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# FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OIP

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

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Mr. Crowe

<u>No. 30</u>

Sec. Sugar Ball

1.1

January 18, 1960. Maiosiliz, R. 10.50 a.m. January 19, 1960.

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# PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL

My telegram No. 23: Consulates.

In the course of general conversation last Friday, January 15, in which we touched on mutual mistrust between our two Governments, Ghaleb said that he could see why we hesitated about agreeing to their consulate in East Africa, but what did we think they could do in Hong Kong.

2. I feel sure that it would be helpful if we could agree to a U.A.R. consulate in Hong Kong. I do not (repeat not) see that they could do any harm; on the contrary, I suggest that it might be desirable as helping to inform them better about Chinese Communism.

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of great political importance), and possibly later elsewhere in U.A.R. territory. It is likely that this concession will be needed to clinch the matter.

I hope you can let me have an early answer as the matter is really rather urgent.

John Profume

# CONFIDENTIAL

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The Most Hon. The Marguess of Lansdowne.

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

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161051

Mr. Crowe

No. 24 January 15, 1960

R. 4.08 p.m. January 15, 1960

PRIORITY CONFIDENTIAL VGIOSI

My telegram No. 23: Consulates.

I do not (repeat not) think that there is anything further for us to do until we have Ghaleb's reply. When I last saw him Swiss Ambassador had not (repeat not) received any instructions from Berne to take action. I gathered, however, that it was Berne, rather than he, who had thought of obtaining special authorization for Swiss to continue. As far as he is concerned, he appears willing to carry on without change while we negotiate with the Egyptians.

2. I will keep in touch with him.

TTTTT

CONFIDENTIAL

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FROM BERNE TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

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VG1051/10 (B)

Sir W. Montagu-Pollock

<u>Nc. 17</u>	${\tt D}_{\bullet}$	2.21	p.m.	January	25,	1960
January 25, 1960	R.	2.32	p <b>.m.</b>	January	25,	1060

### CONFIDENTIAL

A \_

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 17 of January 25.

Repeated for information to Cairo.

Cairo telegram No. 24 to you.

The Head of the International Organizations' Division of the Political Department asked me to call today. He told me the Swiss Government had decided that now that Her Majesty's Government had reestablished diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic, they did not feel able to act as sugrested in paragraph 2 of your telegram No. 8. Nor did they think representations on their part would be effective. They would, however, be glad to carry on indefinitely [grp undec ? assistance] in Alexandria and Damascus. They had sent instructions to Cairo accordingly.

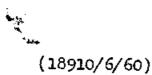
2. M. de Rham added that he was much looking forward to seeing Sir Roger Stevens here on February 11.

Foreign Office please pass Cairo 5.

Repetition to Cairo referred for Pepartmental decision.]

U Cimons attitude. But A' is satisfactory. SCP Section. 9 127110 Dr. Mutor M. Chake Consider Bitt. mut 1/2 V Drip Consider Bitt. J. B.

80319	
	conditions and that yo enclosed 'Terms and



BRITISH EMBASSY,

BERNE.

ŝ,

January 9, 1960.

٠đ

Dear Department,

V610511

We enclose a copy of the Aide Memoire which we left with the Swiss on January 7 on receipt of your telegram No.8 about consular functions in the United Arab Republic.

2. There is one point we should put to you though you are probably well aware of it. The Swiss are rather touchy lest any suggestion might be made that the Swiss Ambassador should act in any way under guidance from Mr. Crowe. In their view, he acts under instructions from his Government who can receive guidance as to Her Majesty's Government's wishes through us. As you know, they tend to be a little protocolaire in such matters. We have therefore modified slightly the language in paragraph 3 of your telegram.

3. We are copying this letter, with the enclosure, to Cairo.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY.

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

# <u>CONFIDENTIAL</u>

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# -сорт-

(18910/3/60)

#### <u>AIDE MEMOIRE</u>

With reference to the Political Department's request for further information regarding the exercising of consular functions at Alexandria and Damascus, the Foreign Office has stated in a telegram received today that it is regarded as important to get at least the main metropolitan posts of Alexandria and Damascus re-opened as soon as possible and to separate this question from Egyptian demands for new nonmetropolitan posts which will take some time to consider.

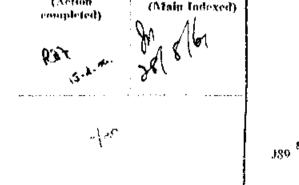
Her Majesty's Government regret very much any inconvenience which may be involved through the Swiss Representatives continuing to act in consular posts in the meantime, but Her Majesty's Government cannot of course say when the Egyptian Government will give satisfaction.

It might be helpful both to the Swiss Government and to Her Majesty's Government if the Swiss Government could intervene with the United Arab Republic Government on the following lines:-

The Swiss Government are anxious to complete the handing over of the protection of British interests as soon as possible. Divided responsibility is unsatisfactory and inefficient. It could also cause delay and inconvenience to Egyptian interests. The work of handing over responsibility for British interests in Cairo has been completed and the Swiss Government wish to take parallel action in other posts, particularly in Alexandria and Damascus as soon as possible. The United Arab Republic Government would also surely wish to be able to deal with these matters as exclusively. The Swiss Government would therefore welcome an assurance that the United Kingdom posts can be re-opened at a very early date.

If the Swiss Government agrees to act on the above lines, Her Majesty's Government would be grateful if the Swiss Ambassador could keep Mr. Crowe informed of any action which he may take. Her Majesty's Government in any case hope that the Swiss Government will not approach the United Arab Republic Government for specific authorisation to continue in charge of British interests for a further period. This would merely strengthen the United Arab Republic Government's hand in delaying a decision to allow the re-opening of the posts in Damascus and Alexandria.

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to consider a home truce on thong Kong.

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It will be seen from the minutes above that we are already pressing the Colonial Office to  $\frac{399}{5440/-24}$ 

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authorise us to offer Hong Kong if Mr. Crowe should find it necessary to throw in this concession. This has been done at the departmental level and it occurs to me that we ought possibly to take this up at a higher level, in the light of the Secretary of State's minute, before the Colonial Office attitude crystallises, possibly in an unfavourable sense. I attach a draft,

2. There is one point that I think we ought to make clear in our eventual instructions, should we be able to offer Hong Kong. This is that we cannot engage in bartering one post against another, which will in most cases mean one of our colonial posts against one in U.A.R. territory. If we do offer Hong Kong, we should offer it as a final inducement against which we should expect the U.A.R. Government to allow us to open up where we want on U.A.R. territory. But for the present we would ask only for the Consulates we need immediately viz. Alexandria and Damascus.

(J.G.SC Beith) January 20, 1960.

I agree with the draft letter as mended I do not however qu the whole way with Mr. Beithis ponyraph 2. Once we have got Alexandrie Dommans, we shall be in a stronges bongaining position, since the UAR with want further posts in the Colonies une there we shall want further posts in Egyps. I tunch that that our immediate baction sho, he loget Alexandrie Domescus as quickly, and as cheeply as possible. UB Stevens Number of copies.....

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#### SECRET

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TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

FROM UGANDA (Acting Governor)

Cypher  $(O, T, P_{\cdot})$ 

D. 11th January, 1960. R. 11th "" 17.50 hrs. V61051 5(F)

Ψ.

PRIORITY SECRET AND PERSONAL PERSONAL No. 3.

> Addressed to S. of S. Repeated to Governor, Kenya """"Tanganyika """British Resident, Zanzibar ""Administrator, East Africa High Commission (Governor Kenya pass copy please). No. 2002.

Your telegram secret and personal No. 1.

United Arab Republic Consular Representation.

I have no doubt that presence of an Egyptian Consular representative in East Africa, whether honorary or career, could cause this Government <u>serious</u> embarrassment.

2. As you know we are already seriously concerned throughout East Africa at activities of Cairo Radio, the impact of which at present is, however, fortunately slight in Uganda.

3. In addition Egyptian Government is actively supporting Communist inspired (through influence of Afro-Asian Solidarity Council) Cairo office of Uganda National Congress led by Kalekezi. The steady stream of subversive literature (the importation of which is banned) and statements which reach Uganda cannot emanate from this office without the knowledge of the Egyptian Government.

4. Since October, 1958, some 21 Africans are known to have #crossed Sudanese border from Uganda without passports with intention of proceeding to Iron Curtain countries for higher education. Of these, nine are known to be behind the Iron Curtain and are believed to have travelled via Cairo, where they probably obtained assistance for their journey from official sources. One such journey is definitely known to have been arranged by Egyptian General Intelligence. Kalekezi is known to be attempting from Cairo to arrange scholarships in U.S.S.R. for six Uganda students at present in United Kingdom. Twentyeight more persons in Uganda are known to be planning to go to Arab or Iron Curtain countries for further studies.

