Western or Eastern bloc; He wanted peace in order to improve the standard of living and well being of his country and for the benefit of the world at large. He wanted independence and freedom, for which reason he had adopted the policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment. He had made all this clear at the United Nations. If the world remained divided into two camps war would inevitably ensue. The existence of positive neutralist States lessened international tension. The U.A.R. did not side either with the Eastern or the Western bloc. It sided with itself and with those supporting peace.

3. World Zionism of which New York was said to be the capital had invariably represented Arabs as the aggressors and Israel as the victim. In New York he had succeeded in clarifying the position /and

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Cairo telegram No. 734 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

and in explaining the Arab cause and the errors of the United Nations over Palestine. The Arabs had never abandoned their rights. He had also spoken of the struggle of the Algerian people and of the principles of Bandung. In the Congo mistakes had been committed and there had been imperialist conspiracies. These were other problems of imperialism throughout Africa which he had put before the General Assembly in the name of the U.A.R.

4. He had had discussions with many world leaders and had submitted a resolution to the United Nations recommending a meeting between Eisenhower and Khrushchev. Certain manoeuvres had been carried out against this resolution. Mr. Menzies "whom we all remember from 1956" had put forward a draft amendment which was an expression of the cold war and aimed at frustrating the resolution. "They all knew what Australia stood for".

5. President Nasser believed that the Arab nation had won a great victory at the General Assembly and that it had made its presence felt. International Zionism had tried to distort the picture but the American people now saw differently. Zionism and Imperialism had fought against him but without effect.

6. The remainder of Nasser's speech, which was devoted to Jordan, is summarised in my immediately following telegram.

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Foreign Office pass UKW to New York, Washington and Saigon to Amman, Baghdad, HQ B.F.A.P., Paris, Jerusalem and Moscow as my telegrams 51, 47, 40, 45, 21, 19, 21 and 3 respectively.

Repeated as requested to Foreign Service posts: Copies sent to Registry Telegrams, Air Ministry for repetition Saigon to H.Q.B.F.A.P.

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

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Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Wright
No. 756
October 6, 1960

✓G-1018/38(A)
D: 8.43 p.m. October 6, 1960
R: 9.13 p.m. October 6, 1960

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Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 756 of October 6.

Repeated for information to:	UKMIS New York	Tel Aviv
	Washington	Amman
and Saving to:	Baghdad	Paris
	Beirut	Jerusalem
	HQ BFAP	POMEF

My 2 immediately preceding telegrams.

Nasser's speech sounded extempore. The passages about the United Nations were rambling and repetitive and evoked little response from the crowd. He spoke of Mr. Menzies with great bitterness.

2. When he started on King Hussein, Nasser's whole manner changed and he dropped into the colloquial Arabic of the streets. He spoke with contempt and hatred, referring frequently to King Hussein as "the little king, the hireling king." He appeared to be carried away by his own fervour and to have difficulty in stopping. His words were frequently interrupted by chanting and applause from the crowd.

Foreign Office pass New York, Washington, Tel Aviv and Saving Baghdad, HQ BFAP, Paris and Jerusalem as my telegrams 53, 49, 56, 47, 23, 21 and 23 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

[Copy sent to Registry Telegrams Air Ministry for repetition Saving to HQ BFAP].

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	<p style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">V</p> <p>LEVANT DEPARTMENT</p> <p style="font-size: 1.5em; font-weight: bold;">V G 1018/39</p>		
<p>FROM <i>Summary World Broadcast</i></p> <p>No. <i>456</i></p> <p>Dated <i>Oct 7th</i></p> <p>Received <i>Oct 12th</i></p>	<p>SUBJECT:</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u><i>Text of PRESIDENT NASSER'S speech on his return from United Nations</i></u></p>		
<p>References</p> <p><i>138/39</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">MINUTES</p> <p><i>The passages on Hussein are unusually violent, even for a speech to the mlt. (P. 566)</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>M. Jenkins 13/10</i></p> <p><i>See Cairo file. T54's.</i></p> <p><i>Send for the record.</i></p> <p><i>Mr. M. Kelly 14/10</i></p> <p><i>FOR (M.E.) file. 14/10</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>L. Kelly 10/10</i></p>		
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STET

Nasir's Speech in Cairo*Extract from S.W.B.
No. 456 of Oct. 7th.*12:00
1300
Cairo and Damascus 15.30 GMT 5.10.60 (live)

Text of Nasir's speech (delivered mainly in colloquial Egyptian Arabic) from the balcony of the Executive Council building in Cairo:

JG.1018/39

Citizens, it pleases me to meet you, to see these masses of the people who by their struggle and determination were able to achieve and safeguard independence and to establish the UAR as an independent and free Republic, which is proud of itself. We have attained independence through our struggle, and through our struggle and blood and our fathers' blood we have built our country. We are determined also that our country should be free and strong - a country with a liberated will, a country which speaks with conviction and belief in what it says, a country which decided to be its own master and to hoist only its free flag which it has planted through its struggle and blood.

It is our Republic, the UAR, the Republic which you have built and which feels that it has a duty toward itself, its citizens, all mankind and the entire world - the Republic that speaks for every one of you and which represents the masses of this people, and believes it has a great role which it should carry out in this world. This is the UAR, whose course you, the people, have drawn up. You have pledged to defend the Republic with your lives, blood and everything dear while pursuing this course. This is the Republic of which we dreamed in the past. This is the UAR in whose name I spoke before the UN General Assembly [applause].

When I spoke at the UN, and when I met with the world leaders during the UN meeting, I always remembered the struggle, determination, hopes and aspirations of this people. As I spoke, I always expressed the policy which this people planned by their struggle, determination and blood - the free and independent policy. Why did we go to the UN General Assembly's session? After liberating ourselves from imperialism and declaring our free and independent policy, after we decided to follow the policy of positive neutrality, and after we declared Arab nationalism and established the UAR, it was inevitable that we should work in the international field and not leave it to the Great Powers which possess nuclear weapons and rockets. The world today has powers that will compete with these nuclear weapons and rockets. These powers, brother citizens, are the moral powers represented by you and the free peoples who have struggled for and achieved their freedom and independence, and also by the free peoples who preach the right of the peoples to freedom and self-determination. This is the moral power, brother citizens.

STET

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part of the truth. The truth began in Cairo when Khrushchev's proposal, that the UN General Assembly should meet at heads of government level, was received with seriousness and concern. The purpose was to build a bridge of neutralists across the wide gulf separating East and West so that the fate of peace or war might not be in the hands of the big Powers and so that the neutral States might be enabled to translate their philosophy of non-alignment, which so far has been an idea and a call, into action and application."

"Thus," continued Haykal, "the invitation was sent out to the neutralists to attend this meeting because the USA would not be able to boycott it if the majority of the neutralists decided to attend. In this way Russia would not have the chance to achieve its aim of isolating the entire Western camp from the new big forces in Asia and Africa.

"This is what actually happened. The USA gave up its decision to boycott the meeting and Eisenhower announced that he would attend the meeting and would address the Assembly before Khrushchev. It was also announced that Macmillan, the Australian Prime Minister Menzies, the Canadian Prime Minister Diefenbaker and other Western leaders were on their way to New York. Thus the meeting was no longer for Russia alone but for the entire world."

The writer added: "Then came the stage of action, the stage for the neutral States to assert their neutrality and to exercise their task of bringing the two separated parties together and also to render justice on matters connected with the UN crisis. For instance, the neutral States distinguished between the UN, its principles, Charter and organisation on the one hand, and the UN executive machinery, namely, the Secretary-General, on the other. The neutral States announced that the entity of the UN could not be the person of Hammarskjöld, as the USA and Russia think."

Haykal continued: "President Jamal Abd an-Nasir told Eisenhower during their meetings: The USA has a great responsibility in strengthening the UN. The organisation slipped in 1948 when you opposed the Palestine question but it played its proper role when you sided with right in the UN during the aggression against Egypt in 1956. The President also proved to Eisenhower that the [US] stand in the Congo had exceeded its limits. This was exactly what the President also told Hammarskjöld when they dined together."

The writer also said: "For the sake of elevating the word of justice and neutrality, the neutral States did not rush to support Khrushchev's proposal regarding

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NR/456/A/3

Yesterday, at the UN General Assembly, I told the representatives of the Afro-Asian States: When I look at you, representatives of the Afro-Asian States, I remember the year 1956. I remember the people of the UAR as they fought in defence of their land, country, entity and Arabdom, depending on themselves and on the free moral power in the world. I told them: As I look at you now I tell you that I saw and I felt that the moral power - which in 1956 was represented in the Afro-Asian States here in the UN in New York and in the countries of this group - was stronger than the threat of rockets and nuclear weapons, because the atomic bomb and the rockets are destructive weapons, but our moral power is our weapon for building, development and reconstruction.

Brother citizens, it was with this feeling that I went to the 15th session of the UN. With this feeling I stood up at the UN to speak. As I spoke, I felt that I was speaking from the centre of power - the centre of the moral power which is represented in every member of this people. I was also speaking from the stand of the moral power which we felt in 1956 as we were exposed to aggression. I was also speaking from the centre of the moral power which has enabled us to defeat aggression launched against us by two Great Powers, to safeguard our country and preserve our land. It was on the basis of this logic, brothers, that I went to New York feeling that we, the States which have only recently achieved independence, should play a role in international policy, so as not to leave the world to the conflicting camps, but to make the entire world feel that there are great moral powers in this world that can impose their will and that there is a world public opinion which receives a degree of respect and consideration that will force any State possessing atomic bombs and rockets to take it into consideration and with great concern. Brothers, we want to the UN with this logic and viewpoint. In the UN, I declared in the name of the UAR people the policy in which we believe. I also declared our views on all international problems and matters.

Brothers, the world today is passing through an international crisis which might lead to destruction. We, the States which have chosen to follow the policy of non-alignment and of positive neutrality, should show the world that it has room not only for the Western or the Eastern bloc, but also for States which have chosen to be non-aligned and not to be against any bloc - States which have also preferred to safeguard peace, to build their countries and compensate for what they missed in the steam and electricity ages, and to develop their homelands in order to establish social justice. When we work for peace, we will be working for ourselves, to build our country, to raise the living standard and to compensate for what we missed against our own will, since because of the imperialists we could not in the past years build and develop our country to raise its living standard and establish social justice. We could not achieve this in the past, but when we achieved liberation we were able in this homeland to build and work to achieve social justice.

