

V
LEVANT DEPARTMENT

V G. 1051/151.

ROM G. Minute.

SUBJECT:

Confidential.

Note handed to the U.S.A. Charge d'Affaires by Sir Roger Stevens on November 7 - exchange of ambassadors-consultates.

Vo.

Dated November 7.

Received November 8.

References

VG 1051/38.

MINUTES

N. 9/11.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

30/11/61

M 8/61
31.

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VG1051/151.

H.M. Government are agreeable to the proposal put forward in the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires' aide mémoire of October 31 that the communication of the names of the Ambassadors to be exchanged between the two countries should be deferred until December 1.

With regard to the list of posts required by the U.A.R. as set out in the Chargé d'Affaires' aide mémoires, H.M. Government are looking into the matter with the object of giving satisfaction to the U.A.R. Government wherever possible.

For their part H.M. Government wish to place on record that they have certain consular requirements, which in the first instance can probably be met by the re-opening of their former posts in Alexandria, Damascus and Port Said, though all of these need not necessarily be opened at the same date.

Meanwhile H.M. Government will be ready to proceed to an exchange of the names of the two Ambassadors-designate on December 1 and would propose that this should take place in Cairo.

November 7, 1960.

Foreign Office.

As handed to UAR.
Chargé d'Affaires by
Sir R. Stewart on Nov. 7.

Minutes

~~FO 371/150935~~
 Feb

Customs House of Arab friendship

"AL AKHBAR" November 2.



(لندن تعلن تبادل السفراء مع القاهرة في ١٥ نوفمبر)
 حارس الجمرك - اذا ماكانش معاك حاجة من الممنوعات دي تقدر تدخل!

NOTHING TO BE

(London will announce the exchange of Ambassadors with Cairo on November 15).

Customs Officer " If you havent got any of those prohibited goods you can enter."

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Wright

VG1051/154.

No. 881

November 8, 1960

D:5.13 p.m. November 8, 1960

R:6.17 p.m. November 8, 1960

PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL

My telegram No. 877.

It now looks as if suggestion in paragraph 3 of my telegram No. 867 was right, and that the real UAR purpose is to try to benefit from the present atmosphere with a clumsy attempt to extract some immediate concession from us about Consulates, but without making agreement on this a precondition for the exchange of Ambassadors. I have not yet heard from Heikal, who may throw further light on the situation.

2. Assuming that this interpretation is correct, we have been considering whether there might be advantage in our playing the same game and trying to offer a package deal over Consulates now, e.g. by offering the Egyptians Hong Kong, Singapore and one Consulate in East Africa, say Dar-es-Salaam, in exchange for Damascus, Alexandria and Port Said.

3. On balance, however, I believe that it would be a mistake to take any such initiative before Ambassadors have been exchanged. We do not know enough about Egyptian higher policy on Consulates to be able to assess the extent to which they may be prepared to bargain. And, in view of basic Egyptian suspicions, I still remain convinced that it would not take much to upset matters altogether even at this late stage (cf. Nasser's conversation with the Prime Minister in New York on September 28 - paragraph 8 of UKMis. New York telegram to you No. 952).

4. I suggest, therefore, that our tactics should be to continue on the assumption that both countries have decided to exchange Ambassadors, and not to risk damaging the atmosphere by attempting a problematical deal on Consulates, which might either appear derisory to the UAR (assuming that we can only offer a

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Cairo telegram No. 881 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

very small number of the Consulates requested and none of the "difficult" ones), or give them the impression that we were running after them and encourage them to dig their toes in over Ambassadors in the hope of extracting greater concessions.

5. In brief, I think that we should try to play for time over Consulates until the Ambassadors question is in the bag, and generally lie as low as possible until then. If, as is likely, the Egyptians revert to the subject here or in London in the meantime, I suggest that we should confine ourselves to saying that it is a complicated matter which is still under consideration, and if pressed, that in our view it will be easier to negotiate once the Ambassadors are at their posts.

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Information Policy Department
News Department

2222

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V1051/156.

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U.K./U.A.R. RELATIONS

Exchange names
on Dec. 1.
Consulates - E. Africa

The Secretary of State has asked for a brief note for Cabinet tomorrow.

V1051/138

2. Despite the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires' communication handed to the Secretary of State on October 31 implying that the exchange of Ambassadors depended on our meeting the U.A.R. demand for the opening of consulates at Aden, Kuwait, Hong Kong, Singapore, Zanzibar, Nairobi, Kampala, Dar-Es-Salaam, Salisbury and Freetown (Sierra Leone), it now seems that we can hope to go some way towards separating the two issues thus enabling the exchange of requests for agrément to take place on December 1.

3. This belief is based on various conversations in Cairo, the latest being that with the Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry (Cairo telegram 877) who said that the two questions were not connected except in the sense that it would be nice if an agreement about consulates could be reached about the same time as we exchanged the names of Ambassadors.

V1051/144

4. H.M. Chargé d'Affaires received the above information when he handed the Secretary General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs an anodyne reply to the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires' communication, indicating our willingness to proceed with the exchange of Ambassadors on December 1, and to do our best wherever possible to meet the Egyptian requests on consulates. Sir Roger Stevens has taken parallel action with the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires this afternoon.

5. We still have not had officially the name of the U.A.R. Ambassador-designate, but the Cairo press is now unanimously naming Mohammed el Kouni, an agreeable diplomatist at present serving in Moscow, on whom Sir P. Reilly has reported very favourably but who may not carry much weight in Cairo.

/6.

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6. On consulates, the Secretary of State has received a firmly negative reply from the Colonial Secretary about the key-post in East Africa. In view of the U.A.R. attitude, it would seem desirable to be in a position to make them an offer of certain posts on that list in the reasonably near future; in particular we may have to be ready to suggest one post at least in East Africa. The Prime Minister has indicated that this is a difficulty which ought to be resolved in discussion.

Levant Department

November 7, 1960.

Copies

Lord Privy Seal
Mr. Godber

CONFIDENTIAL

*Sevast Dept.
 (unintelligible)*

Parliamentary Question

* 55 Mr Arthur Lewis (West Ham, North): To ask the Prime Minister, to what extent, during his recent discussions with President Nasser, he discussed the question of the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries; when such resumption is likely to take place; and on what basis of acknowledgement of past divergencies this agreement has been arrived at between the two countries.

8.11.60.

F.O. ARE ASKED TO ADVISE

VC1051/156

ANSWERED - 8 NOV 1960
 REPLY ATTACHED.

The unpleasant innuendo in the last phrase is doubtless the main motive for this question. Mr. Lewis never loses any opportunity to cast aspersions on the Government's policy towards Egypt in the past.

2. I submit a draft reply and notes for supplementaries, together with a background note for the Prime Minister.

John Beith

(J.G.S. Beith)
 November 3, 1960.

M.B. Stevens
 4/xi

admiral's letter
 4/xi

826/7

*Mr Godby
 approved by
 Mr Godby
 with deletion of 'which we
 found most valuable'*

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EGYPT (DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS)

42. Mr. A. Lewis asked the Prime Minister to what extent, during his recent discussions with President Nasser, he discussed the question of the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries; when such resumption is likely to take place; and on what basis of acknowledgement of past divergencies this agreement has been arrived at between the two countries.

The Prime Minister: As was announced after my meeting with the President of the United Arab Republic on 28th September at the United Nations, there was agreement between us on the need to make further progress in improving relations. The question of an exchange of Ambassadors is now under discussion between the two Governments.

Mr. Lewis: Can the Prime Minister give us any idea when he will be able to make a further announcement?

The Prime Minister: I hope that this will not be very long delayed.

Mr. Gaitskell: Can the Prime Minister say what is the difficulty in the resumption of normal diplomatic relations? Is it on our side or on their side?

The Prime Minister: We are, of course, in diplomatic relations. At present, we have only the chargés d'affaires. As a result of our discussions, it was agreed that the Foreign Secretary should discuss with the Foreign Minister of the U.A.R. the raising of them to ambassadorial status. I hope that we shall soon be able to reach a satisfactory conclusion to that negotiation.

8 NOV 1960

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* Mr. Arthur Lewis: To ask the Prime Minister, to what extent, during his recent discussions with President Nasser, he discussed the question of the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries; when such resumption is likely to take place; and on what basis of acknowledgement of past divergencies this agreement has been arrived at between the two countries.

La. West Ham, North

Tuesday,
November 8, 1960.