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#### SECRET

5. I am afraid subversive efforts of Cairo Radio would be encouraged, proportion of anti-British activities of Cairo office of Uganda National Congress would be stimulated, and that clandestine journeys by young Uganda Africans to Iron Curtain countries would be greatly facilitated, by presence of Egyptian Consular representative in East Africa. I do not see how his activities could in practice be so circumscibed as to prevent these activities. Experience in Sudan and elsewhere has shown Egyptians are particularly expert at this kind of under cover subversion.

For these reasons I hope everything possible will be done 6. to prevent proposal, although I cannot offer any suggestions as to how this could best be done. If Consulate in East Africa must be accepted in wider interests of Anglo-Egyptian relations, I very much hope its headquarters will not (repeat not) be in Uganda, where, owing to comparative ease of communication with Egypt through Sudan and to position of Uganda at head of waters of the Nile, more harm to British interests could, I suggest, be done than from Kenya or, more particularly, INB from Tanganyika. Any argument by Egyptians that Consulate must be in Uganda so as to supervise flow of Nile waters (see savingram No. 32 of 27th October from British Property Commission, Cairo, to Foreign Office) could be countered by reference to presence at Jinja for many years past of engineers representing Egyptian Irrigation Department. Howell's letter to Reid of 16th November, 1959, refers. This arrangement has worked very satisfactorily and successive engineers have abstained from political activities. NIT

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Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office ~ Mr. R. Arculus

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INWARD TELEGRAM	ARCIA
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLO	NIES
FROM TANGANYIKA (Sir R. G. Cypher (O. T. P.)	Turnbull) VG1051 S(I)
D. 13th January, 1960. R. 13th "" 10.00	hrs.

PRIORITY SECRET AND PERSONAL PERSONAL No. 10.

> Addressed to S. of S. Repeated to Governor Kenya ... 11 18 Uganda 11 British Resident, Zanzibar f 4 11 Administrator, East Africa High 18 Commission Personal No. 5.

Your telegram secret and personal No. 3. P. 3 4 U.A.R. Consular Representation.

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We fully endorse representations made in Uganda telegram Personal No. 3 to you. From a purely Tanganyika point of view a U.A.R. Consular representative would have a fertile field for intrigue in activities of all Muslim Nationals of Union of Tanganyika. He would no doubt seek to blow this up into a much larger force than it is or than it is ever likely to be, in order to discredit Nyerere and moderates. Paragraph 2 of Fletcher-Cooke's letter of 30th October, 1959, to Eastwood about composition of 1960 Visiting Mission explains this point in greater detail.

Copy sent to:-

**Foreign Office** Mr. R. Arculus

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Restricted.

letter to

from

Mr. Beith

Confidential. 45/1

Secret.

Open.

Draft.

SECRET

C.T. CroweEso. CAIRO MARGIN. THIS Z WRITTEN 8 2 NOTHING

**.** ... ..

Would you please refer to para 1 of Foreign Office telegram No. 19 of January 6 about Consulates. The following is the gist of replies so far received from Colonial Governors.

2. Uganda The presence of an Egyptian Consular representative in East Africa, whether honorary or career, could cause serious embarrassment. The results would be that the subversive efforts of Cairo radio would be encouraged, anti-British activities of the Cairo office of the Uganda National Congress would be stimulated, and that clandestine journeys by young Uganda Africans to Iron Curtain countries would be greatly facilitated. Any arguments by the Egyptians that a Consulate is required in Uganda to supervise the flow of Nile Waters · could be countered by reference to the presence at Jinja for many years of engineers representing the Egyptian Irrigation Department.

Kenya It would not be practical so to circumscribe the activities of any Egyptian Consul in East Africa, to render him in any satisfactory degree harmless. There is virtually no trade with the U.A.R. On the other hand there is a considerable Israeli

community, and trade and other relations are increasing. Moreover the Honorary Consul for Israel is a British subject. It might be possible to suggest names of a in the last resour few local residents who might if /be

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#### SECRET

be suitable for appointment as Honorary Consul for the U.A.R. Tanganyika. A U.A.R. Consular representative would have a fertile field for intrigue in activities of all Muslim Nationals of the Union of Tanganyika. Relations between Arabs and Africans Zanzibar are always strained and the certain interference by an Arab Consul in political affairs would exacerbate the situation. Hong Kong The Governor would like to discourage any additional Consular representation unless a valid economic interest exists which is dubious in the case of the U.A.R. No country whose policies have been, or are likely to be, closely aligned with the Communist bloc at present has Resident Consular representation in Hong Kong. 3 You will see feelings are pretty strong in East Africa, and maturally less so in Hong Kong. The possibility (under Kenya above) of

Kong. The possibility (under <u>Kenya</u> above)or finding a harmless candidate to be Honorary Consul would be a good solution, but unfortunately it is by custom up to the sending state to choose whether to have a career or honorary Consul. We could however make good use of the point that the Israelie only have a British subject acting for them in an honorary capacity. NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Poreign Office telegram No. 19.



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# INWARD TELEGRAM

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VECTORING PA

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

FROM KENYA (Acting Governor)

Cypher  $(0,T,P_{\cdot})$ 

D. 1st February, 1960. R. 1st """

SECRET AND PERSONAL No.123

> Addressed to S. of S. Repeated " O. A. G. Tanganyika) PERSONAL " " " " Uganda ) " " British Resident Zanzibar No.62

16.30 hours.

Paragraph 5 of my telegram Personal No.37.

Proposed United Arab Republic Consular Representation in East Africa.

The field of possible honorary Consuls is not very promising. We can offer only Ali Abdulla Shikely, an English speaking Arab of about 32, who acted as a nominated member of the Legislative Council in a temporary vacancy two years ago.

2. Shikely is Vice President of Afro Arab Youth League, but he is an acceptable security risk, though I am doubtful whether he is of sufficiently high calibre to be a Consul.

Copy sent to:-Foreign Office - Mr. R. Arculus

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Pw /.t SECRET **INWARD TELEGRAM** TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

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

Simplex D. 4th February, 1960. R. 4th " " 08.55 hrs.

IMMEDIATE SECRET No. 48.

VGIOSI/STL)

100 C (1977

'n,

л., Талы

Your telegram No. 34.

U.A.R. Consular Representation.

Regret delay in replying. Following are my own views. Those of Singapore Government will be obtained immediately, if you so instruct.

2. We should have to accept slight risk of mischiefmaking, through (A) intrigue with local Moslems; (B) intrigue with Maldivians to make trouble over Gan; (C) direct espionage. On advice from Special Branch, however, I consider that this is too slight to constitute an objection.

3. By normal criteria there is no existing justification for a consulate. For example: of the two U.A.R. residents, one departed in January; no U.A.R. ships called herein 1959, and such visits generally are few and far between; and no country with such a low total of trade with Singapore has any consular representation here. Against that however, it could of course be argued that increased commerce is desirable.

4. In general, if a consulate here would be valuable to H.M.G. as a bargaining counter, I would not raise any objection.

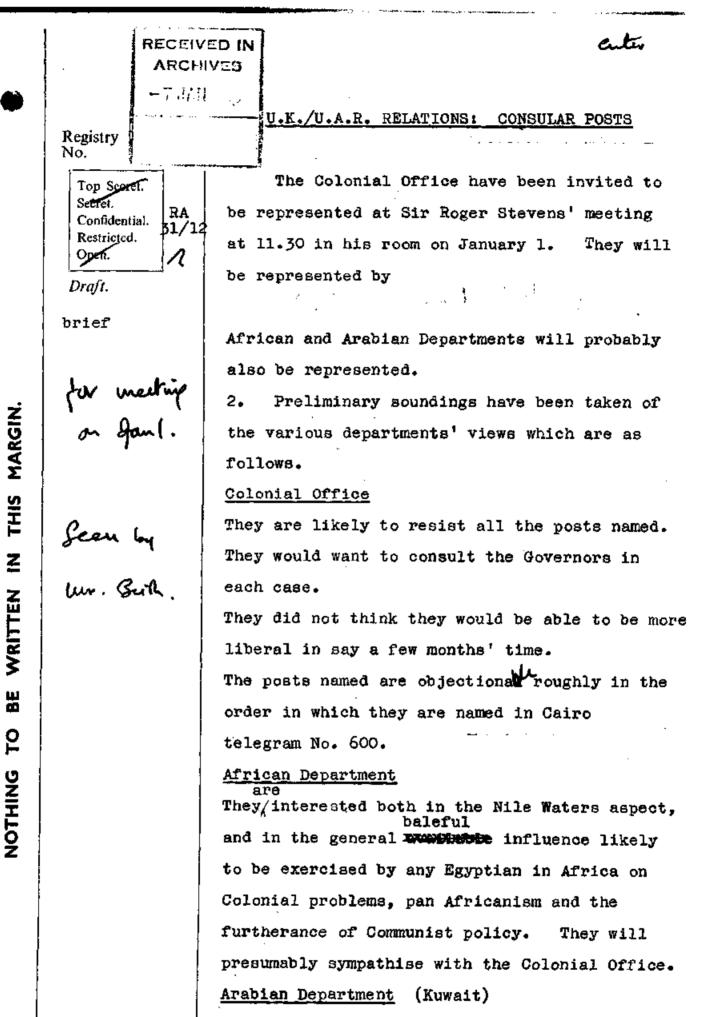
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Foreign Office

- Mr. R. Arculas

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They consider that the action taken in Foreign

Flags A & B BA 1903/34/27(59), Office telegrams No. 894 and 911 to Kuwait

attached is sufficient at present.