In the seven years since the outbreak of the revolution here in Egypt, we have doubled the national income from 660 million pounds to 1,300 million pounds. Therefore we want peace, because we desire to double the national income once, twice and three times, and to be able to face life, live the free, dignified and happy life to which we aspire, and be able to experience the opportunities found by the countries which achieved independence to build and raise the living standards of their people. Therefore, when we call for peace we do so for our own sake, for the sake of our children, and for the sake of building our country. When we call for peace we do so for the sake of world peace, because when peace collapses in any part of the world it will affect the entire world. If peace collapses and a war breaks out, we will not know from which direction we will get an atomic bomb or be shelled. We want to safeguard our independence and freedom. We chose the policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment, and declared that we were aligned on the side of peace and justice and that we were against war [applause].

Brothers, I said all this on your behalf at the UN General Assembly. I also declared the principles and aims which we have adopted. I declared on behalf of the UAR people our policy with regard to the people's right to self-determination, to the establishment of world peace, and with regard to world tension and the world crisis which followed the collapse of the Paris summit conference. I further declared on behalf of the UAR people that world peace does not interest only the big Powers and

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the blocs, but all nations and the entire world. This is because, if the big Powers are fighting and disputing, this will affect our progress and the development of our countries. I demanded at this meeting that, as President Eisenhower declared in his speech that he was prepared to negotiate disarmament and Soviet Premier Khrushchev also declared his willingness to negotiate disarmament, and as both have expressed such willingness, they should sit down to negotiate [applause]. This proposal was an expression of the spirit of this people.

I have read in some papers that the neutralist countries desire an increase in tension so that they can obtain aid from both sides. However, our statements have shown that such a view indicates incomprehension and naivete. The countries which adopt neutrality and non-alignment are endeavouring to prevent the expansion of military blocs. This is because we believe that the expansion of military blocs means war. If the world is divided into two camps, one against another, a war becomes inevitable so that one of the two camps can impose its will. However, if we have in this world neutral countries which have preferred to adopt the policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment, we will then be able to ease international tension, because the world then would not be divided into Eastern and Western blocs. Instead, there would be countries in the world which would align themselves only with their conscience and would say their just word, regardless of whether this word enraged this or that bloc and whether it was in favour of this or that bloc. With such a just word we would be expressing our views and those of our Republic. We do not align ourselves with the Eastern or the Western bloc we only align ourselves with our UAR, and - as I have already said - with peace [applause].

We had the opportunity at the UN in New York to make our views clear. It has been said that New York is the bastion of world Zionism and that it would be risky and difficult to go to New York. However, the American people in New York had a distorted picture of us, because world Zionism has always tried to depict the Arab people as a riotous and difficult people, and to make them [the American people] believe that Israel is the victim while the Arabs are the ones who commit aggression. During this visit we were able to show our real attitude, to show how Israel has usurped a part of the Arab homeland, how such an error was committed, and how the UN abandoned its responsibility toward Palestine and the rights of the Palestinian people. We declared our opinion clearly and unequivocally. We said that the mistake should be rectified by erasing it, and that matters should be restored to the state existing when this mistake occurred. We declared clearly and frankly that we could never forget the rights of the people of Palestine [applause]. It is obvious, brothers, that the Arabs throughout the ages have never forsaken their rights. We shall never abandon our rights. We have been patient and waiting to restore these rights.

Brothers, I also spoke about the struggle of the Arab people of Algeria and the tragedy to which they are being subjected. I demanded that the UN assume its responsibility, and I also declared that we, the Arab people, support the Algerian people in their struggle to achieve their rights and independence. I also spoke about the principles we have upheld since Bandung, and I said on your behalf that these principles, which we declared five years ago, remain the principles we uphold today, and which represent the problems of today. These are the problems with imperialism everywhere: the problems of imperialism in the Congo and the mistakes committed there, how imperialism conspired in the Congo, the problems of imperialism in Africa, the problems of the right of each people to determine its fate - in other words, all the problems which we discussed at Bandung and which I submitted to the General Assembly on behalf of the UAR people [applause].

This, brothers, was one aspect of the visit. There was another aspect. There were many opportunities to meet the world leaders and to expound to them our views on world problems and our own problems. We are aware that we have a great responsibility in regard to our own problems as well as world problems. I met Nehru, Tito, Sukarno and Nkrumah of the countries which call for positive neutrality. I also met Sa'ib Sallam and representatives of the Arab countries, as well as Khrushchev, Eisenhower, Macmillan and Foreign Ministers attending the General Assembly meetings. We had the opportunity to explain our viewpoint personally to the countries of the world. We discussed the international situation and submitted a resolution to the UN. This resolution calls on Eisenhower and Khrushchev to meet to ease world tension. It was submitted to the UN General Assembly and should have awaited completion of the speeches at the General Assembly, but the Assembly unanimously agreed to interrupt the period for speeches and to debate and vote on the said resolution immediately [applause]. There was a great reaction to this resolution because the whole world desires peace. Nobody wants war. The people suffered from the second

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world war and believe that any coming war will destroy all mankind and humanity. This resolution will be presented for debate tomorrow at the General Assembly. I can say certainly that there have been some manoeuvres. For example, Menzies came - we all recall Menzies from 1946 - and submitted an Australian proposal to the General Assembly, amending this resolution. In fact, the proposal or amendment presented by Australia is an expression of the cold war in its full meaning, because by this amendment Australia seeks to do away with the resolution sponsored by the five States which advocate positive neutrality and pursue a policy of non-alignment. He submitted a proposal to the effect that the General Assembly recommends that all the major or Great Powers should meet. Its aim is to delay the matter and make its approval unlikely. I do not think, however, that these manoeuvres will have any effect.

Above all, we have done our duty. It would have been meaningless for us to attend the UN General Assembly session, see this tension in the world situation mounting daily and do nothing but sit watching and hearing statements, speeches, curses and answers. We used to see these things there, and you here heard these things and also used to look on. We must do our duty. What is our duty in this responsibility? It is that we should express our views with frankness. If those people really desire to work for the peace and disarmament they talk about, the only solution is for us to forget the past and for the two sides to make a new start. We have, therefore, presented this resolution to the General Assembly. Naturally there are the attempts by Australia, and naturally we guess what Australia represents here - prevention of the approval of this resolution by the General Assembly. We have done our duty. We, the States that follow the policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality, have proclaimed our views to the world. We declared to the entire world that a period of world tension exists, that we are doing our utmost to bring about a relaxation of this world tension, and that we are therefore presenting this proposal. We signed this proposal and included it in a letter to Eisenhower and Khrushchev so they would be aware of the present situation and the attitude of other States - the States which feel that world tension and the cold war will affect them. This is because we would become the stage and field of the cold war.

I received replies to the letters we sent - replies which have been published. All we hope is that we can play our part towards world peace. Also, all we are working for is not to leave the Eastern and Western blocs to fight each other while the world and we look on. We know that this conflict will affect our future and will affect every development plan in our country [applause]. I believe that Arab nationalism and the Arab forces at this session succeeded in achieving a great victory. They were able to confirm their existence. They were able to give the whole world an opportunity to see the facts.

World Zionism attempted to portray us as savages, trouble-makers, and surly people. I want to tell you that the people in New York, for example, expected to see Jamal Abd an-Nasir stand up shouting and yelling [applause], a picture by which Zionism attempts to deceive the American people. Nevertheless, they naturally found another picture. They found a picture which truly represented this people - this free and independent people. I can say that the picture depicted by Zionism has now faded, and that Zionism at this time will not be able to find an outlet; nor will imperialism, which in the past allied itself with Zionism, find any outlet for them. We felt that the world represented at the UN regards the Arabs with respect and appreciation. I heard these words from all those I met. I also heard this from all heads of States whom I met. Zionism was not able to oppose us; of course it had fought us, but it was unable to stab us or have any effect upon us.

It was natural for them to look for someone to hire, and bring him to work. They found the little King [applause], the little King or [pause]. We all know the little King, or the hired King, who came to New York. They hired him in New York against us - not only against the UAR but against all the Arabs - to come and spoil our prestige. Like those hired here to spoil a wedding or to go and [interrupted by applause] King Husayn came to New York. Zionism, with all it said after we spoke and after we outlined the Arabs' attitude and their prestige and strength, could do nothing, and one day the press reported that the little King was coming to New York to speak for Arab nationalism. Our first comment on that was: By God, they have hired him. They hired his grandfather before him, and why then not hire him [applause]. Certainly, we all know how they hired his grandfather in 1948. They hired him against all the Arabs, Palestine, our honour, and our blood and lives. Imperialist agents collaborated with

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imperialism and Zionism, and King Abdullah then plotted against us. He represented the danger. We learned a lesson, however. Even if they come today to hire his grandson, his grandson will not be able to injure us or wound any one of us, no matter what dagger they give him [applause]. He whom they hired in 1948 [interrupted by boisterous applause]. Brothers, they hired the little King. The mercenary King arrived in New York and we waited to see what he had to say. Of course, there was no hope, since the boy is like his grandfather and his family. It is not strange if the boy grows up to be like his grandfather. He came to New York to speak [mockery of King Husayn by crowd]. That man over there, leave the microphone!

King Husayn came to New York and spoke at the UN General Assembly. He read 12 pages, of which five pages were against the UAR. He spoke five words about Palestine and five others about Algeria, and in the remainder he swore at the Soviet Union and abused the policy of positive neutrality. The capable King said, when he spoke at the General Assembly, that there was a great danger threatening Jordan, that there was tension between the UAR and Jordan, that the UAR wanted to destroy Jordan, that Hasza al-Majali died and that the situation there was making his head throb, and that he had nothing in Jordan. He has nothing in Jordan - all the throbbing in King Husayn's head in Jordan is caused by the UAR and he completely forgets that there is something called the Jordanian people. He asked the people listening to him to believe him. Of course it is regrettable that an Arab, or rather an Arab King - though he is of course considered proof of treason in the Arab world - still it is regrettable that this Arab King should come and be hired to try to destroy any gain Arab nationalism and the Arab nation may have achieved. However, could Husayn achieve his objectives? Was the mercenary King able to achieve any of these aims? I met a large number of chief delegates and each wondered about King Husayn's speech. Every one of them showed regret and sorrow that the Arab world should embrace a person like him, but after a little thought they said: Of course this is not new, because he is following in the steps of his grandfather Abdullah and the boy is like his grandfather. Everyone in the Afro-Asian States, the free independent States, thought and believed that this person, King Husayn, came to New York hired to serve the Zionist cause and the causes of imperialism and to harm the Arab prestige created at this UN session.

Husayn was unable to achieve any aim. Why? Everyone, for example, wondered about the murder of Hasza al-Majali. They have levelled many accusations against us with regard to Hasza al-Majali's murder. However, did they imagine that the world had forgotten that Templer appointed Hasza al-Majali as Premier in December 1955, and that the Jordanian people, who were forgotten and whose existence was denied by Husayn in his speech, were able within 24 hours to depose Al-Majali from the Premiership and make him flee from Amman. These are the Jordanian people, the strong, noble and free people who did not give Templer a chance [applause]. These are the people of Jordan, who in 1955 opposed Templer, at that time Chief of Staff of the British Imperial Armed Forces, who could not impose his (will) in Amman. He could not impose it on whom? He imposed it on King Husayn, but could not impose it on the Jordanian people, because they imposed their will 24 hours after the imposition of Templer's will and after Husayn's submission to the will of imperialism.