FOREIGN OFFICE

My noble Friend the Foreign

DRAFT REPLY :

Secretary and I had conversations at the United Nations with President Nasser and the United Arab Republic Minister of Foreign Affairs. These covered both world affairs and relations between the two countries.

As was announced after my meeting with the President of the United Arab Republic on the 24th of September, there was agreement on the need to make further progress in improving relations which would include an exchange of Ambassadors. As the House will be aware, we are already in diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic, and Chargés d'Affaires in London and Cairo have been conducting business for some time.

I cannot yet say anything definite about the details of an exchange of Ambassadors; it would not be proper to do so when the matter is still under discussion between the two Governments.

/NOEL...

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NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENTARIES

1. Which Consulates will be reopened?

I trust that progress on the separate question of the Consulates to be reopened by either country will also flow from the discussions at the United Nations.

2. What will be the effect on Jordan?

The development of our relations with the United Arab Republic would make its own contribution towards world understanding and towards the peace and stability of the Middle East, which should be to the advantage of all countries of the area, including Jordan.

3. What effect^{will}/this have on the Jordan/U.A.R. dispute?

The improvement of our relations with the United Arab Republic has no connexion that I can see with the dispute between the U.A.R. and Jordan, which we regret, but we hope that improved relations will have a generally beneficial effect in the area.

4. What is the position on the Financial Agreement with Egypt?

I am sure that the development of relations will help the working out of the Financial Agreement. This was one of the matters discussed between my noble Friend

/the

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the Foreign Secretary and the United
Arab Republic Foreign minister in
New York.

APPROVED BY MR. [illegible]

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BACKGROUND NOTES

Mr. Arthur Lewis is more interested in achieving the innuendo at the end of his question than in the exchange of Ambassadors, to which he evidently means to refer in the first part of it.

2. On the exchange of Ambassadors, the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires handed to the Foreign Secretary on October 31, on instructions, an Aide Mémoire apparently linking this question with that of the Consulates. The Chargé d'Affaires said that progress on the latter was a precondition of the exchange of Ambassadors. This has not yet been confirmed in Cairo, nor is it stated without equivocation in the Aide Mémoire; nevertheless there is probably still a faction opposed to the exchange of Ambassadors which seeks to sabotage it by confronting us with impossible demands on Consulates. Whether we shall be able to keep the two questions separate remains to be seen. Meanwhile, discussions on procedure have taken place in Cairo and the date suggested for the exchange of names of Ambassadors-designate is now December 1, with an announcement about two weeks later after the agreement had been given on both sides.

3. Every word of the answer given to Mr. Lewis will be carefully scrutinised in Cairo. We have evidence that President Nasser was considerably impressed by his meeting with the Prime Minister, and this answer should therefore be given in the spirit of the New York talks. We should, however, avoid showing too much eagerness to clinch the exchange of Ambassadors, since over-eagerness on our part

/always

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always causes the Egyptians to back out. If possible we should avoid the complication of the Consulates, and if necessary use a formula which neither implies that the two are linked nor flatly denies the connexion.

4. The draft reply suggested and the notes for supplementaries attempt to steer between these rocks.

V
 LEVANT DEPARTMENT

V G. 1051/140.

FROM Mr. J. St. J. Wright,
 Cairo.
 Confidential.
 No. 801.
 Dated November 2.
 Received November 2.

SUBJECT:
Exchange of Embassies.
 indications that there is still opposition to the exchange - longer list of consulates - request for advice.

References
 -157.

MINUTES

floomy.
 See FO. Ref. no. 1042 to Cairo.
 1/3/11.

(Printing Instructions)
~~151604~~

Personnel Dept. *Cr 1/11*
 Mr. Snyden
 Mr. [Signature]

(Outward Action)
 Std. no. 1042 to Cairo Nov 2.
 Std. no. 1044 to Cairo Nov 4.
 Std. no. 1050 to Cairo Nov 4
 Std. no. 1054 to Cairo Nov 5.

- a) Mr. Wright, Cairo - 870 - November 5.
- b) Mr. Wright, Cairo - 871 - November 6

initialled within

(Action completed) <i>reg 1.11.11</i>	(Main Indexed) <i>SN 26</i> <i>31</i>
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-110

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE



Cypher/GTP

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Mr. Wright

No. 861
November 2, 1960

VQ1051/140

D. 12.42 p.m. November 2, 1960
R. 1.0 p.m. November 2, 1960

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

Your telegram No. 1038 and Beith's letter of October 31:
Exchange of Ambassadors.

- VQ1051/137

1/11/60
M. J. G. G. G.

During the last few days we have begun to receive indications from usually well informed Egyptian journalists which have led us to suspect that Nasser may not have made a final decision and that there is still opposition in the higher ranks of the regime, probably led by Ali Sabri. Since I had no hint of this from any official quarter, nor from Heikal, I had been waiting for firmer evidence before reporting. Khalil's approach at first sight tends to confirm these suspicions.

2. Khalil's approach, assuming as I think we must that it is genuinely on instructions, suggests to me that the U.A.R. may have decided to exchange Ambassadors only if they can get a substantial price in return. This is supported by what Khalil is recorded as having said to you, and particularly by the fact that they have now produced a longer list of consulates, which they must know is even more difficult for us than the original.

3. I suggest that our best course is to continue to maintain that the two questions are best dealt with separately and that once Ambassadors have taken up their posts a settlement of the question of consulates is more likely to be achieved than through the present limited representation.

4. I think it better not to ^{raise} risk the new development with Ismail at present. He is clearly unbriefed about higher policy (my letter to Beith of November 1) and it might seriously cross the wires. On the other hand, I think there would be advantage in my

/seeing

M/R

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Cairo telegram No. 861 to Foreign Office

-2-

seeing Heikal quickly. It is possible that he is unaware of this development, and regard for his personal prestige, if nothing else, might lead him to act in our favour. I could say that this development had come as a surprise to me since there had been no hint of it in our previous conversation and go on to speak on the lines of paragraph 3 above.

5. I should be grateful for urgent instructions.

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Sir F. Hoyer Millar
Sir R. Stevens
Head of Levant Department
Head of News Department

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JCSB
 2/11

EMERGENCY
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 with priority
 without priority
 DEFERRED

Date and time (G.M.T.) telegram should reach addressee(s)
 (Date) 2/11/60
 Despatched 15.10 p.m.

Draft.

Telegram to:—

[Security classification] CONFIDENTIAL
 —if any

CAIRO

No. 1042

[Codeword—if any]

(Date) 2/11/60

Address to CAIRO

And to:—

telegram No. (date)

repeated for information to

Repeat to:—

Your telegram No. 861 [of November 7: Exchange of Ambassadors].

I agree that you should take no further action with Ismail at present. Nor would we wish you to discuss the question with Heikal until full consideration has been given to the question by Ministers. We will send you further instructions as soon as possible.

En Clair.
 Code
 Cypher

Distribution:—

Departmental

Handwritten initials and date 2/11

Copies to:—

Sir R. Stevens

Distributed to:

I think we want no wise-crossing before tomorrow's meeting
 John Bate
 MW 2

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 Protocol Dept.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

Handwritten notes: 420, 2/11/60

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO

Cypher/OTF
VG

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No. 1049
November 4, 1960

D. 6.38 p.m. November 4, 1960

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

My telegrams Nos. 1038 and 1042 [of November 1 and 2: Exchange of Ambassadors].

My immediately following telegram contains the text of a reply to the U.A.R. Aide Mémoire. I wish you to communicate it to the U.A.R. Government, preferably to Ismail.

2. You will observe that our reply is not drafted as a formal Note Verbale but as an Aide Mémoire to match the U.A.R. communication. A copy will be given to the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires on the afternoon of November 7 by Sir Roger Stevens, and it is desirable that you should have acted before then.

3. Information contained in your telegram No. 867 has caused us to modify the terms of our reply to the U.A.R. communication. We had previously drafted this in such a way that it would, in spite of its forthcoming tone, reveal the comparative bareness of our cupboard in respect of permission for U.A.R. consulates in colonial territories. It seems best for the present to take the chance of being able to go forward with an exchange of Ambassadors, since this is assumed to be a foregone conclusion by Ali Sabri, and continue to treat the exchange of consulates as an entirely separate matter on which we are continuing to do our best.

4. Your telegram No. 867, paragraph 3. I agree that you should act as proposed in regard to the consulates question. I also agree that you may try and find out through Heikal what has been happening, taking him into your confidence as far as necessary.

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FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO

Cypher/OTP

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No. 1054
November 5, 1960

D. 1.22 p.m. November 5, 1960

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

Your telegram No. 870 [of November 5: United Kingdom/
United Arab Republic relations].