South East Asia Department

They consider that an Egyptian could do a good

deal of harm in Singapore, particularly as he

/would

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(76252) Hw.

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would doubtless have access to Ministers there.		j F
Far Eastern Department		
They do not think that an Egyptian in Hong Kong		
would affect our relations with the Chinese;		ł
and it is up to the Colonial Office to comment		
on the harm they could do in the anti-Colonial		
and subversive activities.		ļ
<u>C.R.O.</u>		{
They say that the U.A.R. Diplomatic Mission in		
Kuala Lumpur is causing the Malayans some		
embarrassment, and this strengths the case		ź
against letting them into Singapore.		gil
3. We have recently consulted the Governor of		MARGIN
Aden, who is even more unwilling to have an	Flag C	
Egyptian Consulate than was his predecessor in		THIS
1954 and considers it even more unjustified.		Z
The Colonial Office also recently consulted		z
East African territories about reported Egyptian		Ë
demands for Consulates in Tanganyika and Kenya,		WRITTEN
and the reaction was unfavourable.	Flag D	BE
4. <u>Isræli Consulates</u>		1 -
the Colonial posts mentioned in paragraph 1		1 2
of Cairo telegram No. 600 the Israelis have only	Flag E Vc1051/239(69)	2 V
an honorary Consul <b>ate</b> for East Africa in Nairobi	10021/22/6-1	NOTHING
(covering Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar).		Ż
They have proposed an honorary Consulate in		ļ
Hong Kong and this is under consideration. They		
are also interested in Lagos, but the Egyptians		
have now dropped this from their shopping list,		
presumably because they expect to get it anyway.		
		1

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5. On the posts they want the Egyptian case is weak on orthodox grounds i.e. because of Egyptian Life residents, trade etc. They have however three reasonable points:

(i) A claim to be treated as favourably as the Israelis (Nairobi is the only post the Israelis have at present); 

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(ii) their desire to establish themselves in countries moving towards independence; (iii) Their suspicion that we shall use our posts for spying, just as we know that they will use theirs for subversive activities. On the posts which we want the Egyptian case is very weak as regards Damascus where very many MOL countries are represented, and which they seul reasonably equate to a Colonial post if Syria is supposed to be an integral part of the U.A.R. 6. Another consideration to be born in mind is Pariamentare NOTHING the peeldminary difficulty of justifying any concessions to the Egyptians in Africa while they continue to entertain Colonial renegades in Cairo 5 and to pour out seditious propagiganda in Swahili, The choice seems to lie between (a) a BE etċ. WRITTEN bargain on the lines suggested by Mr. Crowe in could Flag F paragraph 4 of his telegram No. 602, which gam 10,1051/240(59). only be done after consultation with Colonial ź Governments and then after quite a battle, and is THIS in any case open to political objections; or (b) making a determind effort to get the main MARGIN metropolitan posts open and stall on the remainder. 8. Since the Egyptians cannot really keep us out of Alexandria for long, and Damascus, though highly desirable, is not really essential, I think we

of Alexandria for long, and Damascus, though highly desirable, is not really essential, I think we should take the more robust line suggested in (b) above, subject to any different considerations which may emerge at the meeting.

**q.** Possible lines of argument for us with the

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Egyptians would be the following:

(a) On practical grounds we should get the

metropolitan posts reopened as quickly as

possible;

(b) It is unreasonable to delay our reopening in

All the many countries are represented;

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(c) the Swiss have current work and responsibility to hand-over to us in Damascus as well as Alexandria and it is anomalous that they should still have to act for us, (d) The Egyptians cannot argue that the Damascus and be equated to colonial posts when they maintain that Syria is just a region of the U.A.R. (like Wales in the U.K.); (e) The Israelis have no career posts in any of the Colonial territories named by the Egyptians, (only an honorary Consul at Nairobi); (f) ,We would have to consult Colonial Governments about the Egyptian requirements, and they would take into account not only legitimate Egyptians interestsy (if any), but also the U.A.R's record and 🕿 present conduct in Colonial matters, (g) We should have to take into account also public opinion here which would have regard to Cairo's anti-colonial propaganda, anti-colonial activity in international meetings, and the facilities given to Colonial renegades in Cairo. 9. (\*) It might also be possible to use the two following points: (i) if the Egyptians' claim for representation in East Africa is based upon requirements connected with Nile Waters, then we are willing to discuss these requirements in their proper context ( C.O. would have be afree mis); (11) as regards Singapore, U.A.R. interests in

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their Mission in Kuala Lumpur; and the Israelis are not represented there (CPO have agreed Aus from ).

the area would seem to be adequately covered by

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We do not all present contemplate high. lund impresentations to planser. The MM's tour in Africa has not been outwardly an ungralified niccess, may nor be a very food pept thing a lecture to Masser. h 1/2.

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# <u>CONFIDENTIAL</u>

My lunch to-day with Mr. Arnold Smith, Canadian Ambassador in Cairo, produced the following:-

l. <u>Africa</u>

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I told him about the U.A.R. application for Consulates at Kampala, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. не agreed that the demand was exorbitant and repeated what he had said to the Secretary of State, namely that he thought that in the face of the growth of Communism the time would come when we could have useful contacts with Nasser about Africa. He suggested that periodical exchanges of view which gave the opportunity for expounding British policy in Africa might help to make Nasser realise the community of interest which he had with us and this in turn might have its effect on Cairo propaganda and even affect the demand for Consulates. I asked Mr. Smith whether he thought it would be useful if at some stage, say after the end of the Prime Minister's tour, we were able to give Mr. Crowe some guidance about our African policy for use at his discretion. He thought that this would be an excellent idea. Just as taking President Nasser into our confidence about arms for Iraq in May had produced a favourable reaction, so he was confident that any move of this kind would be beneficial.

2. <u>Access</u>

This brought us to the question of access to Nasser. Mr. Smith said it was really no use talking to anybody on this subject except to Nasser himself. I said that I assumed that Mr. Crowe would not be admitted to the presence in his capacity as Chargé d'Affaires. Mr. Smith said that this was indeed so and that it was a great stumbling block. I asked him whether he thought that it would help if we were able to arrange - and it might well not be possible - for the Prime Minister exceptionally to see the Egyptian Chargé d'Affaires when he arrived and after the Prime Minister returned from Africa. He said that he thought that this would considerably increase the chances of Mr. Crowe seeing the President and that it would be well worth trying.

3. <u>Aswan Dam</u>

We discussed this at some length. I told Mr. Smith that there appeared to be two views about Egypt's intentions as regards the second stage: one was that they continued to look to the Russians and that the Russian loan would cover the bulk of the foreign

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exchange expenditure for both stages (Mr. Ruchinski); the other was that they were hoping for Western assistance with the second stage (Mr. Paton). Mr. Smith said he inclined definitely to the second view but it was probable that they had not finally made up their minds until they had seen more of Russian performance on the first stage.

4. '<u>Astypalea</u>'

Mr. Smith evinced mild regret that the International Bank have not held up approval of the loan for a week or so. Though he has not been in Cairo since that time he deduced from his knowledge of the Egyptian character that the easy passage of the loan while the controversy about the 'Astypalea' was at its height could not have failed to give the Egyptians the impression that they could get away with anything and would thus increase their intransigence in the future (this is also of course the Israeli view).

<u>Levant</u> /Department

1960.

January 7,

Copy to: - African Department

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(YG 1051/8)

January 11, 1960

During an interesting talk with Arnold Smith on January 7 I discussed with him the general question of the difficulty of gaining access to President Hasser, and in particular your doing so.