The Jordanian people still exist today. Some of them exist in prisons, some are victims and some have been murdered. The Jordanian people did not agree that treason should rule them in the past and they do not agree that treason should rule them now. The Jordanian people will never agree to be a mount for imperialism and Zionism. Everyone I met there knew that the Jordanian people were rebellious against the little King, the mercenary King. The Jordanian people, who rebelled against treason in the past, are rebelling against it now. The Jordanian people, who crushed treason in the past, are working to crush it now. The Jordanian people are few in number and have suffered much from tragedies and torture; thousands and tens of thousands of them are today in prison, while the little and mercenary King believes that he can forget the Jordanian people and deceive the world by saying that the cause of the shaking of his throne is the UAR and not treason, or his being an agent of imperialism or an ally of Zionism.

The little mercenary King was deceiving only one person by this. He was deceiving only himself. He could not deceive anyone who heard him at the UN General Assembly. The treacherous stab which the traitor directed against the Arab nation and the UAR turned back on his treacherous chest, because all who listened to the little King knew that he was expressing the view of the enemies of Arab nationalism and of the UAR. This is the outcome of King Husayn's efforts in New York, and of those who hired him. All this is the result of their efforts. Of course, we could say that there is there perhaps a dot of ink, but a dot of ink can easily be removed by an eraser [applause].

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What was happening in Amman when King Husayn was speaking against the UAR in New York and playing the role they had hired him to play? On 29th September Amman radio, the radio of the little King, interrupted its broadcast and announced that a pilot from the UAR had sought refuge in Amman. I heard this report while I was in New York and did not believe it, because it was unreasonable. Any person in the UAR or any soldier - and we are all soldiers in the UAR - prefers to die rather than trade himself for treason and imperialism, from the President of the Republic to the lowliest warden in this Republic [applause]. I did not believe this report and said that it was another of King Husayn's stories. They later reported that he had landed at a place not suitable for landing and not at an airfield. They said he would hold a press conference and that it would be broadcast. The authorities here in Cairo naturally did not believe this and surmised that the authorities of treason in Jordan would use all means - which we know to be torture and pressure, the means they use against honest nationalists - to force this sincere officer to say whatever they wanted to save his life. The Foreign Ministry here summoned the Jordanian Ambassador and informed him that we held them responsible for anything that might happen to this officer. We conclude from the whole incident that the plane made a forced landing in Jordan, since if he had actually sought refuge in Jordan he would have proceeded to Amman airport and notified them that he was landing, and would not have landed out on a mountain or in the desert.

Jordan radio, which earlier reported that Arab Flt-Lt. Adnan al-Madani was going to hold a press conference at which he would reveal secrets and speak against the UAR, yesterday interrupted its programmes to report that Lt. Adnan al-Madani had committed suicide. What should we conclude from this? [Crowd calls blessing on Al-Madani.] If he was martyred, Adnan died together with his Jordanian brothers who were martyred in Amman by King Husayn and his lackeys. It is an honour to us in the UAR to fall as martyrs in Amman for the sake of Amman's cause and for the sake of justice, so that we give an example of manhood, dignity and honour [applause]. Adnan al-Madani could have traded himself for money to King Husayn, since they broadcast over the radio and reported that he had asked His Great Majesty, the highly ancestor [laughter], that he be granted asylum in Jordan. Adnan al-Madani could have saved his life by selling himself and his conscience.

Nevertheless, he did not trade his life to betray his country. He bought his country by his life, blood and soul. This is the Arab spirit, which exists not only in the UAR but in all other Arab countries. It exists in Amman, and King Husayn is aware of that, and that is why he shivers while speaking there [applause]. This shivering and trembling while talking is not because of the UAR, since the UAR will not attack Jordan; he shivers and trembles before free Jordanians who will never accept treason or the agents of imperialism and Zionism. They killed Adnan al-Madani, but they could not force him to follow King Husayn and King Abdullah on the road of treason. The noble Syrian pilot Adnan al-Madani refused to follow the path of the little King. The junior officer, a lieutenant, was more honest than the King [applause]. While the junior officer refused to betray his country, the King betrays his. The junior officer preferred to offer his blood and life for his country, whereas the King sells his country for dollars and pounds. This is the life we are experiencing. This is the cause of tension in the Middle East, O Majesty King Husayn, and not any UAR threat to Jordan or attempt to destroy Jordan.

Naturally it grieves us that Arab youths should die at the hands of treason and treachery. It is regrettable also that it is not only King Husayn who bears the responsibility for these actions but everyone working with King Husayn. It is not I or the UAR who will ask him for an account, but the people of Jordan [applause]. It is the people who will ask for an account and who are capable of doing so - the people of Jordan, who lost hundreds and thousands of their number fighting for Palestine at a time when King Abdullah was selling Palestine to the Jews. The people of Jordan will ask an account from Husayn and from all those who collaborate with him to create out of Jordan a base for Zionism and imperialism.

This is the case of King Husayn, which we now set aside to return to our subject and say that Arab nationalism is a fait accompli recognised by all the States of the world. When I spoke at the UN General Assembly about Arab unity and said that we advocated Arab

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unity, all the United Nations - the Arab States, the Afro-Asian States and the Eastern States - applauded. We advocate unity and Arab nationalism [applause]. We shall always work for Arab nationalism and for Arab unity. Treason is falling. The agents of imperialism and Zionism are falling. The Arab nation is getting stronger day by day. Every day we feel that we have become stronger than the day before through our work, determination and will to pursue a free and independent policy. Thanks to this people and to their strong faith and determination - this people who achieved freedom and independence, who safeguarded this freedom and independence, who resolved to follow a free and independent policy and actually adopted this policy - we can by the will of God and by this people realise all our aspirations. These are: the moral aspirations - to build our country and promote its prestige and standing; and the material works - to build factories for development and reconstruction, to raise the standard of living and to establish social justice. May God grant you success. Peace and God's mercy be upon you.

The Death of Adnan al-Madani

Amman 19.00 GMT 5.10.60

Precis of commentary, including quotations:

"Brothers of Adnan al-Madani everywhere, father of Adnan, mother of Adnan, sister of Adnan, colleagues of Adnan ... we have something to whisper in your ears, we have something to say to you, we have a story to tell you.

"Let us all stand in respect for the fallen eagle, before the body of the hero who died. Let us stand in respect and say with one voice: the sternity of Paradise for Adnan al-Madani. You died believing in your Arab people and in the good of your people and opposing disunity and deception. Let us stand in respect for Adnan al-Madani, who brought about his death for a purpose which only he knows, and which only his people, his brothers and his colleagues know, these people who know well why Adnan chose to put an end to his life."

Adnan was a strong eagle, a protest, indignation, a conscience, a torch, a force and a roaring torrent. He saw things around him darkening and decided to land in our country. Adnan was one of the strong heroes, full of vitality and optimism. He was one of those made for sacrifice and one of those whose good-heartedness was exploited by the deceivers, "and those who took to the air with the MIGs thinking that they were bringing good to their country". He was one who was always prepared to shed his blood for the sake of his country. He was one of those who witnessed the so-called champion of unity sowing disunity, and the vanishing of hopes which he had struggled to realise.

Adnan was disappointed, as all Adnan's colleagues will be disappointed. He took his aircraft into the sky in search of the values which were trampled on in the land of treachery. He landed here in Jordan and stayed seven days, at the end of which he chose to put an end to his life. "He held the revolver and shot himself in order to stop the moaning of his people in Damascus, the land of piracy and terror."

The story of Adnan al-Madani is a story of a young man who was shocked by the disappointment in Syria, a young man who loved his people and his country and who cherished the history of his country and his nation. It is the story of a young man who entrusted his country to people he thought were good, people he supported and encouraged. Yet when these people took everything into their control, they betrayed the country and exploited it. The story of Adnan is one of a young man who saw all these shocking events. "He flew like a strong eagle and landed like a hero and put an end to his own life to declare by this means his denunciation and protest against those who brought disappointment and frustration to him.

"Did they hear? Did they understand? Did Abd an-Nasir and his henchmen hear? Did Abd an-Nasir's agents and hirelings hear in beloved Syria? Did his propaganda machine hear?" It will be enough for us if the brothers of Adnan al-Madani and the people in Syria, with the exception of the agents and mercenaries, understand what we say about Adnan, and if all the Arabs also understand and say with us "May God have mercy upon you, Adnan al-Madani, and may you rest in Paradise."

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PARTIAL TEXT OF NASSER'S SPEECH
Session Atmosphere And Reactions

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Following is the partial official English text of President Gamal Abdel Nasser's speech to the General Assembly yesterday, as relayed from New York:

"...We feel there are great dangers which threaten the very foundation on which the United Nations has been built. This makes it an imperative duty for all those who have joined this Organization and who believe in the principles of its Charter to rally together now for its defense, since this organization is the primary means through which the community of nations can pursue its peaceful development and achieve its high ideals. This fifteenth session of the General Assembly opens at a time when international tension has increased on an unprecedented scale and the cold war has reached a climax unknown since the end of World War II, bringing with it a serious threat to mankind and human culture accumulated throughout the ages...

Communist China. "... I take this opportunity to reiterate once more the desire of the United Arab Republic to open the doors of the United Nations to the Peoples Republic of China. Our people cannot, in fact, imagine or conceive that this door should remain closed to a quarter of the inhabitants of our globe...

"Masked Imperialism". "...Four years ago the African Continent witnessed the end of one era of colonialism, and the African continent witnesses today a new form of imperialism. The aggression on Suez was the end of unmasked imperialism, and its graveyard. Today we find that the Congo presents us with a masked imperialism, which does not shrink from exploiting the United Nations Organization itself, in order to realize its hidden designs and aims. The real meaning of 'Suez' to liberating movements in Asia and Africa was that an era had gone forever, an era in which imperialist forces were able to possess and mobilize armies and launch fleets to strike deadly blows at the liberation movements. The Suez war has proved that the victim of aggression has its own armies and that freedom has its supporters everywhere in the world... Thus we witnessed after Suez what may be called the period of 'imperialist vacillation'. It was a period in which imperialism stood perplexed in the midst of its designs and ambitions, and the strongholds of freedom, the various liberating movements, were able to strengthen themselves...

Iraq Revolution. "This period of imperialist hesitation was most clearly apparent during the revolt of the people of Iraq. When this glorious people rose to liberate their homeland from foreign influence, we saw imperialism seething in anger, mass its armies and organize its fleets. When the second hour struck following the first hour of anger, we saw imperialism awakening to the realities, finding itself uncertain, not knowing what to do with the armies that were gathered and the fleets that had been sent through the oceans.