The main object of giving our substantive reply in Cairo, with action shortly afterwards in London, is to ensure that the United Arab Republic Government receive the exact text immediately and without distortion, as might be feared if it were first given to Khalil.

2. It is necessary to say something about the Consulates question because it has been given some prominence by the United Arab Republic Mission in their Aide-Mémoire, which talks of United Arab Republic requirements but makes no mention of our own. Nevertheless it is not our intention to labour the matter for the reasons given in my telegram No. 1049. You should not be drawn into detail on this subject (see paragraph 4 of your telegram No. 867 with which we agreed). The object of the exercise is to communicate the Aide-Mémoire without distortion or delay and to make clear that we shall be glad to go forward with an exchange of Ambassadors without awaiting a settlement of the consular requirements on either side. We would thus hope to know definitely by the end of this month whether the United Arab Republic are also ready to do so, or not.

3. For drafting reasons paragraph 3 of text in my telegram No. 1050 has become out of balance with paragraph 2. We suggest therefore that, if you think this desirable, you should transpose the paragraphs and shorten paragraph 2, as the new paragraph 3, by omitting the second sentence "Experience... experience".

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

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Mr. Wright

No. 871 V41051/440 (6). D. 4. 55 p.m. November 6, 1960
November 6, 1960 R. 5. 14 p.m. November 6, 1960

IMMEDIATE
CONFIDENTIAL

Your telegram No. 1054.

I am seeing Ismail tomorrow morning and will deliver aide memoire amended as suggested in paragraph 3 of your telegram under reference.

2. I saw Heikal yesterday and told him about Khalil's approach to you. This was obviously a complete surprise to him. He promised to make enquiries and let me know. He said that his understanding had been that the question of Consulates, though very important, was not linked to the exchange of Ambassadors.

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

88888

CONFIDENTIAL

12/8/11

V

LEVANT DEPARTMENT

V G. 1051/141.

FROM Submission by Mr. S. J. C. Rogan.
 Confidential.
 No.
 Dated October 28.
 Received November 2.

SUBJECT:
U.K. - U.A.R. relations
 U.A.R. Change d'offices is to call on the Secretary of State on October 31 - submits brief.

References

V10216/144
 -132/137.

MINUTES

- a) 4.6 minute, Levant Department - October 28.
- b) Submission by Mr. J. J. J. Keith - November 1.

(Printing Instructions)

h.s./u.

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

AS 4.11.60.

JM 31. 8/61.

CONFIDENTIAL

U.A.R.

✓ 461051/141 (A)

The U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Kamal Khalil, whom the Secretary of State met when he paid his formal call, has asked to see the Secretary of State on Monday. We do not know what he will raise. It could be, for example, some communication e.g. from Dr. Fawzi, about the exchange of Ambassadors, or something unpleasant such as representations about our alleged encouragement of King Hussein, or an intimation that progress on Ambassadors is conditional on progress on the consulates question. Or there might conceivably be some new complaint against the B.B.C. or British press. We know of no particular grounds for grievances on any of these points at present. The position on each of them is briefly as follows.

Ambassadors.

2. In spite of Cairo press reports that there were "grave obstacles" in the way of the exchange of Ambassadors, Mr. Wright's reports from Cairo are encouraging. It seems generally assumed there (Cairo telegram No. 838) that the decision has been taken and will be announced in mid-November.

Flag A
461051/132.

Consulates

3. The Secretary of State has written to the Colonial Secretary to ask him to give us the post in Nairobi with which to bargain. The Secretary General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cairo confirmed to Mr. Wright (Cairo telegram No. 838) that the consulates question was not necessarily connected with the exchange of Ambassadors. If the U.A.R. Chargé were to enquire what progress had been made here, we could say that we are considering afresh the U.A.R.'s requirements as described by Dr. Fawzi in New York, and we could enquire if the Egyptians have anything fresh to propose. If he seeks to link the question with that of Ambassadors, we

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could say that we hope that both questions will be facilitated by what was agreed in New York, but that it will only complicate and delay matters to link them.

Jordan

4. The latest prospects for a lowering of tension between the U.A.R. and Jordan are better (Amman telegram No. 1131). The King ^{Flag B} has made no provocative speeches since he described President ^{16/10/60/44} Nasser rather rudely ("bloodthirsty ruler", "small Pharaoh", etc.) in his broadcast to the nation on October 21 on his return to Jordan a week ago. However, the facilities given by the B.B.C. to King Hussein in London rankled with the U.A.R., and Heikal complained about this to Mr. Crowe. Our line is that the King was extremely mild in what he said here, and that it was natural for the B.B.C. to put a Middle East personality like him on the air. They asked Dr. Fawzi to broadcast on his way through London but he refused.

B.B.C. and British press

5. We know of no new grounds for U.A.R. complaint. It was of course unfortunate that publicity was given here to reports of the exchange of names of Ambassadors-designate on November 15, and particularly that this was linked with progress on consulates and the King Hussein/President Nasser polemic. This all derives from a Reuter report from Cairo, on which the press here embroidered. We can, however, say that official comment here has been minimal and we have done no more than express the hope that progress will flow from the Ministerial contacts in New York.

6. The Chargé d'Affaires' call may arouse press interest and speculation here, and it might be wise to agree a press line with him before he leaves - e.g. that he called to discuss U.K./U.A.R. relations in the light of the ministerial meetings in New York.

Levant Dept.

October 28, 1960.

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Copies to: Lord Privy Seal
News Dept.

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VG1051/141(8)

U.K./U.A.R. RELATIONS

After the Secretary of State's talk with the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires yesterday we briefed News Department to take the line suggested in paragraph 6 of the brief of October 28.

Flag A
 VG1051/141

2. This line is exactly reflected in the Daily Telegraph this morning. The Times also has it but unfortunately adds two paragraphs based, according to the diplomatic correspondent, on information obtained "elsewhere"; the News Department did not go beyond the formula. The Times' elaboration is precisely what we want to avoid (c.f. para. 5 of Cairo telegram No. 851).

Flag B
 attached

3. I think for the present we should stick to the formula already approved (which we have given to the U.A.R. Mission) and refuse further comment. We also ought to explain to Cairo about The Times article and I submit a draft telegram.

Flag C
 VG1051/137

J. G. S. Beith
 (J.G.S. Beith)
 November 1, 1960.

Copy

Lord Privy Seal
 News Dept.

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1/xi

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THE TIMES - November 1, 1960.

U.A.R. DEMAND FOR CONSULATES

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES AT FOREIGN OFFICE

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

Mr. Kamal Khalil, the Chargé d'Affaires in London of the United Arab Republic, called yesterday at the Foreign Office to discuss the development of relations between the United Kingdom and the U.A.R. since the meetings in New York between Mr. Macmillan and President Nasser and between Lord Home, the Foreign Secretary, and Dr. Fawzi, the U.A.R. Foreign Minister. It looks as though the U.A.R. Government was making matters none too easy.

Although U.A.R. newspapers have been mentioning the names of possible U.A.R. ambassadors to London, no name was put forward by Mr. Kamal Khalil yesterday. The establishment of full diplomatic relations has not yet reached that stage, although it has long been reported that the appointment of ambassadors would be announced on November 15. There are still some difficulties to be overcome.

The British Government wish to set up consulates in Alexandria, Damascus, and Port Said. The U.A.R. hopes to set up some eight or nine consulates, some in the United Kingdom and some in the Persian Gulf or at Aden. U.A.R. representatives maintain that parity in the number of consulates is not a fair principle, as the U.A.R. has many connections with British territories near by as well as long-standing trading links with Liverpool and other British ports.

The British Government are not making the consulate question a condition for the resumption of full diplomatic relations and an exchange of ambassadors.

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VG051/2-10

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U.K./U.A.R. RELATIONS

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Flag A

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Flag B

Flag C

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(J.G.S. Beith)
November 1, 1960.

Copy

Lord Privy Seal

News Dept. ✓

V

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RA
JCSB
1/11

CONFIDENTIAL

CAIRO

CAIRO

Your telegram No. 851 [of October 31: Exchange of Ambassadors].

Please see record of my conversation with the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires on October 31 by bag leaving November 1. Khalil left an Aide Memoire which suggested postponing the exchange of names until December 1st and reiterated the U.A.R. demands for Consulates (plus 3 new posts) with the implication that progress on the first would be conditional on our agreement to the second. Your report suggests that Khalil may have stiffened up his instructions and that we should continue to try to keep the question of Consulates and Ambassadors separate, while taking as forthcoming a line on the former as possible.