2. Unless the Egyptians decide to send Riad here very soon and we are able to appoint an Ambassador, we may be faced with the need for you to raise the question of the Financial Agreement with Masser in order to get comething done. You are already in correspondence with George Rendel spout the insdequecies of the Egyptian performance, and he is asking you for ammunition to deal with the criticisms in Farliament which are expected in two or three weeks' time. It seems to us that matters will have to be taken out of the channels which have been used so far, and this presumably means getting it across to Nasser as directly as possible on the lines that, with the anniversary of the Agreement coming up next month, a real effort must now be made to clear up outstanding questions. Otherwise the Agreement, which marked the beginning of a new phase in our relations, will become the source of continued and increasing If someting decisive is not done to bring friction. to an end the whole dreary process of desequestration. and to produce a visible effect, the resulting row in Farliament is bound to have a baneful effect on the further development of Anglo-U.A.R. relations. This would work to the disadvantage of the U.A.R. as well as ourselves since it would make it more difficult for us to be forthcoming and helpful, e.g. in meeting Sgyptien requests. Dr. Kaissouni has slways been sympathetic and it is not that there are great

/differences

Ϋ́,

C.J. Growe, Fso., C.M.C., Cairo.

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differences of principle which have emerged - it is merely that things do not get done at the lower levels. A directive from the creatent himself would surely put this straight.

resumpbly you could not just apply for an interview 3. to make representations of this kind to the President. I asked Arnold Smith if he thought it would help if we were able to arrange - and it might well not be possible for the Prime Minister exceptionally to see Khalil when he arrived and after the Frime Minister returned from Africo. Arnold said he thought this would considerably increase your chance of seeing the fresident and it would be well worth trying. This is one possibility. inother would be to draft the instructions in the form of a manage from the Frime Minister to the President which you wight contrive to deliver. Another suggestion which Arnold Smith endorsed was that after the end of the Prime Minister's tour we might give you some further guidence about our African policy; Arnold thought that, just as taking Masser into our confidence about erms for Iran had produced a favourable reaction, so any move of this kind would be beneficial. Here again if our instructions were couched in the form of a message from the Fride Minister, following his tour in Africs, it might give you an entree.

4. Is should be very grateful to have your views about all this. Ministers have yet to consider the position reached on the Financial Agreement and what to do about it, and the cuestion is fairly urgent because of the robability of criticism as soon as Parliament reassembles (January 26). The decision will probably be that the cotter should be raised at the highest possible level in white, an alternative would of course be an appeal to Sugare Black as the father of the Agreement, but I doubt whether we should want to appeal to him before we had made a high-level effort in Cairo. Perhaps in your could you might comment on this also.

D. I am conding you by this beg an advance copy of the

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record of the Secretary of State's conversation with (rnold Smith, which is relevant.

6. Since this was drafted I have seen your letter/of January 7 about the Financial /greement. But I have decided that this letter, which deals with the difficult question of access, had better issue just the same; mearwhile we take note of your interim views!

ROGER STEVENS

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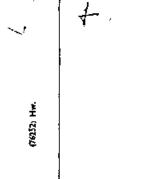
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RECEIVED ARCHIM 1 1 JAN1960 iq losila. Registry No. Record of Conversation between the Top Secret. JGSB Secretary of State and Mr. Arnold 7/1 Secret. Confidential. Smith, Canadian Ambassador to Cairoon Restricted. 6,1960 Open. Present Draft. Record The Secretary of State Mr. Arnold Smith of Mr. **Brith** Beith Conversation The Secretary of State\_began by saying how grateful he and his colleagues had THIS MARGIN. been for the splendid help which Mr. Smith and his Embassy had given to us overthe whole It was little period preceding the resumption of with return for What we did In Mr. Smith said that he had been relations. glad to be of service to this country node all m Z and to western interests generally. WRITTEN the world 2. The Secretary of State said that he found it difficult not to be exasperated by the way in which the U.A.R. accepted BE concessions and prevaricated about delivering 6 fahriseite Trin7 UBChrene //: the guid pro guo. Before the Pinancial Agreement was signed we had been told that I to Financia Arcany Mr. Zarb would be released after signature DNIHLON but nothing had been done. The Financial Agreement itself was not being satisfactorily carried out. The U.A.R. authorities had Private Lac ] stopped the Astypales just at the time the after agreement bet are Hammer Princk ( ) he had all World Bank loan went through ) & LE VAR. 3. Mr. Arnold Smith agreed that the Egyptians were maddening to deal with but



thought that Nasser had learned a number of lessons in the past two years and, with all his faults, represented about the most stable element in the Middle East. On the subject of who exactly was responsible for /stopping ۳

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stopping the Astypalea there was some discussion about the relative influence of Fawzi and Zulficar Sabri . Mr. Smith thought that Zulficar might have been responsible for stopping the ship. He could sometimes have his way on short term decisions although he did not necessarily influence Nasser's long term policy. The eclipse of Fawzi had perhaps been due to the latter's disapproval of Nasser's policy of attacking Iraq and a comeback was not to be excluded. In reply to a question, Mr. Smith 4. said that he thought Kaissouni had considerable authority within his own field of economics but that he had no intentions to influence foreign policy in general. 5. The Secretary of State reverted to our dissatisfaction with progress under the Financial Agreement. If only there could be improvement here our relations with Egypt could continue to develop because there was no my to dominate intention on our part to tract the U.A.R. a<del>s o great power dominating a small one</del>. Mr. Smith said that he thought Mr. Crowe

had done a very good job in putting over this attitude. He was respected and liked for his informal friendliness. He thought too that the U.A.R. Ambassador designate, Mahmoud Riad, was a good choice. He was intelligent and a confidant# of Nasser. Mr. Smith could not with certainty answer the Secretary of State's question as to whether he was an accurate reporter, but he knew that he had a good reputation among those missions which dealt NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

with him.

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6. The Secretary of State said that it was satisfactory that the U.A.R. had now signed a contract for three Comets. But this would not prevent an unpleasant time in Parliament over the carrying out of the Financial Agreement later this month. The storms were mounting and he did not see at present how it would be possible for government spokesmen to avoid saying that the U.A.R. was in breach of the Agreement. It was not so much a question of the money involved as the considerable irritant to United Kingdom opinion. The Secretary of State hoped that it would be possible for Kaissouni to give a strong directive to the sequestration and Mr. Smith commented that Ali Sabri might perhaps be persuaded to give the matter a push.

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7. <u>Mr. Smith</u> emphasised that there had been a considerable development in U.A.R. policy. Nasser was now really worried about the threat of Communism and was to that extent less interested in fomenting extreme nationalism in African countries. "e had found that students we from Africa and working in Cairo,/not only the Moslem students at Al Azhar, were deeply penetrated by Communists and he had recently worken up to the threat represented by the

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Communist Secretar gGeneral in the Afro/Asian

Secretariat. The time had come when we

could have useful contacts with Nasser about

Africa. His interests and ours were not

now so dissimilar.

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8. The Secretary of State said that he. thought it would be useful for Mr. Smith K Nam to be able to talk about the atmosphere he had found in England. There was a genuine desire to improve relations here but we did not want this to be taken for weakness. It would have been quite a popular move if the Government had questioned the loan for Canal development. Our agreement to the loan had been a gesture of friendship. But we did not want good relations at any price nor were we ready to be trampled on in the process. This was where the carrying out of the Financial Agreement was so important. The Agreement had been an act of policy which the U.A.R. Government had, like ourselves, willed. They could not complain of it and they ought to carry it out. Hitherto we had given them the benefit of the doubt and attributed their unsatisfactory performance to administrative delays. . Nasser ought to issue a directive to the sequestration. The probable outcry in Parliament did not worry H.M.G., with their strong majority, but it would affect Anglo/ U.A.R. relations. That is what he would say to Nasser if he saw him hun sulf. 9. Mr. Smith said that he would be glad to her fruich dis set tell Nasser of the way in which the

Secretary of State had spoken and the

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mapor be us nau Secretary of State concurred n cm land stant 10. As regards the consequent suspicions Who we British policy in the U.A.R., Mr. Smith said that the Egyptians would admit that many of these were false e.g. the rumours about /our