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Congo. "When the last events of the Congo unfolded themselves, they showed us how imperialism had tried to benefit from the Suez lesson in finding for itself an answer to its uncertainties. Thus, we saw the tide of Belgian imperialism in the Congo fail to meet the African wave of liberation with force; on the contrary, we saw Belgian imperialism, not confronting this liberating movement with hesitation, but with a quick withdrawal -- or rather, an outward show of withdrawing quickly. The reality of this apparent imperialist retreat was not that retreat represented the real design, but -- as proven later by events -- it was a manoeuvre to strike at freedom, and to strike at it from behind. Imperialism thought that the surge of freedom was but an emotional eruption, which sooner or later was bound to consummate itself, become exhausted and die away.

"The trial which the courageous people of the Congo faced -- a people whose struggle we uphold and support-- was to prove to imperialism that, if freedom with its arms and friends is able to defend herself against aggression (as was the case in Suez), freedom has also its thought, awakening and self-consciousness by which it is able to pierce the mask of imperialism and destroy the veils behind which it tries to hide.

"However, the greater danger that confronted the people of the Congo, a danger which we ourselves share, is that imperialism is trying to take the United Nations as a mask to conceal its designs. This imperialist manoeuvre today has two victims: the people of the Congo and the United Nations. It is for the sake of both, who face the same danger, that we call on all who believe in freedom and in the United Nations as the foremost way to the development of human society to stand together in their defense. The United Nations went to the Congo invited by the legitimate government of the Congo, which was born the same day of independence and was, so to speak, its fruition, entrusted with the realization of two aims, to safeguard the independence of the Congo and to preserve its national unity. The first necessitated the withdrawal of imperialist armies, the second imposed the necessity of removing the artificial barriers whereby imperialism and its agents sought to disrupt the country's unity and divide its people.

"In the Congo, matters should return to the situation prevalent when the legitimate government in Leopoldville requested the help of the United Nations and when the United Nations accepted this request with the object of safeguarding Congolese unity."

Palestine. Referring to Palestine, President Nasser said: "The only solution to Palestine, just as it is the only solution to the Congo, is that matters should be restored to normalcy and should return to the condition prevailing before the error was committed. The United Nations has to bear its responsibilities towards Palestine and the Arab people. This was the only solution to the problem of the Arab refugees from Palestine. We do not intend to solicit pity for the Arab refugees of

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Main News & Trends, Continued

Palestine, but we demand the restoration of the full rights of the people of Palestine", he said.

Eisenhower-Khrushchev Meeting. President Nasser proposed that President Eisenhower and Mr Khrushchev should meet for a new attempt to solve the disarmament problem. He said: "There is no doubt that in the presence of this large number of heads of state and world leaders now assembled in this hall, lies an opportunity for the sake of peace. I do not think that our peoples would ever forgive us if we allowed this opportunity to pass without mobilizing our thoughts and our energy in a way that insures benefits from it.

"You have heard here the words of President Dwight Eisenhower, the President of the United States of America, who said that his country was ready to enter into negotiations for disarmament. You have also heard Mr Nikita Khrushchev, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. I wonder what we are waiting for, after those two leaders, whom our peoples hold in high respect and esteem, have expressed this desire, to ask them immediately to embark without delay on what they have put before the General Assembly.

"We therefore suggest that the General Assembly recommend that the two great leaders should, under the standard of the United Nations, meet either by themselves or together with whom you select among those who are present here in order for them all to put, under the aegis of the United Nations, guiding rules for a new attempt toward disarmament."

Suez Canal. In a reference to the Suez Canal, President Nasser said: "Now you all know that the Suez Canal under Arab administration performs its role in the service of world economy more ably and efficiently than was the case before its restoration to the people who dug it as a waterway for the advancement and prosperity of the world. We faced the test of our development and reacted to it. We have proved that, in spite of all the difficulties we faced, and in spite of what we had to face through trial and error, the average yearly revenue of the individual in the Egyptian region of the United Arab Republic has increased by 70 per cent in the course of seven years following the achievement of our freedom."

Algeria. President Nasser told the General Assembly that at the beginning of 1956 the French Government had asked him to mediate for a peaceful solution of the Algerian problem. President Nasser said that the then French Foreign Minister passed through Cairo and they talked about Algeria, where the conflict was less than a year old. "The French government asked me through its foreign Minister", he said, "to mediate for a peaceful solution. My answer was that I was ready to mediate to safeguard the rights and avoid bloodshed. Nothing is dearer to us than to reach an honourable peace preserving to everyone the rights due to him. At the time, the French Government expressed the wish of sending a mission to Cairo to negotiate with the leaders, inviting them to

Main News & Trends, Continued

come to Cairo to meet with the French mission on its arrival, hoping the attempt might lead to a glimpse of hope. Unfortunately, the French mission did arrive in Cairo, met the Algerian mission, and then flew back to France to consult with its government. The Algerian mission waited in Cairo, but the French mission never returned.

"The French Government has hampered every attempt by the United Nations aiming at putting a stop to the imperialist slaughtering in Algeria." He said there was no doubt that the war in Algeria "cannot but end with the triumph of liberty." He declared: "Today the United Nations should perform its duty. I do not think that we should be exaggerating in our demand if we now pressed for the right of the Algerian people to self-determination based on a plebiscite carried out under the supervision of the United Nations."

President Nasser said the French Government imagined that "with its guns it could change the will of God who made of Algeria part of the African continent and made of its people part of the Arab nation. Yet France tries to make of the land of Algeria a geographic extension of France and of its people an enslaved dependent people. Despite all the endeavours of the free Algerian Government, which expresses the determination of the Algerian people and which symbolises independence for its free people -- despite all the endeavours of the Algerian government to reach a peaceful solution, all these attempts have not reached a positive result."

Oman. "In all that and in other matters, particularly in the deplorable problem of racial discrimination and in the struggle of the Arab people in Oman and in the Protectorates in Southern Arabia, the United Nations must recall its existence so that it may impose this existence as the only concept of peace based on justice."

Bandong & UN. President Nasser called on the General Assembly to adopt the principles and rules of the 1955 Afro-Asian conference at Bandong "as an expression of the unanimous will of all the peoples in the world." Referring to the United Nations itself he made these two observations: "1. We sometimes feel that there is an attempt on the part of some big powers to look upon the United Nations as a tool they can use in the cold war." Such a way of looking at the world organization was an "illusion" and must be discarded, he added. The United Nations was not for one country or another, it was not for one bloc against another. It was not for one camp at the expense of the other. Its voice should always be on the side of truth, because truth was freedom and freedom was the road to peace. 2. Some of the delegations here for the session had not met "with the spirit and understanding which, in our consideration, should have been extended to them." "We believe", President Nasser remarked, "that the United Nations is fortunate to be here enjoying the hospitality of the great American people, but we equally believe that it is an honour for the American people to be the host of the United Nations."

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

De Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Wright

No. 784

October 13, 1960 161018/W.

D. 6. 38 p.m. October 13, 1960

R. 6. 54 p.m. October 13, 1960

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 784 of
October 13.

Repeated for information to: U.K.Mis. New York
Washington

Amman

and Saving to: Baghdad

Paris

Beirut

U.K.Del. N.A.T.O.

Tel Aviv

HQ. B.F.A.P.

P.O.M.E.F.

U.K.Del. Nicosia

Moscow

President Nasser delivered a forty-minute speech to the National Assembly in Cairo on October 12.

2. Nasser began by reviewing the preliminaries to his attendance at the General Assembly, and in particular his consultations with other neutralist leaders. He then gave an account of his activities at the General Assembly, noting the cordial reception given to the U.A.R. delegation in New York and the failure of Zionist attempts to frustrate his mission of peace. After summarising the main points in his speech to the General Assembly on September 17, he gave a brief account of his discussions with Heads of Government.

President Eisenhower.

3. He had exchanged views with President Eisenhower on international issues. He had expressed the faith of the U.A.R. in the United Nations and explained what the U.A.R. considered to be the mistakes committed by the United Nations in the Congo. He had thanked President Eisenhower on behalf of the U.A.R. for the stand of the United States during the aggression against Egypt in 1956. He had expressed regret that Israel was a permanent obstacle to a rapprochement between the United States and the U.A.R. and had referred to arms being sold to her by the United States. The American

/Secretary of State

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Cairo telegram No. 784 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

Secretary of State had remarked that the United States provided Israel with defensive arms only. Nasser had then told President Eisenhower that they both knew from their past military experience that it was impossible to differentiate between defensive and offensive arms. Finally, they had discussed Africa and he had stressed his anxiety to keep the cold war out of that continent. The meeting with President Eisenhower had been frank and cordial and was a constructive step towards friendship between the U.A.R. and the American People.

Mr. Khrushchev.

4. His two meetings with Mr. Khrushchev had given him an opportunity to renew an old friendship based on mutual respect for each other's views and ideologies. He had felt Khrushchev's genuine desire to find a basis for peaceful co-existence and his regret at the circumstances which had brought about the failure of the Paris conference. Turning to relations between the two countries, Nasser had alluded to the crisis which had clouded these relations in 1959. The crisis had ended with an attempt by each side to understand the point of view of the other. The friendly relations between the U.A.R. and the Soviet Union were an excellent model for relations between countries of varying power and different social systems.

Other Neutralist Leaders.

5. He had had several meetings with President Tito, Mr. Nehru, President Sankar and President Nkrumah. Their deliberations had been aimed at finding a way in which neutralist States could exercise their responsibilities. These deliberations had crystallised in the five-Power resolution.

Mr. Macmillan.

6. "I met Mr. Macmillan twice, he visited me at the U.A.R. Permanent Delegation Headquarters and I returned his visit. Our talks were divided into three parts, the international situation, the Middle East situation and the relations between the two countries. Mr. Macmillan explained his country's attitude on all these issues and I explained the attitude of my country. I did not hide anything because I had nothing to hide. U.A.R. policy can be summed up in one word "freedom," and U.A.R. diplomacy in one word "truth.""

Fidel Castro

Cairo telegram No. 784 to Foreign Office

- 3 -

Fidel Castro.

7. His two meetings with Fidel Castro were friendly and they had discussed revolutionary experiences in their two countries.

8. Nasser had also met several leaders and members of delegations of Arab, Asian, African and European countries. He had been unable to see Sekou Toure but looked forward to a future opportunity of meeting him.

9. Nasser then spoke of the five-Power resolution, saying that the fact that it had not been passed was not important. It had united neutral countries as a power advocating peace and had been supported by forty-one delegations.