Departmental

Levant
News

2. Your para. 5. The line we are taking with the press about my talk with Khalil is simply that he came to discuss U.K./U.A.R. relations in the light of the ministerial meetings in New York. News Department will restrict themselves to this formula. Unfortunately ~~Embassy~~
/The Times

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The Times diplomatic correspondent writing on November 1 adds to this material of his own, namely that there are still difficulties over Consulates to be overcome, though we are not making this question a condition for the resumption of full diplomatic relations. If you think it will help you may tell the Egyptians that we are restricting ourselves in comment to the formula quoted above, but we cannot prevent the press from embroidering upon it.

CONFIDENTIAL

V
 LEVANT DEPARTMENT

V G 1051/142

FROM Mr P. Wright (Cairo)
 to Mr S.G.S. Beich.
 Confidential
 No. 1045/60
 Dated November 1.
 Received November 4.

SUBJECT:
Discussion between Mr P. WRIGHT and ISMAIL on the procedure & timing for the exchange of Ambassadors.

References
 -124 -137

MINUTES

[Signature]
 Protocol Dept. first.

Opt.
deliberates
 - 4/11.

(Printing Instructions)

to
 Mr 7

(Outward Action)
 by Mr P. Wright, Cairo from
 Mr S.G.S. Beich at Cairo.

PARB.
 2/11.

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
<i>[Signature]</i> 5.11.60.	<i>[Signature]</i> 861 + 36

7/61.
 V G 1051/22(60)

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1045/60.



Sir R. Stevens

cutler
— 2000

BRITISH DIPLOMATIC MISSION,

CAIRO.

VG 1051/142

November 1, 1960.

My dear John,

Thank you for your letter of October 25 (VG 1051/124) about the exchange of Ambassadors.

2. You will now have seen my telegram No. 851 of October 31. As foreshadowed in paragraph 3, I saw Ismail this morning. He confirmed that the U.A.R. wished for a postponement but gave the revised date as December 1st, and not November 30th. He explained this as being due to "administrative difficulties" and did not give me the name of their proposed Ambassador. I naturally did not press him.

3. We then discussed procedure. Ismail was completely unbriefed about this and seemed to have few ideas of his own. I did, however, manage to get him to say that he regarded the procedure as being equivalent to the seeking of an agreement on both sides. He seemed to think that arrangements on the lines of paragraphs 2 and 3 of your letter would suit well. He thought that the U.A.R. note would be delivered in London and not through us. As regards timing, I said that I thought that these matters normally took about a fortnight after the delivery of notes. He said that he imagined the process working rather more quickly and I replied that I was sure that we would try to fit in with their timing. We eventually agreed that an announcement some time between December 12 and 15th would probably be about right, assuming an affirmative answer on both sides. He was inclined to question the need for any public statement, but eventually agreed with me that it would be wise if both governments made some announcement, possibly on agreed lines, in view of the considerable public interest which there was in the question in both countries. Ismail undertook to discuss these ideas with his ministers and to let me know in due course whether they were acceptable, or if they had any radically different ones themselves.

4. I should add that the entire conversation, during which Ismail was most friendly, was conducted throughout under the clear assumption that we were discussing the carrying out of a policy decision already made; a premise which, I need hardly say, I did not seek to question. Although Ismail agreed with me that it would be best if we both knew in advance exactly what our procedure on December 1st was going to be, I think that we shall have to continue to play the situation by ear. I do not think this greatly matters; the important thing is now to get the Egyptians publicly committed to an agreement as soon as possible without appearing to press them too much. The precise means by which we achieve this seems to be of secondary

/importance.

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

CONFIDENTIAL

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- 2 -

importance. Nevertheless, it would be helpful if you could send me as soon as possible a draft of the kind of note which you think we should put to the Egyptians, in case they should suddenly decide to speed things up. I should be glad also if you could confirm that my suggestions about timing in paragraph 3 above are satisfactory.

Yrs ever

Paul

(P.H.G. Wright)

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(VG 1051/142)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

November 7, 1960.

Thank you for your letter (1045/60) of November 1 about the details of an exchange of Ambassadors.

2. The timetable suggested in your paragraph 3 suits us perfectly well.

--- 3. I enclose a draft note as requested in your paragraph 4.

4. With regard to an announcement, we do not want the Egyptians to get the idea that we attach importance to this or are wedded to any particular form of words. (We have suggested exchanging names in Cairo mainly because we do not greatly trust Khalil's experience or goodwill.) If they want the announcement to be as laconic as possible, it might merely follow the lines of the formula used for the exchange of Chargés d'Affaires earlier in the year, e.g. "The two Governments have agreed to the exchange of Ambassadors."

P.H.G. Wright, Esq., C.M.G., O.B.E., (J.G.S. Beith)
Cairo.

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTE

H.M. Diplomatic Mission, etc., and on instructions from H.M. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, have the honour to refer to the agreement reached on October 7 in New York between the U.A.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State that the names of Ambassadors-designate to London and Cairo respectively should be exchanged. In pursuance of this agreement Her Majesty's Government wish to propose the name of Mr. Harold Beeley, C.M.G., C.B.E., presently Deputy United Kingdom Representative to the United Nations as Ambassador in Cairo. They would be grateful to learn whether this appointment would be agreeable to the President of the United Arab Republic. Usual ending

	<h1 style="font-size: 2em; margin: 0;">V</h1> <p style="margin: 0;">LEVANT DEPARTMENT</p>	<h1 style="font-size: 2em; margin: 0;">V</h1> <p style="margin: 0;">G. 1051/145.</p>
<p>FROM Colonial Secretary to the Secretary of State.</p> <p>SECRET.</p> <p>Confidential.</p> <p>No.</p> <p>Dated October 31.</p> <p>Received November 14.</p>	<p>SUBJECT:</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">U.K. - U.A.R. relations: Consular Posts.</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">Objections to a U.A.R. consulate in Nairobi</p>	
<p>References</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">-134.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">MINUTES</p> <p style="text-align: right; margin-right: 20px;">1/28/11.</p> <p>a). Mr. de Zulueta to Mr. Pearson, Colonial Office - November 1.</p> <p>b). Mr. Pearson, Colonial Office to Mr. de Zulueta - November 2.</p>	
<p>(Printing Instructions)</p>	<p style="text-align: center; margin-left: 100px;">See -1167.</p> <p style="text-align: right; margin-right: 20px;">1/24/11.</p>	
<p>(Outward Action)</p>		
<p>(Action completed)</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">JST 2.12.60</p>	<p>(Main Indexed)</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;"> 31 31 </p>	
<p style="margin-left: 20px;">-1167.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">J9 56467-1</p>	

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Copy to Sir R Stennis
Mr Beith
Levant Dept

✓ Secretary of State
The Prime Minister
Sir F. Hoyer-Hill

I would like
to send you a
copy of the
letter from
Sir F. Hoyer-Hill
please. H

10/31/45

VG1051/45

FOREIGN SECRETARY

CONFIDENTIAL

10/25/45

U.K./U.A.R. Relations: Consular Posts

In your minute of the 24th October you expressed the hope that I might find it possible to authorise you to inform the U.A.R. Government that we agree to their opening a Consulate in Nairobi.

2. I have every sympathy with your wish to follow up the talks which you and the Prime Minister had in New York and move towards the establishment of more normal relations with the U.A.R.; but I find myself unable to overrule the very strong objections of the Governor of Kenya to the establishment of a Consulate in that territory. You have no doubt already seen the telegrams in which his objections to the admission of official U.A.R. representation are explained, but I enclose copies for convenience of reference.

3. I would also quote the following extract from a recent letter from Sir Patrick Renison describing the hostile activities of the Egyptian authorities in relation to our territories in East Africa -

"In late 1957 the Egyptian Government stopped its espousal of Arab aspirations in East Africa and became a champion of African nationalism.

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement is still housed in Cairo and is well supplied with officers of the Egyptian Intelligence, who were active during the recent conference at Conakry, Accra and Addis Ababa.

OGINGA ODINGA, an African Elected Member of Legislative
/Council

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Council, has recently paid several visits to Cairo and as a result has obtained cash from the Egyptians for the Kenya African National Union and the expectation of more. He has also obtained a promise of places in Cairo University for Kenya students and offers of military and guerilla training.

The Kenya Office, Cairo, is well known. It is financed and controlled by the Egyptian General Intelligence and is responsible for scurrilous propaganda against the British, the glorification of Kenyatta and Mau Mau and the collection of political intelligence. Such influences as it has in Kenya are wholly bad.