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our co-operation with the Parti Populaire Syrien. / The Secretary of State commented that Nasser ought to realise that the United Kingdom wished to disengage so far as possible in the Middle East. We had certain commitments in the Persian Gulf and Southern Arabia which were burdensome but could not be shrugged off. Nevertheless the importance of the Middle East was lessened by the discovery of large sources of oil elsewhere, in Libya, the Sahara and Nigeria. We were much more relaxed about the Middle East man Than pcople Secred to Think Mr. Smith commented that it would help 11. if we could tell Nasser that we were entirely reconciled to the union of Egypt and Syria. The Secretary of State replied that Nasser could be told that we did not care, one way or the other. Our main feeling was one of sympathy for Egypt in taking on a country reputedly almost impossible to govern An long. 12. The Secretary of State commented that Nasser was too much of an opportunist. Did represented he realise that King Hussein was chart cime most stable **refer** available to Jordan and that, if he was overthrown, America and England might find it much less easy to foot the bill? Was he prepared to leave Libya alone? Mr. Smith commented that the common

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assumption in Egypt was that Libya would fall into Nasser's lap on the death of the present King. The Secretary of State said that that might be so but we hoped nevertheless that there was a body of independent opinion /which

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which would keep Libya from becoming a Communist or a Nasserite dominion. 13. There was some discussion about the Egyptian attitude towards the situation in Irag. Mr. Smith said that, while Neaser had undoubtedly been tempted in the past to give tangible support to the anti-Qassem faction, he had learned his lesson and now did not want to be dragged in. Nevertheless he and his entourage were genuinely worried and simply did not know what to do for the best. 14. The Secretary of State asked Mr. Smith whether Nasser had ambitions to dominate Kuwait. Mr. Smith said that the idea of an Arab Development Bank was of course attractive in view of Kuwait's wealth. Ferhaps the Arab League Constitution could be fixed in such a way as to permit Kuwaiti membership. But in general Mr. Smith thought that Nasser understood what a sensitive spot Kuwait was and was too wise to meddle with Mr. Smith threw out the idea that it. independent if Kuwait could become formally/and a member of the United Nations it would be easier to secure international support for her against any subversion or attack. The Secretary of State replied that Kuwait was as good as independent and he did not exclude the possibility. The Ruler at present found it convenient to shelter behind our protection.

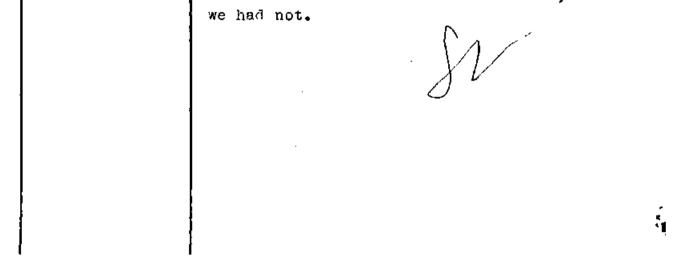
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The essential thing was that he should remain convinced of our capacity to defend his country.

15. <u>Mr. Smith</u> said that he attached importance to Nasser's **prazize** break with the Ba'ath /Party

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Party.leaders. These men could be attractive (Mr. Smith liked Michel Aflage for instance) but they were troublemakers with their extreme pan-Arab nationalism. They were distinctly anti-Western and difficult to deal with and their disappearance would do us no harm. It was a good sign that Nasser no longer needed to neutralise them by giving them jobs. 16. In conclusion, the Secretary of State agreed with Mr. Smith that the basic trend in Anglo/U.A.R. relations was satisfactory but he added that the U.A.R. must realise that they on their side had to make an effort if this trend was to be maintained. Nasser had to show himself a statesman on whose word one could rely. He ought to consider the benefits which had but Werken 92 were mente flowed to India owing to Nehru's statesmanship, Vour Vid his sithough the latter was by no means a blind supporter of the Wester Mr. Smith said that he understood this. His final wi Freen Name comment was that the French were somewhat Von disappointed at having been left behind in the move towards diplomatic relations. TheEgyptians had meant to act pari passu with Britain and France but the French had accepted an arrangement for a Consulate-General to expand commercial business whereas we had not.



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# FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

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Vaiosi / 10.

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Mr. Crowe <u>No. 23</u> January 15, 1960

R: 4.08 p.m. January 15,1960

PRIORITY CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 23 of January 15. Repeated for information to: Berne, VG105115-Your telegram No. 19: Consulates.

I could not (repeat not) see Mourad Ghaleb, the Under-Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, [?omission] today. I spoke on the lines of your paragraph 3 and said that we should open the leading posts where there was an urgent job of work to be done and where the Swiss were exercising responsibilities for us which they wished to shed. That meant, as far as we were concerned, Alexandria and Damascus, and as far as they were concerned, Liverpool and, if they wanted, Manchester. (Ghaleb interjected that they did not (repeat not) need Manchester now). We hoped we could agree on this as a practical measure for a start.

2. I had, however, to tell Ghaleb that the Colonial Governments found very great difficulty over Egyptian requests. I said that, quite frankly, we feared that the Egyptian consulates would be used for hostile propaganda. U.A.R. were, after all, spreading anti-colonial propaganda; they were providing facilities for colonial renegades in Cairo, and the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, which we believed had strong Communist support, was based in Cairo. At a time when important constitutional developments were taking place the Governments did not (repeat not) wish more disturbing elements than there were already.

3. Ghaleb replied that he fully understood the point that I was making. He could however, assure me that U.A.R. Government had no (repeat no) intention of trying to make things difficult for Colonial Governments. As far as the renegades were concerned, he said that they gave them no (repeat no) support and watched them closely. He referred to the case of Belix Moumiye and said that his presence in Cairo had not (repeat not) prevented U.A.R. from recognising the new Government of the Cameroons. They suspected that he was in touch with Communists and they kept a close eye on his activities. Thus his presence here did not (repeat not) mean that they were following a policy hostile to the new Cameroon Government. Ghaleb admitted that the Afro-Asian /Solidarity

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# Cairo telegram No. 23 to Foreign Office

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Solidarity Council had Communist support, but claimed that they had reduced U.A.R. staff and had restricted the Council's activities. Ghaleb went on to say that they realised that new Governments might not (repeat not) necessarily be favourable to their interests. He said that Qasim, who they believed to be an Arab nationalist, had turned out to be more hostile than Nuri Said ever was. He implied, in other words, that U.A.R. authorities had learnt their lesson. He went on to assure me, most solemnly, that it was no (repeat no) part of U.A.R.'s desire to indulge in subversive activities and that this was not (repeat not) their policy. He asked me to be sure to convey these assurances to you.

4. We left it that he would consider our proposals for the immediate opening of Alexandria, Damascus and Liverpool and I would inform him if there were any developments from our side.

Foreign Office please pass to Berne.

[Repeated as requested]

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Sir W. Montagu-F	Pollock	•	•				
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Addressed	to Foreign Of	fice	e telo	gram	No. 4 01		<u>t</u>
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My telegra	um No. 2 <b>50.</b>	V/		Ve	510511	137(Ď	).

The Political Department tell me that the Swiss Ambassador at Cairo has expressed to them consern that the U.A.R. Government may refuse to recognise his authority to perform consular functions on our behalf in Alexandria and Damasous in the absence of some fresh formal agreement between the Swiss Embassy and the U.A.R. Government.

2. The Department desires, therefore, to learn urgently what our intentions are regarding these two posts and, in particular, how long we estimate negotiations regarding the reopening of the Consultates will take. If the likelihood is that settlement will be reached in the course of the next two weeks, the Ambassador may be able to maintain the present position. Otherwise he feels he must reach an understanding with the Egyptian Authorities. In order to do this he needs guidance from us.

3. I should be grateful for telegraphic reply.

Foreign Office pass Immediate to Cairo as my telegram No. 1. [Repeated as requested]

### ADVANCE COPIES

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

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### FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO BERNE

Cypher/OTP

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

<u>No. 8</u> January 6, 1960 D: 8.25 p.m. January 6, 1960

IMMEDIATE

**CONFIDENTIAL** 

Addressed to Berne telegram No. 8 of January 6. Repeated for information to Caire. [Prior/hg]

Your telegram No. 4 [of January 4 : Consulates in Egypt].

Please inform the Federal Political Department that we regard it as important to get at least the main metropolitan posts (Alexandria and Damascus) re-opened as soon as possible, and to separate this question from Egyptian demands for new non-metropolitan posts which will take time to consider (see Cairo telegrams 600, 601 and 602, copies in this week's bag). We regret very much the inconvenience to the Swiss involved in their carrying on in the Consular posts in the meantime but we cannot of course say when the Egyptians will give us satisfaction.