10. In conclusion, Nasser referred briefly to King Hussein's speech to the General Assembly. An attempt had been made by an imperialist agent to attack the United Arab Republic. This attempt had failed. The whole world had seen that the U.A.R. had refrained from raising in New York the point that imperialists still used agents against their own countries and their people's aspirations. These whose threats derived from the bayonets of imperialism could only serve those bayonets.

Foreign Office pass to Washington, U.K. Mis. New York and Savig to Baghdad, Moscow, Paris, U.K. Del. N.A.T.O. HQ. B.F.A.P. a s my telegrams Nos. 54, 61, 53, 4, 23, 23 and 24 respectively.

[Repeated as requested and copy sent to Air Ministry Registry Telegrams for repetition Savig to HQ. B.F.A.P.]

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE



Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
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Mr. Wright

VG1012/41(A)

No. 785

D: 4.31 p.m. October 13, 1960

October 13, 1960

R: 5.34 p.m. October 13, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 785 of October 13.

Repeated for information to Washington

UKMIS New York

Amman

And Saving to Baghdad

Paris

Beirut

UKDEL NATO

Tel Aviv

HQ. BFAP

P.O.M.E.F.

UKRep. Nicosia

Moscow

N/C

My immediately preceding telegram: Nasser's Speech to the National Assembly.

Nasser's speech, read from a prepared text in Classical Arabic, was moderately worded. The tone of his remarks about President Eisenhower was cordial and it is interesting that he should have mentioned the rift between the United Arab Republic and the Soviet Union in 1959. The reference to King Hussein was brief and free from abuse. He did not mention the "martyr" Adnan Madani.

2. His account of his talks with the Prime Minister was laconic and gave nothing away.

Foreign Office pass Washington and UKMIS New York as my telegrams Nos. 55, 62 and Saving Baghdad, Moscow, Paris, UKDEL NATO and HQ. BFAP as my telegrams Nos. 54, 5, 24, 24 and 25 respectively.

[Repeated as requested, and copy sent to Registered Telegrams Air Ministry for Saving repetition to HQ. BFAP.]

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Wright

No. 796
 October 15, 1960.

D: 11.15 a.m. October 15, 1960.
 R: 12.30 p.m. October 15, 1960.

URGENT

VG1018/HR

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 796 of
October 15

Repeated for information to Amman

And Saving to Baghdad

Beirut

U.K. Mission

Washington

New York

Tel Aviv

Jerusalem

POMEP

Under banner headlines such as "Our Battle Against Imperialism Has Not Ended" all papers today report President Nasser's speech to the crowd on his arrival at Latakia yesterday.

2. The main theme of the speech was the struggle of Arab nationalism, particularly in Syria, against imperialism, Zionism and their agents. The Arab nation had always defeated imperialism, which had focused its efforts on Syria, but the battle would never end. Imperialism and Zionism were pledged to fight the Arab nation in order to dominate it and enable Israel to expand. They relied on the base weapons of stoges and treachery. The Arab people were pledged to realize Arab unity and to strengthen their nation. They would always detect imperialist stoges and would work for independence, freedom and unity. The battle against imperialism and Zionism was now more ferocious than it had been some years ago. Syria had always been the symbol of Arabism. When the U.A.R. was proclaimed, imperialism tried to counter it through its stoges, by proclaiming the Hashemite Union. The Arab nation stripped the veil from these imperialist agents. The life of stoges was short as demonstrated by the fate of Nuri Said and Abdud Ilah.

3. Nasser then spoke at length about imperialist attempts to spread rumours that the Syrian region was disunited and opposed to the Union. He did not know what imperialist broadcasting stations would say about his arrival in Latakia, but they would no doubt fabricate stories as they had done in the past. In common with the Zionist and imperialist Press they would report disunity and /orisis



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Cairo telegram No. 796 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

crisis in the Syrian region. These methods would fail because the Arab people were now alert. They could see why imperialism and its stooges, the hireling King and others, adopted these methods. Arab nationalism had shaken the structure of imperialism and Zionism and the frontiers of the U.A.R. had been drawn by the Arab people, not in London or Paris. The proclamation of the U.A.R. was signed in Damascus and Cairo not by Britain or France. The imperialists and their stooges had since tried to undermine the U.A.R. This was the hope of the hireling King, of Ben Gurion and of Mrs. Weir. They were trying to convince the Arab people that the call for Arab nationalism and unity was evil, and were fabricating campaigns of poisoned broadcasts and inspired articles in hired newspapers. But the U.A.R. was marching to destroy imperialism, its stooges and Zionism, and to establish Arab nationalism and Arab unity.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Baghdad, Beirut, U.K. Mission New York, Washington, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and POMEK as my telegrams Nos. 55, 108, 18, 59, 36, 28 and 89 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

ADVANCE COPIES

Sir R. Stevens.
Mr. Marett.
Head of Levant Department.
Head of News Department.
Resident Clerk.

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND
WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Wright VG-1018/43

No. 798

D. 11.42 a.m. October 16, 1960

October 16, 1960

R. 12.40 p.m. October 16, 1960

PRIORITY

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 798 of October 16.

Repeated for information to Amman

Tel Aviv

UKMIS New York

Washington

and Saving to: Baghdad

Beirut

Jerusalem

POMEF

Paris

UKDEL NATO

HQ BFAP

UKREP Nicosia

My telegram No. 796 (not to all). President Nasser's speech in Latakia. Nasser delivered two public speeches in Aleppo yesterday.

2. Nasser began his first speech with an attack on Imperialism, Imperialist stooges and Zionism. In 1955 the Jordanian people had defied General Templer, the hireling King and Hazza Majali. Despite artificial barriers the spirit of the Arab nation had never been divided. Broadcasts and fabrications by Imperialism and its stooges were the echoes of the march of Arab Nationalism which dated from the Syrian struggle against the French. In 1948 King Abdullah had sold Palestine to Zionism, Arab solidarity had collapsed and Colonialism and Zionism had triumphed. But the Arab people had killed Abdullah, Abdul Illah and other traitors and had thrown their bodies to dogs and vultures. The remnants of British and French satellites were still trying to defy the U.A.R. These men were slaves and their fate was obvious.

3. Turning to Israel, Nasser said that the Zionists had tried to distort his appeal for a meeting between President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev by suggesting that he, Nasser should meet Ben Gurion. The two suggestions were not comparable. Israel represented crime, aggression and collaboration with Imperialism and its stooges. The Israeli appeal for disarmament was an attempt to deceive world public opinion. In 1948 the Arabs were prevented from getting arms while Israel got tanks and modern artillery from Truman, the Zionist stooge, and from the Imperialistic countries which wanted to destroy Arab nationalism. The people of the U.A.R. were now on the alert against Israel, Imperialism and its stooges. The

/U.A.R.

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Cairo telegram No. 798 to Foreign Office

-2-

The U.A.R. had triumphed in its battles against the Baghdad Pact and the "tripartite aggression". Nuri Said was dead, Adnan Menderes on trial and the hireling King would not escape his doom. Free countries survived by stooges and traitors were bound to vanish.

4. Nasser opened his second speech with a long account of the victory of the United Arabs over the crusaders. Reverting to the present day he said that Arab Nationalism and unity stood for truth, freedom and liberation from Imperialism and its agents. The U.A.R. was emancipated from Imperialist control but Imperialism was still trying to divide the Arab nation. It was trying to find new stooges to replace those destroyed by the Arab nation. The Arab people were aware of the methods of the agents of London, Paris and the United States. The U.A.R. was pleased when Imperialism and its dogs attacked it. The attacks of Imperialism meant that it was in the last ditch and was trying to safeguard its existence by attempts to harm Arab unity.

Foreign Office pass UGELIS New York, Washington and Saving to Baghdad, Beirut, Jerusalem, POMEF, Paris, UKDEL NATO, HQ BFAP and UKREP Nicosia as my telegrams Nos. 63, 56, 56, 109, 29, 90, 25, 25, 26 and 4 respectively.

[Repeated as requested. Copies sent to Air Ministry for repetition Saving to HQ BFAP and to Colonial Office for repetition. Saving to UKREP Nicosia.]

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
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Mr. Wright
No. 799
October 16, 1960

D: 12.01 p.m. October 16, 1960
R: 12.29 p.m. October 16, 1960

PRIORITY
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Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 799 of October 16.

Repeated for information to: Amman UKMIS New York
Tel Aviv Washington
And Saving to: Baghdad Paris
Beirut UKDEL NATO
Jerusalem HQ. BFAP
P.O.M.E.F. UKREP Nicosia

V91018

V91018/434

My immediately preceding telegram.

Nasser's speeches in Aleppo.

Both speeches were long, repetitive and unrestrained. Nasser's language was more violent than in Latakia and contained much direct abuse of King Hussein and British and French Imperialism. He is due to speak in Homs and Hama today on his way to Damascus.

Foreign Office pass Tel Aviv, UKMIS New York, Washington and Saving to Baghdad, Beirut, Jerusalem, P.O.M.E.F., Paris, UKDEL NATO, HQ. BFAP and UKREP Nicosia as my telegrams Nos. 62, 64, 57, 57, 110, 30, 91, 26, 26, 27, and 5 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

[Copies sent to Air Ministry for repetition Saving to HQ. BFAP and to Colonial Office for repetition Saving to UKREP Nicosia].

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LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG. 1018/44.

FROM Mr. Wright,
 Cairo.

 Confidential.
 No. 201.
 Dated October 17
 Received October 17.

SUBJECT:
 NASSER's speeches in Homs and Hama on October 16.

References

MINUTES

See with -/42 & -/43.

The usual type of stuff designed to stir his
 stock in Syria, damage Hussein, & appeal
 to Arab opinion everywhere on the usual
 anti-imperialist / Zionist lines.

Propo.

FORD (M.E.) also

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed) 90 17-10-60	(Main Indexed) M 9.61 24.
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 VJ10316/137

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

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Cypher/OTF

FOREIGN OFFICE AND

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VG1018/44

Mr. Wright

No. 801
October 17, 1960

D. 1.02 p.m. October 17, 1960
R. 1.44 p.m. October 17, 1960

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 801 of October 17.

Repeated for information to Amman.

And Saving to U.K. Mission New York, Washington, Tel Aviv, Baghdad, Beirut, Jerusalem, P.O.M.E.F.

VG1018/43(A)

My telegram No. 799: Nasser in Aleppo.

Nasser, who made speeches in Hama and Hama yesterday, is now in full flood. The greater part of his speech in Hama was devoted to a violent and scurrilous attack on the "hireling King" Hussein and his "British masters". He referred frequently to the fabrications of the broadcasting stations of the enemies of the Arab nation and recalled the fate of King Abdullah and Nuri Said, etc. He accused King Hussein of trying to organize sabotage in Syria and refuted his remarks in his London Press Conference about Adnan Madani. "Hussein was nursed with the milk of Britain and brought up in the bosom of imperialism."