Three members of the Kenya Office, Cairo, feature regularly as announcers on Cairo Radio. The tone of its propaganda has not been moderated in any degree since diplomatic relations were resumed. Its constant themes are:-

- (i) that Kenya should be granted independence at once. There should be no gradual working out of its problems such as the steps towards independence negotiated at Lancaster House;
- (ii) that British Colonial Administration is evil and designed to oppress the natives;
- (iii) that the U.A.R. is the champion of colonial people and the enemy of colonialism;
- (iv) that the Kenya settlers created Mau Mau and then blamed the Kikuyu;
- (v) that Kenyatta should be released to become head of the Kenya State;
- (vi) that any persons showing any sign of moderation in Kenya politics is a traitor to the cause of independence.

/There

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There have been recent indications in Addis Ababa of Egyptian interest in military espionage in Kenya.

The conclusion is inescapable that Cairo, whatever its present relations with London, is a determined enemy of the British in East Africa, and is trying hard to subvert our regime and suborn its inhabitants. No friendliness on our part is going to alter that fact. In common prudence we must defence ourselves against this threat to our security. It would be folly to pretend that the relaxation of tension on the London-Cairo axis has produced a similar result on the Nairobi-Cairo one, or that the Egyptians would not immediately take advantage of a voluntary lowering of our guard."

4. Against that background the U.A.R. authorities can hardly be so innocent as to be surprised or "suspect our motives" if we refuse to accept their posts in East Africa. We have far too many political difficulties on our hands in the region to provide such bases for further mischief-making from within. You yourself say that we must assume that the Egyptians will in any case continue their anti-colonialist campaign. If so, we should, in my view, be most unwise to lower our guard and I have no confidence that protests after the admission of a Consul would be more effective than any we have made hitherto.

5. I am sending a copy of this minute to the Prime Minister.

Lain Macleod

31st October, 1960.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

SECRET

FROM KENYA (Governor's Deputy)

Cypher (G.T.P.)

D. 29th July, 1960.

IMMEDIATE
SECRET AND PERSONAL
No. 780

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to Governor, Tanganyika,
" Uganda,
British Resident, Zanzibar, No. 338
East Africa High Commission by savingram.

Your telegram Personal No. 127.

Following for Webber.

U.A.R. Representation.

I am greatly perturbed at the possibility of a U.A.R. trade office being established in East Africa. My views on the presence of Egyptian officials in East Africa remain as stated in my telegram No. 37 of 12th January and apply equally both to consuls and trade representatives. It seems apparent to me that the principal attraction to the Egyptians is not the pursuit of genuine trade and commercial activities, but the facility which would be provided to them to carry on in our midst those hostile policies which at present must be effected from a distance. Whilst I appreciate the fact that trade office need not be allowed their own cyphers, I do not see how we can circumscribe their activity in any other way. The main danger that would threaten us from U.A.R. representation would be meddling in our internal politics and generally engaging in "anti-colonialist" and "anti-imperialist" activities. A trade representative, especially if he were a permanent U.A.R. official, particularly as he would have little genuine commercial activity with which to busy himself, would be as well placed to do that as a consul. We could not forbid him to make local contacts with potential political allies and if he can do that there is no way in which we can circumscribe his subversive political activities. With Kenya politics at their present extremely delicate stage, such activities in the next twelve to eighteen months could do irreparable harm.

2. I realise that movements of staff of the trade office could, in theory at least, be limited to the territory where the office was established. And if there was no way of
/avoiding

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avoiding the establishment of a U.A.R. trade office in East Africa it would therefore be better from the point of view of Kenya if the office were set up in Dar-es-Salaam. But our inter-territorial frontiers are wide open and unscrupulous U.A.R. officials might find it tempting to enter Kenya without a permit. We could of course prosecute them then but the propaganda value of being made a "martyr" by a colonial government should not be overlooked.

3. The argument advanced about competition with Israeli trade does not sound genuine. The value of total imports from Israel into Kenya in 1959 was over £1,376,000. Of this total, agricultural products of the type that might possibly compete with U.A.R. products accounted for less than £26,000. I realise that Egypt is trying to develop her industry but I somehow do not see her wanting to compete with Israel in export machinery or articles made of wood pulp. I think we could test Egyptian intentions by suggesting to them that they should in the first instance appoint a reputable non-Egyptian local merchant as their honorary trade representative. If all they want is to increase their trade with East Africa, that should be as satisfactory for them as it was for Australia before its trade with East Africa increased so much that they needed a career trade representative here. If the Egyptians agree, the question of setting up a trade office staffed by permanent officials would be delayed until such time as the volume of trade appeared to justify such a step.

4. There is one last point already made in Uganda in their telegram No.3 of 12th January. Cairo Radio still pours out vituperative abuse upon us all. The so-called Kenya Office in Cairo does infinite harm among Kenya Africans with their false statements. If the Egyptians really want to have friendly relations with us, should they not be asked first what they intend to do about these two foci of unpleasant propaganda. In other words is the re-establishment of good relations to be a one-way traffic only?

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Foreign Office - Mr. Stephenson

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SECRET

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

FROM KENYA (Sir P. Renison)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

12th January, 1960.

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.

I view this proposal with dismay. It would not be practicable so to circumscribe the activities of any Egyptian Consul 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.

4. In short, while the desirability of re-establishing diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic is

/fully

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fully understood, neither of the constituent countries have asked previously for consular representation in East Africa, and there seems extremely little legitimate ground for such a request now, and the strongest objections to granting it, which can be spelt out in detail if you wish.

5. Enquiries, however, are being made locally, and if request cannot be resisted it might be possible to suggest names of a few local residents who would be suitable for appointment as Honorary Consul and who would be acceptable here.

Copy sent to:

Foreign Office - Mr. R. Arculus

V
LEVANT DEPARTMENT

V G. 1051/146.

FROM F.O. Minute, Mr. J.W. Russell.

SUBJECT:

Resumption of relations with the U.A.R. may cause some trouble e.g. Jordan.

CONFIDENTIAL

No.

Dated October 10.

Received November 7.

References

MINUTES

-/121.
VJ10316/154.

see VJ10316/154.

Mr 8/11.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

(Main Indexed)

30/11/60

31. 8/6

CONFIDENTIAL

- V41051/121 V41051/146

In your telegram No. 1087 of October 14 - the Minister of State's conversation with Dr. Fawzi.

2. One rather unhappy thought has been suggested to me by press contacts.
3. Our relations with Egypt seem to be moving at last on to a more friendly footing. The high level meetings in New York were, by and large, encouraging.
4. But at the same time, Nasser is openly advocating the assassination of our oldest, smallest, most faithful and damn near last friend in the Middle East - King Hussein of Jordan.
5. A highly embarrassing ^{con}jecture of events may therefore well be about to confront us. At its most dramatic, this could take the form of the assassination of King Hussein the day we send an Ambassador to Cairo.
6. None of my business, of course: and perhaps no human being's business. But, regardless of the intrinsic value of Jordan, survive or disappear, there are some awkward points of principle involved.

J.W. Russell
 (J.W. Russell)
 October 18, 1960.

- and of Lewis to O'Brien
 s.g. 1200.

Mr. Beith

I can think of a lot of comments
 on this minute: note attached

Mr Russell

JWB
 OCT 18

21.10

CONFIDENTIAL

V
LEVANT DEPARTMENT

V G. 1051/148.

FROM F.O. Minute, Mr. J.W. Russell.

SUBJECT:

The British Press and relations with Egypt.

No.

Dated October 27.

Received November 3.

References

MINUTES

3710316/154

Ph. 9/11.

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(Main Indexed)

see 5.11.60.

31.

8/61.

Minutes

The British Press and Relations
with Egypt,

V61051/147

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

The latest telegrams from Cairo indicate that things are calming down again. The last paper to take an awkward line appears to have been Al Gumhurya of October 25, which spoke of "substantial obstacles" still in the way of a resumption of full relations. This presumably was meant to refer to the Consular problem.

2. As we have seen, this latest rumpus was touched off by Reuters. As recorded in earlier minutes by me, Mrs. Matthews is something of a campaigner and has been happy to highlight the moral issues which are raised by President Nasser's recent and singularly direct attack on King Hussein.

3. But Mrs. Matthews is by no means the only representative of the British press to feel a certain distaste at the idea of H.M.G. smoothly abandoning King Hussein in order to appease President Nasser. I have met with the same feeling amongst liberal British journalists here (and even amongst Americans): the fact that they have not in fact published anything along these lines is due to the absence of any legitimate news-peg on which to hang any such editorial reactions. (And it is there that our main quarrel with Reuters lies.)