It might help the Swiss and us if they were then relves to intervene 2. with the U.A.R. authorities on the following lines. They are anxious to complete their hand-over to us as soon as possible. Divided responsibility is unsatisfactory and inefficient. It could cause delay and inconvenience to Egyptian interests. The work of handing over responsibility in Cairo has been completed. and they wish to take parallel action in the other posts, particularly in Alexandria and Damascus, as soon as possible. The U.A.R. authorities themselves would surely wish to be able to deal in these matters exclusively with the United Kingdom authorities in the future. They would therefore welcome an assurance that these United Kingdom posts can be re-opened at a very early date.

3. If the Swiss agree to act on these lines, it would be helpful if the Swiss Ambassador could be instructed to keep in touch with Mr. Crowe, in order to co-ordinate action to the I would in any case hope that the Swiss Government best effect. would not approach the U.A.R. Government for a specific authorization to continue in charge of our interests for a further period.

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Foreign Office telegram No. 8 to Berne.

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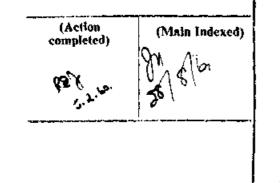
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This would merely strengthen the U.A.R. Government's hand in delaying a decision to allow us to re-open in Damascus and Alexandria.

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No. 18

The pritish Diplometic Mission presents its compliments to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Republic and, Manual (ex(s)), with reference to the Ministry's Note of the 25rd of April to the Subsect of twitzerished mount the Commission for British Property in the Syptien Region, has the nonour to inform the Ministry that, following the reestablishment of alplametic relations, the Mission has taken over from the Commission the functions hitherto performed by the latter in connection with the implementation of the Spreament signed in Chiro on the 25th of perfusely, 1955, Detween the two Governments.

The priting pipematic algoin is also taking over from the embassy of owitzerland, with effect from today, the functions nitherto exercised by that embasis in connection with desequestration.

The distion would be grateful if the ministry would officially inform the office of the sequestrator-deneral of these changes, so that dritish seals and stamps on accuments will be acceptable to the requestration subscriptes in place of twiss once from the date mentioned.

the lission avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the ministry of soreign affairs of the united arub nepublic the essurance of its bignest consideration.

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I paid a courtesy call on Dr. Murad Ghaleb, the newly appointed Under-Secretary in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on December 19. He was most cordial and should be a great improvement on his predecessor, Mr. Saleh Khalil.

2. We did not get on to any serious discussion, but the following points care up:

#### a) Consulates

Dr. Ghaleb said the Ministry were considering their position on our request. He referred to some alls ged remarks by myself to him at a din ar party earlier this year, to the effect that the juestion of Consulates would be easier after the catablishment of diplomatic relations. He went on to imply that they would be asking for Consulates in the dependent territories of Africa to match those we proposed to set up in the U.A.R. (I have no recollection of making any remarks about Consulates beyond repeating what I said to Ali Sebri in reply to U.A.R. complaints that we had not pormitted them to establish themselves in Colonial territories before Independence and had instead lot the Israelis in). A separate to legram is being sent to London about this.

#### b) Cultural Affairs

In the course of describing my staff, I said that I proposed to have a Cultural Attache, although the British Council would not be opened yet. The Cultural Attache would concentrate on the exchange of students and teachers. I described some of Mr. Dodderidge's discussions here. Dr. Ghaleb main that he welcomed these proposals. He hi solf, as a medical Doctor, was in favour of scientific rather than of purely cultural exchanges.

#### c) Economic Relations

Dr. Chaleb expressed his desire for the development of economic relations. He said that the U.E. was prosperous and he hoped that it would form a good market for U.A.R. products. He said that the U.A.R. Government were wordering about the implications of the European Free Trade Ansociation. Would it help under-developed countries? I said that I thought it probably would be beneficial to them in that it would provide an expanding

But kot for their products. In the E.F.T.A., moreover, as opposed to the Common Market, U.K. and Portuguese Colonies were excluded. I said that if no was interested in E.F.T.A., T would see that we was provided with

/documentation.

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documentation. I knew that my Swedish colleague had much material. (I Will get in touch with Mr. Eng).

I stressed that Lancashire would never again be able to buy the former quantities of Szyptian cotton because the industry was structurally smaller, but I hoped that they could develop other exports. It seemed to me important that the U.A.R. should learn how to sell their products, and should learn how businessmen to the U.K. to study the market. Dr. Ghaleb entirely acreed.

### d) <u>High Dan</u>

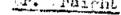
Dr. Malet said no had seen a number of reports in the press about British films being interested in the second stage of the High Dan. Was there anything in these reports, or were they press speculation? I said that I thought they were largely press speculation, though, of course, British filmes particularly these were had been to the former Consortius, would, so doubt, like to cooperate. As for as H.S. Government was concerned, they had taken so position at all. It seemed to us to be still early days.

3. In conclusion, 7 said that I would be concentrating principly from sconocic and cultural attains and on desoquestration. It was important for our relations that the latter should be not out of the way.

4. Dr. Gualow asked 12 f and any information about our proposed Arbassier. He said that he had sound a report to the effect that Sir 51 and Job and he experiment Was toke transformed was evidently rather concorrect. I replied that as for as I knew he could not the mind st rest. Sir cladwyn Job and the motion. As far as I bead, Loudon bud soul commuted enyody yet for the post.

> (C. F. Grova) Decommon 21, 1959

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BU I write.

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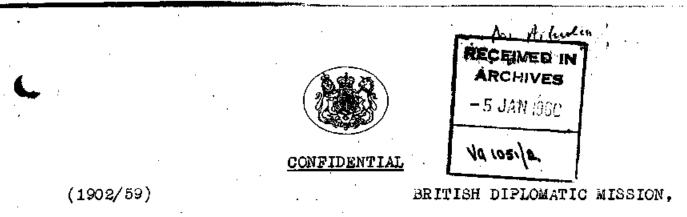
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CAIRO.

December 24, 1959.

NG 1010/1 / 1900 .

The Dear John ,

f enclose a copy of a minute on my first call on Dr. Murad Ghaleb, the new Under-Sécretary at the ministry for Foreign Affairs. I have already commented on his appointment in my letter of December 19.

2. As was only to be expected, nothing very significant passed at this first interview, but you may be interested to see the points that did come up. We are clearly going to have a tussle about Consulates. I was a bit shattered when Ghaleb referred to my alleged remarks, but on reflection my conscience is clear, since I know that I have not discussed the establishment of Consulates with any Egyptian beyond what I said in connexion with Ali Sabri's remarks.

3. You will be amused about their apprehensions at the appointment of Sir Gladwyn Jebb. I presume there is no intention of appointing him?

4. As for the High Dam, you should know that there has been a great deal in the press recently about British interest, but it all looks to me to be artifically created. Is there any other line that you would like me to take in relation to H.M.G.'s position?

(C.T. Crowe)

J.G.S. Heith, Esq., C.m.G., Levant Department, Foreign Office, S.w.l.



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#### CONFIDENTIAL

#### Record of Meeting in Sir Roger Stevens' office at 11.30 a.m. on January 1, 1960.

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

#### Present

Mr. J.G.S. Beith in the chair

Mr. N.D. Watson

Mr. A.S. Aldridge, Colonial Office

Mr. R.A. Beaumont, Head of Arabian Department,

Mr. C.T. Ewart-Biggs, African Department

Mr. R. Arculus, Levant Department.

Mr. Beith referred to the problem created by the Egyptian request reported in the Cairo telegram No. 600 for consuls in Aden, East Africa, Hong Kong and Singapore. Our own essential needs were for posts as soon as possible in Damascus and Alexandria. There were three possible ways of proceeding. First we could try to secure the return to the status quo ant s but Mr. Crowe thought this unnegotiable. Secondly we could press for the early re-opening of the metropolitan posts as a matter of practical necessity, without entangling them with the question of new posts. Thirdly we could stand pat on our previous position and refuse to consider any new posts.

Mr. Watson said that the Colonial Office could not agree 2. in the case of Aden and East Africa. Egyptian activities through Cairo Radio, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council and the activities of colonial renegades operating from Cairo were all highly objectionable. The appointment of consuls in Africa would give the Egyptians opportunities to extend the subversive front deep into the continent. It was not worth while consulting Governors again, since their attitude was bound to be strongly negative. In Singapore and Hong Kong there was less scope for Egyptian mischief-making, especially In the case of Singapore it could reasonably in the latter. be argued that Egyptian needs can be met by their existing The Colonial Office would be Mission in Kuala Lumpur. /these two prepared to refer to/territories for their views on the possibility of their tolerating Egyptian consulates, and it was

agreed that the Colonial Office should undertake this.

Mr. Beith enquired whether the proximity of independence 3. in any of the posts concerned would make any difference. Mr. Watson said that there were no early prospects for any of the posts concerned, and 1960 was likely to be a crucial year for colonial development.