2. Nasser's speech in Hama, which was couched in equally unrestrained language, was concerned mainly with the Syrian struggle against French Imperialism, although he also included attacks on Jordan. He is due in Damascus today.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Tel Aviv, U.K. Mission New York, Washington, Baghdad, Beirut, Jerusalem, P.O.M.E.F., as my telegrams Nos. 37, 49, 60, 58, 111, 31, and 92 respectively.

[Repeated as requested]

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V
 LEVANT DEPARTMENT
 UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

V G 1018/46

FROM Summary of world
 Broadcasts.
 No. 465
 Dated October 18
 Received October 20

SUBJECT:
 Précis including quoted passages of speech by
 PRESIDENT NASSER at Aleppo Oct 15th.

References
 743

MINUTES
 We had the gist from Cairo.
 Mr. Saunders 20/10
 FORD (A.E.) 21/10
 20/10

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

The passage on page 10 seems to me to deserve special notice (a) because Nasser is virtually saying that Jordan shouldn't exist at all, + (b) because it contains the clearest possible statement of Britain's responsibility for Hussein ("he finds protection behind its bayonets + influence").

(Action completed) (Main Indexed)
 26.10.60 26/10

The Israelis certainly agree with a) above. Mr. Ofer of the Israeli Embassy drew my attention to this passage this morning + copied it with an alleged statement by Mr. Ali Sabri in Cairo later that the Israelis wd not interfere in Jordan if the regime collapsed there, & wd not be allowed to by world opinion. Mr. Ofer thought that this passage

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the beginning of a direct attack by VAR on Jordan. I said that we did want more evidence before believing that.

*Row Regan
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Government in order to prevent the indigenous sons of Aden from assuming posts held by these foreigners. All this is done by the Aden Government in order to keep its fifth column in all fields of life in Arab Aden and to exploit these foreign elements in liquidating the entity of Aden and effacing its Arabism. This is Britain's aim and this we must face with greater vigilance, caution, solidarity and unity, for nothing serves the purpose of imperialism better than to find the nationalist forces facing it in groups and sections conflicting with each other and stabbing each other in the back.

All differences must be settled and all citizens must equally rally around the axis of the public interest and national aims. With unity and solidarity the Arab people in Aden can resist Britain's plots to bring about the predominance of foreign elements in this Arab country. With unity and solidarity the Aden Arab people can face Britain's plots to isolate them from the rest of the Arab people in the greater Arab homeland. Unite, unite, free sons of Aden, for victory will be yours if you unite in the struggle for freedom and sovereignty.

Extract from S.W.B. No. 465 - 18th October

Nasir's Speeches in Syria

(a) Damascus and Cairo 15.20 GMT 15.10.60 (relay)

ARCHIVES
20 OCT 1960
V61018/46

Precis, including quoted passages, of speech by Nasir from the balcony of the Aleppo Guest Palace:

Compatriots: I am happy to meet the youth of Aleppo. You brethren and youths are the fortresses on which we depend in the northern part of your Republic. Aleppo has always been the strong fortress of Arabism and Arab nationalism; Aleppo was not content to defend itself, but used to send reinforcements to the Arabs everywhere, and struggled beside them in the cause of their freedom and Arabism.

When Egypt was subjected to invasion by the Crusaders in the 13th century, your valiant city hastened to support your brethren in Egypt, and sent an army from Aleppo to Egypt to stand side by side with the Egyptian army and repel the invaders and aggressors. Arab nationalism triumphed and the aggressors retreated. In those days Syria and Egypt were united, and this union became a power for the Arabs. The army of Aleppo and the army of Syria remained in Egypt to defend it against the aggression of Europe and the Crusaders. The Christian and the Muslim Arabs stood side by side to struggle here in Aleppo and there in Egypt.

This is our history, brethren. We have defended Arab nationalism and the Arab spirit, and we are always ready to defend them; we were born to defend and respect our Arabism. We were subjected to aggressions in the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th centuries; European imperialism wanted to establish sectarian feelings among the individuals of the Arab nation. The European imperialists, calling themselves Crusaders, kept attacking us for about a hundred years, trying to dominate and divide us and cause communal strife. The kings of Europe allied themselves and gathered funds and armies, but they were unable to defeat us either by the use of money or arms. By our belief in ourselves and our Arabism, we were able to defeat them. In talking today about Arab nationalism, we talk of a profoundly-felt mission; and we were not deceived [then] by the sectarianism which the Crusaders disseminated among us.

The Christian is an Arab and the Muslim is an Arab, and all believe in the creed of Arabism. The Arabs in this area have been united; we have been able to put an end to communal strife, because we believe that we are Arabs first of all. Religion belongs to God; the homeland to every citizen. Our belief has been in this. And that was why neither France nor Britain was able to infiltrate into our territory. When we preach Arabism and Arab unity, we only say what our forefathers said. We call for justice and for freedom; for the protection of our homeland and our country; for the liberation of our country from imperialism and from imperialist agents. Imperialism wanted to bring about the disintegration of the Arabs, and to establish distress and ill-will among us.

Where are we today? We have emerged victorious from every battle we have fought. And why? Because we are fighting for a just cause. We have the right to consolidate our independence and raise the banner of Arab nationalism. We fight for freedom, social justice, and the socialist, democratic, co-operative society we cherish.

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MR/465/A/5

"When imperialism found that the people had triumphed once again; and that the veteran agents on whom it had depended, such as Nuri as-Sa'id and Abd al-Ilah, had been eliminated, it tried to find agents and proteges. But there is no price for agents and proteges - for how long will these agents live? The agent's life is always short, because the people drive him out and put an end to him. The immortal and everlasting life is that of this people, the original people; there is no life for the agents and the imperialist lackeys; there is no life for imperialism and its influence in our country." For this, we struggle.

"If the agents of London, the agents of Paris, and the other agents who receive dollars from America, operate against our country, what shall we say to them? Or what shall we do to them? We will tell them that we understand these methods, and will not be taken in by them." The Arab people understand all these methods. No matter how strong imperialism is, when we see imperialism and the dogs of imperialism attack our Republic, we say to ourselves that we are developing in the right way, the way laid down by the Arabs for several decades. When imperialism and the dogs of imperialism attack us, we know that their days are numbered. This means that Arab nationalism is having its effect everywhere in the Arab world.

We work to develop ourselves, and to be the beacon we were in the past. The things taking place in this Republic fill every citizen with pride. We are building up and industrialising our country to make up for what we have missed; Syria used to be a centre of activity and trade. Imperialism wanted to put an end to us - but we put an end to it. We are striving to build this Republic into a beacon for the Arab world in all aspects of life. As we build, so our Republic will become stronger. This is our course, and our right for which we call. May the peace of God be with you.

(b) Cairo home service 21.00 GMT 15.10.60

Excerpt of report:

... President Jamal Abd an-Nasir spoke to the members of the National Union in the Aleppo Governorate and told them: I should like to say that on our next visit, God willing, we shall hold a grand meeting of the members of the National Union - for this visit is a short one. The President said: We depend on you in building this union. The people also depend on the National Union since it is the means of achieving their objectives and of defence for themselves. Having brought the National Union into being we wish to try it out as an active means of gathering all the people together in national unity for the achievement of objectives.

I alone cannot achieve all objectives; nor can Sarraj alone, in his capacity as secretary of the National Union, achieve these objectives. The nature of the work calls for all of us to co-operate and sacrifice everything for the sake of our country. You members of the executive committees will be held greatly responsible for making the union a success, and for seeing to it that it represents all the citizens. The President also said that every person in this society could be a member as long as he was loyal to his country and homeland.

The President added that, once the national income had been raised, we should be able to achieve a society where happiness and prosperity prevail. I hope, he said, that on the next visit I shall have the opportunity of meeting the largest possible number of National Union members in villages and in towns.

President Jamal Abd an-Nasir also addressed the members of the executive committee of the Idlib National Union, and asked them to co-operate loyally with the Government for the realisation of the major objectives at which we aim. President Jamal Abd an-Nasir further received members of the Palestine National Union and made a speech to them. He said: The National Union is always your way to real unity; and there will be no benefit if Palestine is not restored. There is no need for, nor is there any use in bickering or disputes, because the first objective is the restoration of the rights and prestige of the people of Palestine. We do not want them to depend on aid and sacrifices; you should deny yourselves, and you should make sacrifices. Zionism wants to put an end to you, and it is unavoidable that you should decide on your own unity. Separation and division had their effect on us in the past - even before the year 1949. There was the year 1936; and the year 1925, when the Palestine people were in revolt.

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Division will do away with achievements and victories; the National Union should prevent every kind of exploitation and deviation. Deviation can be found in every society, and our duty is to prevent this deviation.

Concluding his speech, the President said: The Arab people will never forget the right of the Palestine people. A great duty and difficult task rest upon you. I wish you success...

(c) Damascus and Cairo home service and "Voice of the Arabs" 08.48 GMT 16.10.60 (relay)

Precis, including quoted passages, of speech by Nasir from the balcony of Hamah Government House:

I am happy, compatriots, to meet you, the people of Hamah, who are working to build their Republic, and to raise high the name of Arab nationalism and Arab unity. On my way here, I saw all the people of Hamah, and I saw in them a people resolved.

"Yesterday, brother compatriots, I heard of what was broadcast by Israel and of what was broadcast by Amman radio - God pardon me, the radio of the mercenary king [applause]. The people of Amman disavow that radio. What did Israel say, and what did the radio of the mercenary king say about these meetings held by us, the people, to discuss our affairs and to express our feelings and emotions? [Applause and cheers].

"Israel radio said that we were meeting the people of the Syrian region to force inspiration into them. Israel radio lied. When I meet you, I derive inspiration and strength from you, because strength is of the people [applause and cheers]. What did the radio of the mercenary king in Amman say? The radio of the mercenary king in Amman said yesterday that Abd an-Nasir refused to reply to Husayn, master Husayn, our master Husayn, at the UN. But the radio of the mercenary king forgot that in this we showed our detestation - because we know on whose behalf the mercenary king speaks; he speaks on behalf of imperialism and Zionism. The radio of the mercenary king said that Abd an-Nasir preferred to address the rabble and the riff-raff rather than the international rostrum. This means that this people in front of me are the rabble and the riff-raff. This is how the little king understands things; he considers the people rabble and riff-raff. But we consider ourselves part of the people. If the people are rabble and riff-raff, then the President of the Republic is one of the rabble and the riff-raff" [applause and cheers].

We are all equal, and enjoy equal opportunities. To the mercenary king and his radio, who say it does not become presidents to address the rabble and the riff-raff, we say: "We are not occupants of thrones; we did not beg thrones from Britain; we did not ask Britain to defend our throne." We revolted, and in this revolution we expressed the wishes of the people; we are not masters, but servants of the people. That is the difference between the reactionary mentality and the mentality of our Republic.