4. The finer points of treaty relationship, its existence or non-existence, are, I feel, not always immediately apparent to press and public opinion. There is, I would say, very considerable admiration for King Hussein, both amongst the British public and in the Middle East. The go-karts and other youthful pastimes, referred to by Mr. Beith, are not publicised in Jordan, where the popular conception of the King is, by and large, heroic. I observed these things with some care for four years from Persia; and the same is true there. Persian public opinion would undoubtedly be severely shocked if we were to desert King Hussein for considerations, however materially justified, of Realpolitik.

5. It should also, I would suggest, be borne in mind that President Nasser, although, as has been observed, the leading political figure in the Arab world today, is not a universally popular figure in that world. In Arabia proper, for instance, no Egyptian is even accepted as a real Arab: hence his claims to speak for the Arab world do not command universal support. But of course force and success

/are

Minutes

are the only things which ultimately count in the Middle East. So doubtless public opinion will follow Nasser as long as he is forceful and successful.

6. But I think it would be a mistake to believe that the same is true of public opinion in this country where, for all our rightly guilty conscience about Suez, Nasser on balance is highly unpopular figure and King Hussein a popular one.

/a

7. But, to get back to cases, all this should of course be irrelevant to the present issue. We will endeavour to point out to our press contacts that the presence or absence of an Ambassador at an Embassy does not bear any moral approval or opprobrium, one way or the other. We will also go on pointing out that the consular question is not, in our mind, a pre-condition to the appointment of a British Ambassador to Cairo. (I am not quite clear from Sir Roger Stevens' minute of October 21 what further he would have liked me to say about the consular question, beyond what I in fact did say, namely "that this was one of the various outstanding questions on which negotiation would continue on the usual channels meanwhile." To say less than this would hardly carry much conviction; whilst we certainly never had instructions to say more.)

8. The piece by Nicholas Carroll in the Sunday Times of October 23 was based on a conversation with me. As he sometimes does, Carroll had firmed this up rather too much. But of course it is not much use our going round denying things which have been public secrets for several months, e.g. the name of Mr. Beeley as Ambassador designate. This was, after all, given to the Egyptians seven or eight months ago. And it was the Egyptians themselves who put out in Cairo the story about November 15 as the date on which the names of Ambassadors were to be exchanged and (according to them) published. This presumably was intended to push things along.

(although, pending agreement, officially refuse to confirm or deny the name)

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

9. I do not think there is much more to be done about any of this at the moment: in fact it seems to be settling back again fairly satisfactorily. But, if things go badly in the Middle East, we must not be surprised when the British press pushes its own editorial opinion of events and policies.

J.W. Russell

(J.W. Russell)
October 27, 1960

/I do

Keight Dep.

Minutes

I do not propose to argue the toss with News Department about the policy being followed in the Foreign Office and by H.M.G. in regard to the U.A.R. and Jordan. But I should perhaps mention that anybody who thinks that we are "smoothly abandoning King Hussein in order to appease President Nasser" (see paragraph 3 of his minute) are misconceiving the situation. We are doing our best to keep Jordan viable and incidentally to prop up the existing régime by moral and material support. This does not mean that we can always approve the way in which the Jordanian régime handles things.

2. It seems to me that Mr. Russell's minute confuses the specific question of the unfortunate Reuters story and the views that lay behind it with wider issues of policy. On the first question we have had News Department's explanations and the matter is now closed. On the second question, Mr. Russell has read my minute below. This explains our background thinking on Jordan and its present controversy with the U.A.R. and Levant Department would be grateful if News Department use it for guidance. If there is any point which is not clear perhaps they would consult us. Meanwhile it is important that this background should be put over to press representatives, whenever an opportunity occurs. If the latter are left in ignorance of the facts of life this can only do harm.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

V510316/1524

A.

J. G. S. Beith
2.11

Lu R Steven
 ✓ to see first
 Mr Russell

J. G. S. Beith
 (J. G. S. Beith)
 October 31, 1960.

Very much agree with A. I think that some of this trouble might have been avoided had Mr. Russell's original minute (of Oct 18) explained specifically what questions he was being asked, and requested guidance from Levant Dept on them, instead of posing what looked

Minutes

as though it was intended
 when teased. It would then
 have been possible to have
 set out the policy quickly
 & clearly, and disprove of any
 misapprehensions which have
 subsequently gained currency
 in the press, such as that we
 wanted to get ^{the} ~~conclude~~
 settled first (see ^{at} ~~at~~ page 2
 of Mr. Russell's minute of
 Oct 20.)

I believe that P. U. L. was
 enquiring about these matters
 she therefore may wish to
 see

Mr. Ford.

M. B. Davies
 31/12

M. B. Davies
 31.12

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

V
 LEVANT DEPARTMENT

VG. 1051/149.

FROM Mr. Wright, *Chais.*
Confidential
 No. 877
 Dated November 7.
 Received November 7.

SUBJECT:
 U.K. - U.A.R. relations
 MR. WRIGHT AND ISMAIL and delivered aide-memoire -
 consulates.

References
 -/mof/2.

MINUTES

This is not unsatisfactory. Ismail picks some difficult ones - Aden, Kuwait and Dar-es-Salaam.

2. Mr. Wright's suggestion that the consular question should be pursued here leaving the exchange of Ambassadors to be dealt with in Cairo is helpful in emphasising that they are separate. The disadvantage is that the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires (see Sir Roger Stevens' minute of November 7 at VG 1051/151 - Flag A) is obviously keen, possibly for his own aggrandisement, to get some progress on consulates to show to his Government before December 1.

3. The most satisfactory course would be for us to say nothing whatever more about consulates until the agrément has been given for the two Ambassadors. If we are obliged to produce a "progress report" beforehand, it may appear so unsatisfactory to the Egyptians as to cause them to delay over Ambassadors.

4. At all events, the more concessions we can have in our pocket to play at the right moment the better. I suggest therefore that we ask the C.O. to do what they can about Freetown and the C.R.O. similarly for Salisbury. We could also ask the C.O. to seek local Ministerial clearance for Singapore on the assumption that we shall have to offer this soon anyway. This leaves the key-question of East Africa, on which the Colonial Secretary has already been asked (Flag B) to consider which of the East African posts would be least objectionable. We might perhaps allow a little time to lapse before making a substantive reply to the Colonial Secretary's minute (VG 1051/145 - Flag B). It will probably be necessary to involve the Prime Minister. (It will be recalled that he took our side against the C.O. over the question of a U.A.R. visit to Cyprus preparatory to re-opening their consulate there, but he may feel that the C.O. have more reason to be concerned at the prospect of U.A.R. subversion/in Africa).

5. It would be helpful if we could take a step forward on Kuwait. While I know the Arabian Dept.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)
 Off. dir John Martin Colonial
 Off. from Sir Roger Stevens
 Nov 10. cc. Mr. Bluff, No. 10.
 Off. Mr. J. P. Humphreys, C.R.O.
 from Mr. J. P. Hill Nov.

(Action completed) J.P.H.	(Main Indexed) J.P.H. 861 31.
-------------------------------------	--

/would

would prefer to take no action, and await an intimation from the Ruler that he thought the time had come to admit foreign consuls; I nevertheless think it may be worth considering whether we should not now put Mr. Richmond into bat with the Ruler. He could quite naturally say that the Ruler may have seen press reports that the U.A.R. are in dispute with us over the re-opening of consular posts and that their demands include Kuwait; that we ~~threw~~ ~~out~~ ~~to~~ made it clear to the Egyptians that this is a matter for the Ruler; that although the Egyptians a month ago said they would approach him direct, their latest list includes Kuwait as one of the demands on us; we wonder therefore if he has heard anything from the Egyptians and what his attitude is likely to be? This could do little harm and might give us more of an indication how we might contrive to get some credit with the Egyptians in respect of Kuwait.

6. I submit a draft letter to the C.R.O. about Salisbury and one to the C.O. about Freetown and Singapore. If it is thought desirable, a draft letter to Mr. Richmond in Kuwait could be prepared, *in consultation with Arabian Dept.*

7. I expect that we shall be discussing the present state of play on this question with Mr. Crowe who is due back in London to-day.

Arculus
 (R. Arculus)
 November 8, 1960.

[Flag D]

8. Cairo tel. no. 881 file with para. 3 above.

Arculus
 9/11

Rowley 2/11

687

I agree with Mr. Arculus' minute. As regards Cairo telegram No. 881, we are seeing that it is held to Departmental Distribution. I think it is a good telegram. It certainly coincides with my view about how the hand should be played.