Mr. Beith pointed to the difficulty of refusing the  $4_{*}$ Egyptians a consul in Nairobi where the Israelis have an Honorary Consul covering Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar. /Mr. Aldridge CONFIDENTIAL

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<u>Mr. Aldridge</u> undertook to ask the authorities in Nairobi about the activities of the Israel Honorary Consul and for their views on whether the activities of an Egyptian counterpart could be so circumscribed as to render him relatively harmless. (There was some discussion of the difference between an honorary consul and a career consul, which is substantial in practice. Unfortunately the choice of whether a career or local consul is chosen depends upon the sending power not upon the receiving power, and therefore it would not be possible for H.M. Government to offer the Egyptians an honorary consul in Nairobi to match the Israeli).

5. On Kuwait, <u>Mr. Beaumont</u> said that Mr. Richmond already had instructions on what he should say to the fuler about the disadvantages of foreign consulates in general and an Egyptian consulate in particular. In answer to a question by <u>Mr. Beith</u> he said that it was possible that the fuler might not continue to maintain a firm line.

6. On East Africa, <u>Mr. Ewart-Biggs</u> said that the Egyptians had a legitimate Nile Waters interest, but this was adequately catered for by the technical consultation arrangements already existing. It was agreed that we could say to the Egyptians that if their claim for representation in East Africa were based substantially upon their requirements in respect of Nile Waters, then we considered that their technical representative at Jinja already had adequate facilities, but if there was any point the Egyptians wished to raise in this respect then it should be considered as a Nile Waters and not as a Consular matter.

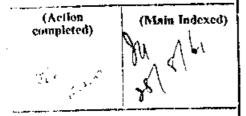
7. <u>Mr. Ewart-Biggs</u> also asked whether there was any possibility of a bargain under which we would give more favourable consideration to Egyptian requests for consulates in Africa if they would cease their anti-colonial propaganda on Cairo Radio. <u>Mr. Watson</u> pointed out that Egyptian activities through colonial renegades were really more dangerous than the output of Cairo Radio, and it was agreed that no basis for a bargain existed. This should not however preclude us from continuing to make representations about the objectionable propaganda.

8. It was agreed that the Foreign Office would submit the matter to higher authority with recommendations for instructions to Cairo, and that meanwhile the Colonial Office would take the necessary soundings in Singapore, Hong Kong and Nairobi as agreed.

Copy to:

Mr. N.D. Watson Mr. A.S. Aldridge Mr. R.A. Beaumont Mr. C.T. Ewart-Biggs

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Kenya, particularly the latter. Sir P. Renison makes quite a good case, and provides us with two good arguments in paragraph 3, namely that there is a considerable Israeli community as well as trade and other relations between the Colony and Israel, and also that the Honorary Consul for Israel is a British subject. It seems however unlikely that the enquiries described in paragraph 5 of the telegram will help, since it is the sending state which decides whether to appoint a Career

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/Consul

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### FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO

Cypher/OTP and By Bag

### FOREIGN OFFICE SECRET AND WHITEHALL SECRET DISTRIBUTION

<u>No. 19</u> January 6, 1960 D. 6.55 p.m. January 6, 1960

PRIORITY CONFIDENTIAL

5 **1** -

Addressed to Cairo telegram No. 19 of January 6 Repeated for information Saving to Berne No. 10

Your telegrams Nos. 600, 601 and 602 [of December 27: Consulates].

As you surmise the Egyptian demands are very difficult. Kuwait we shall have to leave to the Ruler, to whom our views on the fisks of admitting foreign consulates and an Egyptian consulate in particular have been made clear. The Colonial Office have strongly maintained their objections to the Aden and East African posts. They are however prepared to consult Singapore and Hong Kong, where opportunities for Egyptian mischief-making would be less; and also to put to Nairobi the point that it is more difficult for us to resist in that case because of the presence of an honorary Israel Consul there.

2. We had hoped that you would be able to press for a return to the <u>status quo ante</u>, especially as you had previously reported your own and the Swiss Ambassador's view that Damascus would not present undue difficulty. If you think this tactic is now impracticable you should argue on the following lines.

3. We have noted the Egyptian request for posts in London, Liverpool and certain places in Colonial territories. We suggest the first step, on practical grounds, should be to open the leading posts where the **main** Wolume of business arises as quickly as possible (but see paragraph 8 below). This means in practice, we think, London and Liverpool for them, and Manchester (a previous Syrian post) if they wish. For us it would mean at least, Damascus and Alexandria. As necessary you could make use of the following points:

(a) there is a job to be done and we do not want everything held up while we travel at the pace of the slowest; /(b)

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<u>CONFIDENTIAL</u> Foreign Office telegram No. 19 to Gairo

(b) it is unreasonable to delay our re-opening in Damascus where very many countries are represented;

(c) the Swiss have current work and responsibilities to hand over to us in Damascus is well as Alexandria and an awakward situation will arise if they have to continue to act for us (off. Berne telegram No. 4 and my reply)

(d) the Egyptians cannot argue that Damascus should be equated to Colonial posts while maintaining that Syria is an integral part of the U.A.R. (like Wales in the United Kingdom).

4. On the Colonial posts, the Egyptians must realise that they present considerable difficulty. Their direct interests in the places concerned are minimal. Their anti-Colonial activities (radio propaganda with its violent and seditious centent, the exploitation of Colonial renegades in Cairo, and the furtherance of Soviet and Chinese Communist objectives through the Afro Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council) inevitably suggest that U.A.R. Consulates would be used to disseminate such propaganda. If necessary, you could make use of the following:

(e) the Israelis have no career consuls in any of the posts named by the Egyptians (only an honorary consul at Nairobi);

(f) if the Egyptians' claim for representation in East Africa is based upon requirements connected with Nile Waters, then we consider those already covered by the existing technical consultation arrangements; any point arising from these should be discussed in the Nile Waters context, not as a consular matter; and

(g) as regards Singapore, U.A.R. interests in the area appear to be adequately covered by their Mission in Kuala Lampur, where the Israelis are not represented.

5. You should avoid giving the impression that if Cairo radie were to moderate its attacks we would then be prepared to grant the Egyptian requests without further ado.

6. You should base your argument in respect of Damascus on

practical grounds and on points (a), (b) and (c) in paragraph 3 above, and try to avoid giving the impression that we are eager to get Damascus because of recent developments (resignation of five ministers) or that our objectives are primarily political.

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### Foreign Office telegram No. 19 to Cairo

-3-

7. Since it will undoubtedly be very difficult to give any real satisfaction on the U.A.R. Government's list as a whole it seems important to make a determined effort now to re-open in Demescus and Alexandria on the basis indicated in paragraph 3 above. If at this stage we agree that it is reasonable to bargain over the list of colonial posts we may only encourage the Egyptians to raise their price.

8. If you find that there is no possibility of reaching agreement on the basis suggested above, we can of course await the outcome of the enquiry about Hong Kong and Singapore. However in that case, we might prefer to play the negotiation long in the hope that the U.A.R. would come to realise that our demand for Consulates in Alexandria and Damascus was reasonable.

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0	AN 1973
	U.K./U.A.R. relations: Consular Posts
	VQIOSI/S.
κ.	The Egyptians have not yet agreed to our re-opening
	our old consular posts in the U.A.R. and have raised a
	request for six new posts in colonial territories in addition
VG 1051/239	to London and Liverpool which they had before. (Cairo
Flags A, B and C	telegrams Nos. 600, 601, 602). The new posts are Aden,
V61051 239(A)	Nairobi, Dar-es-Salam, Kampala, Hong Kong and Singapore.
V61051/240	2. We had hoped that it would be possible to revert to
	the status quo ante and deal with the question of new
	posts separately and subsequently. Mr. Crowe considers this
	impracticable now, and suggests a horse-trade (paragraph 4
Flag C	of his telegram No. 602).
VG1051/240.	3. Whether a horse-trade is possible depends upon
	what concessions, if any, the Colonial Office are prepared to
	make. We consulted them at a meeting on January 1 and they
	maintained strong objections in the case of Aden and East
	Africa, and said it was unnecessary to consult the governments
	concerned because they were bound to resist strongly.
	The Colonial Office regard as highly objectionable and
	dangerous Egyptian use of colonial renegades in Cairo,
	radio propaganda and the furtherance of communist ends through
	the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council. They did,
	however, agree to consult Nairobi about the difficulty of
	denying the Egyptians a post there where the Israelis already
	have an Honorary Consul for East Africa (the only Israel
	Consulate at the posts in question). They also agreed to
	consult Singapore and Hong Kong where the opportunities for
	Egyptian mischief-making would be less than in East Africa.