The reactionary mentality which divided the people into masters and slaves has gone for ever. Where are these masters? They have been destroyed under the feet of the peoples. Where is Nuri as-Said, Abd al-Ilah, or King Abdullah? "Where are those whom Britain installed on the territory of the Arab nation, to create on the Arab nation's territory a society of masters and a people of slaves? The people have sworn that there shall be no slaves; we are all masters." The people revolted in Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, and elsewhere to break the shackles and the fetters, and to establish political and social democracy.

"The people have triumphed, brother compatriots, because when, after the first world war Britain drew up its plans, it decided to instal the Hashimite dynasty in Syria, Jordan and Iraq, and to instal Zionism in Palestine. But where is the Hashimite dynasty in Syria? Where is the hashimite dynasty in Iraq? Where is the Hashimite dynasty in Jordan? Only the mercenary king remains. The king who is today running away from facing his people, and who says everywhere that he wants guarantees against the revolt of his people; and that by the ideas and views it broadcasts, the WAR is instigating the people against him. But the views we express, brother compatriots, are views that emanated from you, and have been adopted as watchwords for you." "When we call for the establishment of social democracy, we are only borrowing your ideas. The country belongs to all; the homeland belongs to all; the Arab nation belongs to its members. These are not new ideas and watchwords.

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"We look at the imperialist radio in Amman, the radio of the mercenary king, and we look at Israel radio - and we feel hopeful about the future. Imperialism is trying to harm our Republic; but it will never succeed. With God's help and the faith of this people, we have triumphed in all our battles against imperialism" [cheers and applause].

After the establishment of our Republic, imperialism used 11 clandestine radios to break up the people's ranks; but it failed. Then it resorted to the agents to destroy or harm this Republic. But did imperialism and its agents succeed in harming your Republic either in the international or the local sphere? No.

"The mercenary king sent some other mercenaries to our border to blow up railways and border villages. He believed that in this way he could make his imperialist master imagine that he was capable of creating troubles and chaos in the UAR. But what has actually happened, dear brothers? Four of the soldiers he sent to the Syrian region's borders to commit aggression against this region have surrendered. We succeeded in capturing four of the men he sent equipped with explosives to blow up railways. When we captured and arrested them they said they were sent against their own will, and were forced to carry out this mission. They spoke of torture and terror in Jordan." This, brothers, is the situation in the mercenary king's country, set up by imperialism to carry out its orders. The difference between us and the agents of imperialism is that we work for the entire Arab nation and our Republic.

"What did the mercenary king say in London, compatriots, the capital of his masters? The mercenary king said that Adnan al-Madani, the martyr Adnan al-Madani, landed in Jordan on a mission to collect information. He also said that Adnan al-Madani tried to blow up the secret equipment in the aircraft, but that they had succeeded in seizing him and preventing him from doing so. From this statement, compatriots, it is clear that the mercenary king has tripped himself up - for earlier they said he took refuge in Jordan. We cannot understand how Adnan could try to blow up the secret equipment in his aircraft if he was really seeking refuge in Jordan. This, compatriots, proves the correctness of the beliefs we entertained from the first moment about the tragedy of this lost hero. From the first moment, they said that he had sought refuge with Husayn, the master Husayn. We said that by no manner of means could a member of the UAR seek refuge with an imperialist slave and mercenary. We said this immediately. But the radio of the mercenary king and the Jordanian rulers persisted in saying that Adnan had sought refuge with the mercenary king. We said that time would prove how these agents lied to cover up their scandals, baseness and cheapness. Yesterday the mercenary king was forced to declare that Adnan went to Jordan on a mission to collect information, and that when he landed in Jordan he tried to blow up the secret equipment in his aircraft" [applause and cheers].

This is why we have confidence in our young men; right always outlives wrong; they can deceive no one by their evil doing. "They could not maintain their wrong doing for long, although they had been brought up on Britain's milk and nurtured in the lap of imperialism. Despite all this, wrong could not live long. By their statements and their own words they proved that the Arab people and the Republic's young men were proud youths ready to sacrifice their blood and spirit, but never sell their homeland for money." This is the people, this is the rabble and riff-raff from which we emerged. The people whom the radio of the mercenary king has described as rabble and riff-raff will not sell their homeland for all the money and gold in the world. The mercenary master and the agent-rulers of Jordan and their kind sell their people and their country cheaply - King Abdullah sold all of us cheaply to Zionism; the mercenary king sold us to imperialism and Zionism. That is the difference between the rabble and the masters; we are rabble and riff-raff, but we are honourable. But the masters whom the mercenary king represents lack honour.

We shall work on. Adnan will be the living example for all of us; all of us are prepared to follow Adnan's example. We are prepared to defend the homeland with our spirit and blood; to fight for our nation, our homeland, social democracy, and social justice.

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(d) Damascus home service and Cairo home service and "Voice of the Arabs" 14.10 GMT 16.10.60 (relay)

Precis of speech by Nasir from the Homs Government House balcony:

Compatriots: If any country in the world can be called strong because its people are strong, then we must be one of the strongest countries in the world, because our people are strong in every sense. Every time I meet you I see strength emanating from you. I have seen how strong the people are in every area that I have visited. I feel this strength here today in your town of Homs. Leaders cannot feel that they are strong unless they have strong people behind them - and you are strong people.

Every time I meet you, I feel that I am stronger than ever. You are the people who resolved to establish the UAR and who raised the banner of Arab nationalism. "When the UAR was established I said, brethren, on that day: I see a great State emerging in this East. And I meant everything I said, because I saw this great and strong people who, for the first time in contemporary history, were able to lay down the UAR borders with their own hands. By this great work, compatriots, you were able to exterminate all imperialist attempts to dominate us and all imperialist influence."

Through this strong people, our Republic will be able to realise all our cherished aspirations - the aspirations to unity, the establishment of a socialist, democratic and co-operative society, and the development and industrialisation of our Republic.

After the second world war imperialism tried to disintegrate this region, knowing that Syria was the pulsating heart of Arabism and that Syria's continued existence would eventually lead to Arab nationalism and unity. So imperialism employed its agents in this area to destroy Syria. What was the result? The free and heroic Arabs triumphed and imperialism and its agents were defeated. Syria remained there for its strong people to raise the banner of Arab nationalism and unity. Imperialism vanished for good. This was the secret of all imperialist attempts since the second world war to destroy the Syrians. Indeed, the great Syrian people have taught imperialism many lessons.

Compatriots: You have always called for independence and unity, because independence is the way to unity and unity is the way to strength and respectable life. "When imperialism sought to dominate our homeland, it began by first dividing the Arab world into small divisions and concentrating its hirelings so as to secure firm supporters against the Arab people. But Syria understood this from the very first day and so resolved on Arab independence and unity. When Syria became independent every individual among the sons of these people cried out, while the Syrian flag was being hoisted, that the Syrian people would sacrifice themselves for this flag. No flag whatsoever would fly above this flag except the Arab flag, the flag of Arab unity."

Your call for unity has spread to all parts of the Arab world and to your brethren in Egypt. They welcomed these feelings with similar ones. "Your brethren in Iraq fought and struggled for independence, because they felt that independence was the way to Arab nationalism and unity. Your call also spread to Jordan, to Amman, where your brethren fight for independence and freedom, because they feel that this is the way to unity and respectable life."

In 1948, imperialism used agents to crush Arab nationalism in Palestine and, because of our division, a beloved part of our homeland was usurped and granted to Zionism. We were seven Arab armies fighting Zionist gangs, and yet we were unable to achieve our aim of preserving Palestine.

Since 1948 we have been engaged in a continuous battle for freedom and independence against treason and agents, and for the sake of unity. "We know that all these battles are only stages leading up to the greater battle to restore Palestine and the rights of the Palestinians. If we want to preserve our Arab homeland and restore the rights of the Arab Palestinians, we must exterminate imperialism, its collaborators, treason, and agents. Despite imperialist plots, we must all work to strengthen our independence and develop our countries. Then, armed with national unity, we must proceed to realise greater Arab unity. This, brethren, is our way to liberate Palestine."

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The Arabs know that division and false borders led to the loss of Palestine. They have, therefore, pledged themselves to remove these false borders and to realise Arab unity. Before unity, imperialism and Zionism fought us with all weapons; they even resorted to armed aggression. What was the result? Plots and aggressions were strongly resisted and destroyed. We have triumphed in all battles against imperialism, Zionism, and agents. Imperialism today is fighting a last-ditch battle against the Arabs. Today I see you stronger than ever, and no wonder - you are nurtured on victories, and victories produce strength. May God grant you success always. Peace be with you.

(e) Damascus home service and Cairo home service and "Voice of the Arabs" 09.57 GMT 17.10.60 (relay)

Precis, including quoted passages, of speech by Nasir from the Damascus Guest Palace balcony:

Brother compatriots, I am happy to meet you here in your immortal city of Damascus and to see the strong people who are pledged to march on the road of power and life. Every time I see you I thank God for this power expressed by you, and my heart becomes reassured that our revolution is proceeding towards victory with the help of God. You are the people who have revolted through the ages for the realisation of the major objectives freedom and independence and the extermination and consolidation of Arab nationalism and Arab unity.

"We have all worked for the political revolution because we all believed that a political revolution was necessary for our liberation from imperialism and exploitation." You have always worked for the political, Arab and social revolutions. You realised the political revolution, achieved independence, faced the forces of imperialism, and destroyed imperialism and its plots. You upheld the cause of Arab nationalism and Arab unity. Your brothers in Egypt proceeded along the same road. They worked for the realisation of the political and Arab revolutions.

In 1948 we went to Palestine to fight for Palestine and the Arab nation, and while fighting in Palestine we felt that the political, Arab and social revolutions were imperative. After the revolution I said in my book "The philosophy of the revolution" that sadness filled our hearts when we were fighting in Palestine because the rulers and "the corrupt king" at that time exploited the Palestine war as a means to grow rich. "Opportunism and exploitation were the major obstacles in the way of what should have been our course in the Palestine war." We felt at the time and said that "the battlefield should first be Cairo if we wished to liberate Palestine". This is the political revolution of which I am speaking and which you understood and upheld in the past. This is also the social revolution. This was the feeling of every Arab. Palestine was lost without fighting, by treason and exploitation. It was lost because some sold it to imperialism and Zionism. They also sold us when we were fighting there. When King Abdullah sold Palestine to Zionism and Israel it was clear that a political revolution was necessary, just as when the corrupt King in Egypt exploited the Palestine war to make money.

"The people of Jordan got rid of King Abdullah, who had sold them to imperialism and Zionism. The people of Egypt carried out their revolution to do away with the corrupt monarchy which represented both political and social corruption. The people in sister Iraq then struggled to carry out their political and social revolutions, to destroy the elements of treason and opportunism, and to destroy Nuri as-Sa'id, who had sold Palestine and the entire Arab nation to Zionism and imperialism."