2. I discussed this question briefly with Sir Roger Stevens and he was inclined to think that at this stage a new minute from the Secretary of State to the Colonial Secretary was needed. The Department are inclined to take the view that, in order to get the Colonial Office working on Freetown and Singapore, it will only be necessary to take the matter up at Under-Secretary level. We know that Singapore is not particularly difficult and I do not see how the Colonial Office can refuse to consult the Sierra Leone Government. I have therefore made the draft to go from Sir R. Stevens and possibly the draft to the C.R.O. could also be raised to this level.

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Minutes

3. The point about keeping No. 10 informed can be met by copying the letter to the Colonial Office to Mr. Bligh.

John Beith
(J.G.S. Beith)
November 9, 1960.

I agree.

We should also pursue Kuwait as suggested.

dl
107m

I have discussed this with Sir George Middleton and rather than ask Mr. Richmond to approach the Ruler, I think we should leave it to him whether or not to do so in the light of anything that may have happened in the last week or so. Sir G. Middleton is in any case going to talk to the Ruler on this subject in mid-December and it may well be that the Ruler will accept some positive advice from us at that time. What that advice will be is to be discussed with Sir G. Middleton and anything that Mr. Richmond can tell us will help in that discussion. The Departmental view, which is recorded in my minute of October 27, is summarised in paragraph of the present letter. While we all recognise that the admission of consuls is merely a question of time, I have no reason to believe that Sir G. Middleton will dissent from the Departmental views. One thing we must be clear about is that in all our dealings with the Gulf Rulers we must act for them in their own interests and not make their interests a pawn in our own diplomacy. I have therefore ventured to redraft this letter from paragraph 4 onwards.

R.A. Beaumont
(R.A. Beaumont)
November 14, 1960

*see separate submission
on Kuwait.
R 24/11.*

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FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Wright

No. 877

November 7, 1960

VG1051/ua.

D:1.20 p.m. November 7, 1960

R:1.35 p.m. November 7, 1960

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

My telegram No. 871.

VG1051/140(8)

I saw Ismail this morning and delivered aide mémoire. It was clear that Khalil's instructions had been sent by Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I said that the UAR aide mémoire did not make it entirely clear whether the two questions were linked. Ismail replied that so far as he was aware they were not connected except in the sense that it would be nice if an agreement about Consulates could be reached about the same time as we exchanged the names of Ambassadors. We did not have to agree to the whole UAR list; an agreement on two or three, say Aden, Kuwait and Dar-as-Salaam, with a promise to examine the others would be helpful. There was no suggestion in anything that Ismail said of such agreement being a condition, but he attaches importance to the Consulate question and is obviously hopeful that we will come some way to meet the UAR.

2. I did not discuss the substance of the Consulates question with Ismail, saying that it was a complicated matter upon which I was not fully briefed. For this reason I thought it better if the discussions about this question could continue in London, leaving the exchange of Ambassadors to be dealt with in Cairo as our aide mémoire suggested. Ismail agreed. He told me that he thought the procedure which we had discussed previously (my letter to Beith of November 1) would be all right; but he had not yet heard from Ministers and would let me know definitely as soon as possible.

VG1051/142

/ 3.

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Cairo telegram No. 877 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

3. Comment follows.

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

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No.

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

Top Secret.
Secret.
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RA
JCSB
9/11

Draft. letter

to

Sir J. Martin,
G.O.

From

Sir R. Stevens.

Copy to

Mr. Bligh,
No. 10.

2 drafts

John Beck
Nov 9

You will have seen recent Ministerial minutes on this subject, which have centred mainly on the need to give the U.A.R. a consulate in East Africa (which you contest).

2. The new Egyptian list, included in the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires' communication of October 31, named for the first time Zanzibar and Sierra Leone (presumably Freetown was intended). This letter is concerned with the latter and with Singapore.

3. It was to be expected that the Egyptians would ask us for a post in Freetown sooner or later, if only because of Israel. You will recall that we agreed in May to the appointment of Mr. Tsur as Israel Consul. In view of the proximity of independence I understand that this is a matter on which you would be guided by the views of Sierra Leone Ministers, but that it is not at present known what these would be likely to be.

4. While we are continuing to try to keep separate the question of an exchange of Ambassadors with the U.A.R. from that of our respective lists of consular posts to be reopened, it seems likely that some progress on the latter will need to accompany the former if we are to get our Ambassador duly installed after the exchange of names. We are in any case anxious to press on in order to secure our own requirements in Damascus, Alexandria, etc. Without prejudice to what

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/may

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eventually

May be decided about East Africa we should therefore be grateful if you could clear the way as soon as possible so as to enable us to offer a post in Freetown when the time comes *let us say in about a month from now.* Perhaps you could agree to take confidential soundings of the local Ministers and let us know the result.

5. Similarly I think the time has probably now come, if you see no objection, to ask local Ministers in Singapore for their agreement to our offering the Egyptians a post there. I am aware of your view that once they have agreed to this we would not be able to withhold the post but that is a disadvantage which I think we must accept, and it would be helpful to have Singapore in readiness as a bargaining counter.

[Signature]
18/2/51

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(VG 1051/149)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

November 11, 1960.

U.K./U.A.R. Relations: consular posts.

I think you are aware that the list of consulates which the U.A.R. require, as set out in a communication handed to the Secretary of State on October 31 by the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires, ran as follows: Aden, Kuwait, Hong Kong, Singapore, Zanzibar, Nairobi, Kampala, Har-ea-Salaam, Salisbury and Sierra Leone (Freetown). Salisbury is a new requirement.

2. You also know, I believe, that we are doing our best to keep separate the problem of the consulates from that of the exchange of names of Ambassadors, which may, if all goes well, be agreed upon in December. But it has been made clear that the U.A.R. expect progress on consulates to accompany the exchange of Ambassadors and we may not get them installed unless we can meet the U.A.R. on this.

3. The question is important to us not only in order to maintain the improvement in Anglo-U.A.R. contacts which followed the Ministerial contacts in New York with President Nasser and the U.A.R. Foreign Minister, but as a means of securing the re-opening of our own consular posts, principally Damascus, Alexandria and Port Said. If we are to achieve this it is evident that we must offer the Egyptians several of the posts for which they ask, including at least one that will be attractive to them. At present we only have clearance for Hong Kong, and a possibility of obtaining it for Singapore. We propose now to ask the Colonial Office to consult the local Ministers in Sierra Leone about Freetown, which was also mentioned for the first time in the communication made on October 31. We have also asked the Colonial Secretary to consider which of the East African posts would be least difficult from his point of view.

4. The purpose of this letter is to ask you to do your best to enable us to offer Salisbury when the time comes. It seems to us one of the least difficult of the Egyptian demands and we should have thought it unlikely that the Egyptians could prove a real embarrassment to the Federation authorities. There is an Israel Consul-General at Johannesburg who has jurisdiction in the Federation. This is one reason for the Egyptians' interest. Another is their general political interest in the future of the area. (With your help we have just arranged a briefing of the U.A.R. Counsellor by Scott of your Office about the Monckton Commission's report and its implications, which may have had a useful educative effect).

/5.

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

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5. I understand that, though a decision on Salisbury is one to be taken in London, you would in practice take account of the wishes of the Federation. We should be most grateful if you could see your way to consult them in confidence as early as possible, urging them to agree to Egyptian representation. If they fear that the Egyptian officials will indulge in nefarious extra-mural activities - as well they may - you might say that we should of course be prepared to take up any cases of the kind where evidence could be obtained with which to confront the authorities in Cairo. It is, however, difficult for us, when we are building up a new relationship with the U.A.R., merely to debar them from our territories on the grounds that they are likely to misbehave.

6. I should add that the Foreign Secretary takes a keen personal interest in this question, as a result of his discussions in New York, and would no doubt be prepared to discuss it with your Ministers if necessary.

(J.G.S. Beith)

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V
 LEVANT DEPARTMENT

V G. 1051/150.

FROM Mr. Wright,
 Cairo.
 Confidential.
 No. 828.
 Dated November 7.
 Received November 8.

SUBJECT:
 U.K. - U.A.R. relations
 Meeting with ISMAIL - concern over press speculation about exchange of Ambassadors.

References
 -/144.

MINUTES

In the circumstances Ismail's comment was mild. The British press goes on and on talking about the connexion between consulates and exchange of Ambassadors and we shall be lucky if this does not encourage the Egyptians to make more difficulties. It is also tiresome that the dates should have been so freely bandied about, because any further postponement will set off more speculation.