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or Aden. It is possible that we might as a result of this get at any rate Hong Kong to use as a bargaining counter, though it would have little attraction to the Egyptians and Mr. Crowe thinks it insufficient to guarantee us Damascus.

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#### CONFIDENTIAL

The Egyptian case is, however, a weak one. 4. By the orthodox tests they have minimal interests in the places concerned to justify consular posts. It would be totally unreasonable to keep us out of Damascus where so many countries are represented. Moreover they cannot reasonably equate Damascus to a colonial post if they claim Syria to be an integral part of the U.A.R. Our essential requirements are Alexandria and - of less practical importance but highly desirable and more interesting politically - Damascus. They can hardly keep us out of Alexandria for long, and I suggest that our best course would be to make a determined effort to separate the question of Damascus from that of the new posts. There are a number of arguments which can be adduced, and I submit a draft telegram to Cairo accordingly which has been cleared with the Colonial Office.

John Seith (<u>J.G.S. Beith</u>)

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NB I also attach a reply to Berne tal. No. 4 at Flag H 10 Visitisi UBStevens 57: 9 Renu. Bur 9 M Mit Copy Mr. Profumo.

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	SECRET	PW
	OUTWARD TELEGRAM	•
FROM THE SI	ECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES	•
	TO HONG KONG (Sir R. Black)	1051/5 (A)
Simplex	IRD 78/02	
	Sent 5th January, 1960. 18.30 hrs	•

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PRIORITY SECRET No. 8.

United Arab Republic Consular Representation.

Consequent upon the resumption of diplomatic relations the U.A.R. have asked to open a number of consulates in British territories in East Africa and the Far East, including Hong Kong. The objections as regards East Africa are strong but there seems less scope for Egyptian mischief making in the Far East. Grateful to know by telegraph whether you see any strong objection to this Egyptian request as regards Hong Kong. If you had no such objection it might be useful to offer this consulate in exchange for a British one in U.A.R. territory, though the matter is entirely open at present.

Cost of telegram £6 12s. 11d.

Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office

Mr. R. Arculus

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	INWARD TELEGRAM	1	Contract Kny
TOT	HE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR	THE COLONI	
Simplex	FROM HONG KONG (Sir R. B) D. 9th January, 1960. R. 9th " 06	iack) 5.30 hrs.	ARCHIVED ARCHIVES
PRIORITY CONFIDENTI No. 27.	NGIOSI STA	)	V61051/5

U.A.R. Consular Representation.

From the purely Hong Kong point of view this proposal has little attraction. The size of our Consular Corps (23 career posts, 4 additional Trade Commissioners and 15 Honorary Consuls) is already out of all proportion to the size of the territory or the interests of the countries represented, and this is becoming a real social embarrassment. Generally speaking I would like to discourage additional representation unless a valid economic interest exists and I am advised that such interest in the case of the U.A.R. is dubious.

2. No country whose policies have been, or are likely to be, closely aligned with the Communist bloc at present has Resident Consular representation in Hong Kong. Such representation might be greatly to our disadvantage, and I cannot disregard the possibility in this case of the U.A.R.'s foreign policy changing to the extent that their consulate here might be used to promote Communist activities.

3. However, I appreciate that it may be important to secure the reciprocal advantages in the U.A.R., and would not wish to press the above objections provided that their implications have been duly considered in London.

Copy sent to:-

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Foreign Office - Mr. R. Arculus

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#### INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

	FRO	A ZANZI	IBAR (	Acting	British Re	side	nt)	AND
Cypher (C	• <b>T</b> .P	.)						
	D. R.	8th Ja 8th	anuary "	7 <b>,</b> 1960 "	. 11.50	hrs.		VG1051 s(t)
IMMEDIATE SECRET AN No. 7		RSONAL						
		ressed ested "		of S. vernor	Kenya. Tanganyika Uganda.	}by	airmail.	
					2 N	11		

Your telegram No. 4 of 6th January.

United Arab Republic Consular Representations.

Strongly opposed to establishment of Consulate in Zanzibar. Special reason for avoiding this is that relations between Arabs and Africans are always stained and the certain interference by an Arab Consullin Political Affairs would be likely to exacerbate this situation. If Consulate in East Africa unavoidable least harm likely to result if it is in Nairobi as this is physically remote from coastal areas and Zanzibar, which are likely to be centre of U.A.R. propaganda and intrigue. It would not be possible to circumscribe activities of a Consul.

Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office

- Mr. R. Arculus

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#### FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

TO SINGAPORE (U.K.Commissioner -The Rt.Hon. Earlor)Selkirk

Simplex

IRD.78/02

Sent 8th January, 1960. 18.15 hours.

PRIORITY SECRET No.8

United Arab Republic Consular Representation.

Consequent upon the resumption of diplomatic relations with the U.A.R. the Egyptians have asked to open a number of consulates in British territories in East Africa and the Far East, including Singapore. The objections as regards East Africa are strong but there seems less scope for Egyptian mischief making in the Far East.

2. I a Grateful, if you see no objection therefore if, in accordance with paragraph 2 (b) of despatch dated 6th July, 1959, to Yang di-Pertuan Negara, you would consult Singapore Government and report by telegraph their reaction to this proposal as regards Singapore. It could be argued that U.A.R. interests in the area could be adequately covered by their Mission in Kuala Lumpur (members of which, I assume, have no difficulty in visiting Singapore); but on the other hand it may be useful to allow them this consulate (subject to local views) in exchange for a British consulate in U.A.R. territory. The matter is entirely open at the moment.

(Cost of telegram £10 1s.8d.) Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. R. Arculus



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FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

SECRET

TO (1) KENYA (2) TANGANYIKA (3) UGANDA (4) ZANZIBAR

Cypher (O, T, P)

Sent 5th January, 1960.

23.00 hrs.

IRD 78/02

PRIORITY (To addressees only) SECRET AND PERSONAL (1) PERSONAL No. 2. (2) PERSONAL No. 3. (3) PERSONAL No. 1. (4) No. 4.

> Addressed to Governor, Kenya. """" Tanganyika. """" Uganda. """ Acting British Resident, Zanzibar. Repeated to Administrator, East Africa High Commission, No. 6 (Governor Kenya please pass).

United Arab Republic Consular Representation.

Consequent on resetablishment of diplomatic relations (my telegram Personal No. 291) U.A.R. have asked to open consulates in our East African territories. This is obviously objectionable on many grounds, but position is unfortunately complicated by existence of Israeli Honorary Consul in Nairobi (covering Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar). Egyptians may well argue for parity of at least one similar consulate. Choice however of whether a career or local (honorary) consul is appointed depends upon the sending power and it would not be possible for H.M.G. to offer the Egyptians only an honorary consul to match the Israelis.

2. Grateful to learn your views by telegraph and in particular, whether the activities of an Egyptian consul (honorary or otherwise) could possibly be so circumscribed as to render him comparatively harmless.

Cost of telegram £17 ls. 0d.

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#### SECRET

#### INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

FROM KENYA (Sir P. Renison)

Cypher  $(0, T, P_{\cdot})$ 

VGIOSI S(H).

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D. 12th January, 1960. R. 12th " " 17.20 hrs.

SECRET AND PERSONAL No. 37.

> Addressed to S. of S. Repeated to Governor, Tanganyika """ Uganda """ British Resident, Zanzibar No. 21.

Your telegram Personal No. 2 to Kenya.

Proposed United Arab Republic Consular Representation in East Africa.

<u>I view this proposal with dismay.</u> <u>It would not be</u> <u>practicable so to circumscribe the activities of any Egyptian Consul</u> in East Africa to render him in any satisfactory degree harmless.

2. I had always supposed a nation established consulates in another country primarily to look after the affairs and interests of its own nationals who live and work there, and to foster trade relations. Prior to break of diplomatic relations, there was never any suggestion that either of the countries forming the United Arab Republic should have a consular representative in East Africa, and there has never appeared to be any need for it. Almost all potential nationals of United Arab Republic who live in East Africa have been deprived of their nationality, and there is virtually no trade between the two regions. Inevitably, therefore, any (corrupt group) Consulate in East Africa would be a focus for espionage, subversion, and worse, of which we have a foretaste three years ago as was reported to you at the time.

3. "Per contra", there is a considerable Israeli community in Kenya which plays an important part in the economic life of the Colony, and trade and other relations between the two countries are increasing. The Honorary Consul for Israel is a British subject who plays a leading part in local government and the commercial activities of the Colony, and he has served as a Lieutenant-Colonel in the British Army.

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