All the Arab people in every place and in every Arab country know their way, "political and social revolution for the realisation of the objectives of the great Arab revolution for which we all work". The people are the pioneers of the holy march towards the realisation of the political and social revolutions and Arab unity. There is no place for imperialism or imperialist influence in our country. There is no place for agents among us. This is the country of the honest and free people. It is the home of Adnan al-Madani, who gave his life and blood for it. We are all ready to give our lives and blood for the honour and freedom of our country.

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We proceed in our political revolution, taking lessons from the past when imperialism tried to divide us. The people are determined to unite and establish a national unity working for the realization of their honest objectives. You are a united people whom imperialism cannot divide. Every one of us loves his brother. "When Adnan al-Madani sacrificed his blood he was expressing his love, appreciation and faith in you, in this heroic people." He could have bought his life with money or treason, but he was the righteous son of Syria. He set an example for us all and showed that this is an immortal nation.

You have revolted and destroyed sectarianism. "There is no place for sectarianism-mongers among us." When France occupied this country it tried to use this trade, but the free and conscious people refused to be deceived. "The Muslim and the Christian fought imperialism" and forced France to withdraw. There were Christian and Muslim martyrs, all Arab martyrs.

In the meantime we did not ignore our social revolution. No monopoly, no exploitation and no feudalism, but social justice with no group of people dominating the rest or one class of people dominating another. In the past imperialism tried to prevent us from developing our country and from turning it into an industrial country and a country advanced in agriculture. Today we are free and are advancing forward in our social revolution side by side with our political revolution. We have never forgotten our great Arab revolution for which you have struggled. You said: We raise the Syrian flag, and no flag can rise above it except that of Arab unity. You never forget your brothers throughout the Arab nation. In Aleppo there were children no older than 5 chanting: "Brother in Amman, brother in Oman, brother in the South, brother in Algeria." This is the spirit of the people and the secret of their power. With your strength and power, which I have seen today, we proceed in our Arab revolution.

When imperialism dominates any Arab country it works to "make a small group of people dominate it, depending on exploitation and on the accumulation of as much money as possible. It depends on its agents, the traitors. The example is near us in Jordan. Imperialism depends on the hired king and a small group of agents", but the people of Jordan are Arab people. "Before the first world war there was no Transjordan. There were the people of Syria. The boundaries of Syria extended to Aqabah in the south. There is no difference between the people of Syria and the people of Jordan. We are all one people. After the first world war imperialism wanted to destroy Syria and repay its agents. "It thus cut off Transjordan from Syria, made it an emirate, and gave it to the Amir Abdullah, who later sold us after he had called himself King Abdullah." This is what happened in the past. Why do the imperialist agents, the hired king and rulers of Jordan, now launch rapid campaigns against Arab nationalism and Arab unity? Imperialism cut off this region from Syria for them and established a kingdom for them. "They thus consider themselves Britain's heirs to the people of Jordan, and consider themselves the masters and the people of Jordan the slaves." They can in no way approve of the principle of Arab nationalism, national or Arab unity, because they are an expression of the political and social revolutions. "How can the hired king approve of a political revolution in his country? How can he consent to Britain's leaving when he finds protection behind its bayonets and influence? How can he approve of social justice when he lives on the exploitation and enslavement of the Arab people of Jordan?" These are the elements which "drive whoever advocates isolation". They are an embodiment of selfishness, exploitation and opportunism.

The Arab people in every Arab country have always believed in Arab unity. After the first world war imperialism divided our homeland, planted its agents and promised Palestine to Israel. It believed it could destroy Arab nationalism. The Arab people always revolted against imperialism. You revolted "here in Damascus, and your brothers revolted in Beirut, Baghdad and Cairo". We thank God because He gave us victory. We ask God always to help us defeat our enemies. You have triumphed in all your battles. That was the inevitable result of your struggle and your faith in God and your homeland. Peace be with you.

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 LEVANT DEPARTMENT
 UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

VG 1018/47 ✓

FROM Mr P. Wright (Cairo)
 Confidential
 81
 Dated October 20
 Received October 24

SUBJECT: EGYPT
 President Nasser's prestige has risen as a result of his visit to New York. He appears to have a more balanced view of world affairs.

References
 +33 -/41
 VG 1051/116

MINUTES
 Copy sent to Mr. Bith in Paris (for UK del. to NATO. to keep when he has read it).
 Useful. No doubt President Nasser is pleased with himself.

(Printing Instructions)
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N. Dept. 1/3 1/1...
 UN. Dept. 1/11
 FORD (M.S.) 1/11
 Mr. Walker 1/11
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 I think President Nasser's visit experiences may have been of benefit to us too.
 M. Leger
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(Outward Action)
 2c) Mr. P. Wright, UK Del. NATO 1/11/60

I suggest this can be printed.
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This will tend to confirm the Chinese in their belief that "bourgeois-nationalist" leaders only bite the hand that feeds
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I too believe that the visit of President
Nasser to the U.N. may prove a
beneficial one as far as Western
interests are concerned. It may
for example tend to weaken
the growing strength of the
African bloc within the Afro-Asian
group; ^{and} this could prove a blessing.

J. March
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No. 81
(10516/60)

BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,
CAIRO.
October 20, 1960.

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My Lord,

Now that the dust raised in Cairo by President Nasser's attendance at the General Assembly of the United Nations has settled, I have the honour to review some of its more interesting consequences as they appear from this post.

2. I need not dwell on the excesses of the Cairo propoganda machine between the 11th of September, when it was announced that President Nasser would attend the General Assembly, and some days after his return to Cairo on the 5th of October. It is enough to say that the press scaled heights of fulsome and slavish adulation which even these past masters of the art had scarcely hitherto attempted. In view of the occasion this was perhaps inevitable and, beneath the heaving mass of candy floss, a more significant trend was discernable. For the first time for months the press (and Egyptian journalists freely admit that government instructions to the purpose were sent to all papers) adopted a strictly "positive neutralist"

/line:

The Right Honourable
The Earl of Home,
etc., etc., etc.,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

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line: the public was spared the sharp contrast of praise for the Soviet Union with abuse and denigration of the United States and other Western powers, which had been so familiar a feature since early this year. Nasser was of course the hero throughout, but he was depicted as patronising and instructing Mr. Khrushchev and President Eisenhower impartially. Mr. Khrushchev's attacks on the Secretary-General passed without comment and headlines on many occasions recorded that his actions had led to an increase of world tension. Cordial references to President Eisenhower and the United States were not infrequent, while the Prime Minister's meetings with President Nasser were well and favourably covered. In general the press concentrated throughout on the line that positive neutralism and non-alignment, as symbolised by President Nasser, were the only hope for a relaxation of tension and for world peace; and that the weight of opinion of the rapidly increasing number of uncommitted nations was at last having a significant effect on the policies of the two great power blocs.

3. These attitudes, stripped of their extravagant presentation, were reflected in what might be described as "intelligent public opinion" in Cairo.

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Many Egyptians in private conversation expressed their pleasure at President Nasser's new-found neutralist, as opposed to apparently pro-Soviet, stand, and there was much relief at the parallel change in the press. There was also a noticeable feeling of enhanced prestige. As many Egyptians saw it, the United Arab Republic as represented by President Nasser at the United Nations, had at last risen above the relatively parochial level of Middle Eastern and even Afro-Asian affairs, and had begun to play a genuinely constructive part on the world stage. Even the most cynical Egyptians praised Nasser's speech of the 17th of September to the General Assembly for touching so lightly on local problems and for concentrating with measured statesmanship on broader issues. Satisfaction was also expressed at the passages dealing with the United Nations in Nasser's public speech on his return to Cairo on the 5th of October (my telegram No. 754) and in his address to the National Assembly on the 12th of October (my telegram No. 784).

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4. These trends are healthy and to be welcomed, and I believe that the effect of the whole exercise on President Nasser's mentality will prove to be beneficial. (It is in itself worth noting that this /was

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was the first occasion on which he had ever travelled west of Belgrade). Not only was he able to indulge at the highest level his genuine pre-occupation with the international responsibilities of the neutralist powers, but some of his more unfortunate preconceptions seem to have been shaken. This emerged in the friendly references which he made to the Prime Minister in conversation with the Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons on the 11th of October (my telegram No. 783). Again a senior Egyptian journalist who accompanied the party to New York has told a member of the staff that President Nasser was very pleased with his talk with President Eisenhower, and that the absence of Zionist demonstrations during his stay in New York made him revise his deep conviction that the United States Government was controlled by American Zionism. He also had an opportunity to see Communist leaders at their worst; and the same Egyptian journalist said that President Nasser had indulged in active lobbying, particularly amongst the new African states, against Mr. Khrushchev's attack on the Secretary-General's person and office. These gratifying developments in President Nasser's outlook were evident in his address to the National /Assembly

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Assembly on the 12th of October. His cordial references to President Eisenhower and his mention of the crisis in U.A.R./Soviet relations in 1959 provided a striking contrast with the general tenor of his public speeches over the past eight months.

5. There have, of course, already been setbacks. First, the failure of the Five-Power draft resolution, which in U.A.R. eyes originated entirely in President Nasser's speech to the General Assembly, caused bitter disappointment here. This was reflected in the speech of the 5th of October in which President Nasser criticised Mr. Menzies in resentful terms, and the press has since made free play with allegations of Western conspiracies, Mr. Menzies being depicted as an instrument of Western cold war objectives. Happily President Nasser's reference to this incident in his address to the National Assembly was comparatively mild and the subject has now been dropped. Secondly King Hussein's speech to the General Assembly, and the death of the Syrian pilot, Adnan Madani, in Amman, roused President Nasser to the violent and abusive attack on King Hussein which so markedly offset the moderate tone of the remainder of his speech on his return to Cairo. And at this moment we are

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being treated to the less attractive side of the President's character, the intemperate demagogue delivering rabble-rousing speeches in Syria, as opposed to the moderate international statesman of the General Assembly.

6. On balance, however, the West can I think derive some satisfaction from the results of President Nasser's visit to New York. Not only have some of his personal suspicions been allayed through his contacts with Western leaders, but he appears, at any rate temporarily, to have adopted a more realistic attitude towards the Soviet Union and to have returned to his position on the international fence. It is also to be hoped that the experience may have educated him to some extent out of the distressing parochialism which besets the Arab world. It is after all the first time that President Nasser has appeared on the world stage without having been hoisted there by a Middle East crisis.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Amman,

/Baghdad

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Baghdad, and Beirut; to the Head of the United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations, and to the Political Representatives with the Middle East Forces and the British Forces, Arabian Peninsular.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

P.H.G.

P.H.G. Wright.

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