2. Now that Mr. Lewis has put down a P.Q. for answer by the Prime Minister to-day, I should have thought it would be prudent for News Department to take refuge behind it and answer "no comment" to all questions. Neither would there seem to be any need to give any more background information to journalists, even the "trusties", who on this subject seem to have been printing everything they have been told.

3. On a point of detail, it is annoying that the Persian Gulf is always mentioned, since this causes irritation and anxiety in Tehran. Kuwait has been mentioned separately in several press reports. There are no other Egyptians requirements in the Persian Gulf.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

R. Arculus
 (R. Arculus)
 November 8, 1960.

News Dept.

The News Dept. has given a helpful correction in the consulate story in the Times of Nov 7th. But I hope that the PQ & its answer do provide shelter for a while as Mr Arculus suggests, as any comment at the moment risks embarrassing us again.
(Flowers 8/11)

(Action completed)	(Main Indexed)
1028 15.11.60.	31 8/11

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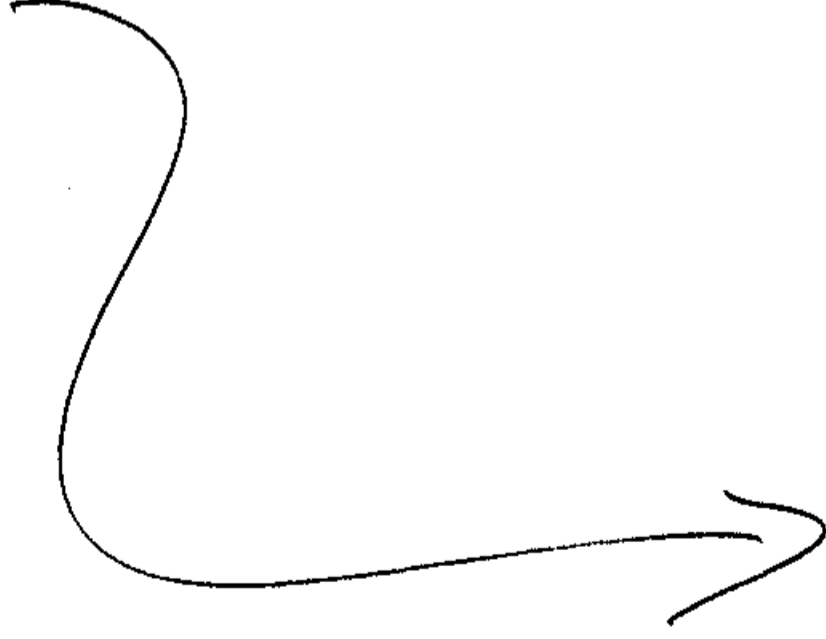
I agree. As it is difficult for the British Press to write helpfully, with certain exceptions, it is in our interest to keep quiet, as Mr Wright says. The correct line is stated in Gumburija (Cairo Tel. No 873, attached)

John Bate
NW 8

Is there any reason to suppose that the UAR Embassy here is talking to the press? If so we might tell Mr Wright

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Eds



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Minutes

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I can only agree that the British ~~head~~ press are, unfortunately, not out to be helpful on this subject. The two attached cuttings show what different treatment the same off-the-record briefing can be given in print. The Sunday Times firmed everything up and made it all look as sour as possible, whilst the Times the next day, admittedly after some further guidance from us, wrote the story sensibly and constructively.

2. As Mr. Arculus says in his minute of November 8, it is tiresome that the dates should have been so freely banded about: but it should be observed that both the date of November 15 and that of December 1st were put out in Cairo and not here.

3. I am afraid that the hope expressed in paragraph 2 of the same minute that the question and answer in the House today would afford News Department a refuge behind which to avoid further questions will not in the event be fulfilled. The Prime Minister's answer was very general and will not put an end to the speculation. Until there is another question put down in the House, we cannot hide behind it.

4. The answer to Sir Roger Stevens' enquiry is that the Egyptian Embassy do talk pretty freely to journalists. The Times and Reuters are amongst their favourite contacts. I have no evidence that they have been putting out anything particular in the last few days. But of course they do not need to do so as they have the very intelligent and knowledgeable El Ahran correspondent here, Zagloul, to do it for them. He acts as a sort of unofficial Press Attache for the Embassy, using the simple method of asking leading questions at our 12.30 news conference. Whatever the answer, the line is given to the other correspondents present by the question itself.

5. Obviously News Department is not taking any action to inspire press interest in this subject. As instructed by the Permanent Under-Secretary orally on Monday morning, we have been reducing our comment both ~~on~~ on and off the record to a minimum. But there is one point which, after reading the minutes above, I feel needs making.

6. And this is that "no comment does not mean no story". "Tell them nothing", as I have so often been directed, does not mean that they will write nothing. On the contrary, it usually means that the story will either be written by the other side or that it will be filled from the correspondent's imagination. This, I

/suggest

Minutes

suggest, is the reason why governments keep expensive news departments - to use their judgement in deciding at what point a journalist can by discreet guidance be steered off writing an incorrect and hostile story. Of course it does not work out right in every case. But News Department cannot work on the lines suggested by Mr. Arculus in his paragraph 2 above. We have to use our own judgement. The results may not always be entirely satisfactory. But usually they are not bad.

7. There is also such a thing as legitimate public interest. All this business of Ambassadors and Consulates is in fact a story, whether we like it or not. And until it is settled, the press will continue to follow it. The best we can hope for is that when there is no news peg to hang stories on, they will not write them; but it must be realised that in this sort of business the absence of a story is itself a story.

John Russell

(J.W. Russell)
November 8, 1960

M. J. P.

Mr. Arculus

Mr. R. Stevens

John Birch
Nov 9

At least if we have said nothing we can honestly say so in Cairo. I have already had to explain to the V.A.R. mission that we were not responsible for what the Times wrote on one occasion on this subject. We were responsible for the price opposite.

John Birch
9/11.

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Minutes

Enough muniting has been done on this subject already, and I do not propose to add to it.

I would only say that we rely on the News Dept to clamp down speculation on this subject to the maximum. This does not appear to have been done in the case of the off the record briefing referred to by Mr. Russell. I cannot understand why it could not have simply been said that the delay for 15 Nov 1970 was for administrative reasons. This is likely to be nearer the truth than the implication that the UAR are bargaining over Grenada.

News Dept.
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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

Minutes

At the risk of incurring your wrath by adding one further minute, I do feel that the following points of fact and practice need establishing. First, there is a strict limit to the amount of dampening that News Department can successfully do when press interest in a subject has been aroused: in the present instance the dampening was not accepted, but that does not mean that it was not tried. (Compare numerous other current instances of dipomatic correspondents' intractability e.g. two other pieces in the same issue of the Sunday Times and last week's piece on Buraimi in the Times.) Secondly, News Department could of course have said that the delay "was for administrative reasons" had we been instructed in this sense: but in fact we were not so instructed: the Times piece of November 7 reflects exactly the line we were given by Levant Department. Thirdly, all these dates have been put out by the Egyptians and not by us.

2. Things seem quiet on this front for the moment: but if something occurs, perhaps in Cairo, to arouse interest again, with the best will in the world News Department cannot muzzle the press.

3. I have done this minute on a separate sheet of paper in case you do not want to add it to this lengthening file.

David Stephens John Russell
 (J.W. Russell)
 November 16, 1960

[later] - I am afraid paragraph 2 is already out of date: Denis Healey has a question down on this very subject in the House this afternoon. And another vexed item in Anglo/Egyptian relations, namely that of desequstration, was extensively discussed in the House of Lords yesterday afternoon.

ib/xi J.W.R.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

Sunday Times - Nov 6.

[REDACTED]

The British Government have accepted a request by the United Arab Republic that the agreed exchange of the names of ambassadors between the two countries should be postponed from November 15 to December 1. The U.A.R.'s request, according to reports, was caused by the British failure so far to agree to the opening of U.A.R. consulates in the numbers desired in Cairo. In the British view the exchange of ambassadors and the problem of consulates should not be linked.

TA Times - Nov 7

[REDACTED]

FROM OUR DIRECTOR

The British Government have accepted a request by the United Arab Republic that the agreed exchange of the names of ambassadors between the two countries should be postponed from November 15 to December 1. The U.A.R.'s request, according to reports, was caused by the British failure so far to agree to the opening of U.A.R. consulates in the numbers desired in Cairo. In the British view the exchange of ambassadors and the problem of consulates should not be linked.

-/162.