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CONFIDENTIAL

14 NOV 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. William M. Rountree *card*
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State

SUBJECT:

[Redacted]

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Attached is a copy of a letter with enclosures which I received from [Redacted] in which he outlines in more detail the subject of our discussion of 9 November, the facts of which were provided to you in my memorandum of 13 November.

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SECRET

C. P. CABELL
Lieutenant General, USAF
Deputy Director

Enclosures

O/DCI/[Redacted]:kp
14 November 1956

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An African Policy for Egypt
(A suggested programme by a correspondent)

Reprinted from
The Egyptian
Economic & Political Review
A Monthly Review of Politics and Economics in the Middle East
International Edition
August 1956

Africa is the continent of the future. It is the remaining hope of imperialism after it has vanished from Asia. With Europe's retreat from Asia, Africa appeared as the vital area for exploitation and imperialist purposes.

The times, however, have changed once more, and the peoples of Africa are asking for freedom and the right to live and run their own affairs. Egypt, in its capacity as the leading African State, can contribute to the liberation of the peoples of Africa, for it is the largest and richest African state and occupies an eminent position in the Islamic and Arab worlds. It is a powerfully radiating centre of influence for this continent and the hope of its peoples by virtue of its inherited humanitarianism, its traditions, its mental and moral heritage, its history, its faith in freedom and human dignity, and the geographical, physical and historical factors which have linked it with the peoples of Africa.

For all these reasons, Egypt finds itself called upon to shoulder the great burdens thrown on it, to endeavour strongly and resolutely to liberate these peoples, to raise them from the deep abyss into which they have been driven by the power of foreign colonialism, and to help them by all possible means in all political, economic and social fields, so that the peoples may regain their freedom and become strong and united. Africa will then be for the Africans.

Egypt, having now been liberated from the last bond of domination, proud of its freedom and its honourable past, has taken up a position in accordance with its principles and its attitude of neutrality between the two camps. It has no imperialistic ambitions or self-interest in view, but all its efforts are devoted to supporting the weak and enslaved peoples so that they may be strengthened and gain the right of self-determination. Egypt has the right now to occupy its just place in the international family.

Egypt has therefore to plan its African policy on the basis of "Africa for the Africans" and to direct this policy to its liberation from foreign influence, politically, economically, socially, culturally and militarily. It must also defend the Rights of Man which claim liberty for all and an equality in rights without distinction of race, religion or language. It must endeavour to unify the peoples of the continent and discover a tie to join them so that they may form a united block in economy, defence and politics vis-a-vis the big blocks now existing in the world. It must also ensure that Africa with its peoples and resources shall be on the side of peace and not be an implement employed for warmongering, but stand together in international cooperation on the basis of liberty and equality and not as victims for exploitation.

In order that Egypt may realize these high aims and be able to carry out this new African policy, it must take those steps necessary in the various fields of politics, economy and culture.

Politics

1. The Government must start at once to establish a net of consular services in Africa. When positions in Africa are changed and the system of government is altered, the Government of Egypt must be quite ready to establish diplomatic representation. The Egyptian diplomatic envoys must have received the necessary preliminary studies made by those consuls or those acting for them, so that it may be possible to start at once calmly to execute the new African policy referred to above.

2. Giving attention to propaganda as an effective weapon calling for support for Egypt and its policy. Forms of propaganda are many:

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a) Egyptian Broadcasting

Great attention must be paid to strengthening it so that it shall reach all parts of the con- (line missing in original article) directed to the natives of the various zones and to broadcasting in the African languages and dialects.

b) The Cinema

To allocate documentary and cultural films and others with useful subjects and to distribute them regularly. Such films open the mind and enable people to grasp the extent of Egypt's civilization. They would induce African peoples not to delay joining the caravan that marches in the path of civilization and that Egypt has prepared for them.

c) Press, Printed Matter and Publications

The Press must adopt the policy of supporting Africa and the Africans and follow the instructions of all organizations concerning their importance. As for printed matter and publications they must be written in Arabic, English and French, possess simplicity of style and good printing, and call for Egypt and its African policy. All this printed matter should bear the impression of realism and be remote from exaggeration and artificiality.

3. a) Missions

Egypt must send selected missions of experts in science, religion, politics, economics, commerce and social services to aid the African peoples, to support them, to collaborate with them and light the path before them.

b) Egypt must accept the largest possible number of natives from African countries to be educated in Egypt and must care for their social and financial problems and help to settle them. It should also invite the leaders of the peoples of Africa, from time to time to visit Egypt, discuss and argue with them about the renaissance of Egypt in all its aspects and come to an understanding as to what can be done in their mutual interest.

4. An Annual African Conference

An invitation should be sent annually to hold an African Conference where the affairs and problems of the continent can be studied, together with the peoples' requirements and the organization of their efforts. This conference should be held in Cairo once each year. No doubt the pilgrimage season would provide a good opportunity and a time when the best means are available for spreading Egypt's principles among the peoples of this continent. If propaganda is well organized during that season, it would yield a great benefit.

5. The construction of a Net of Egyptian Communications to connect Egypt with the Different Parts of the Continent.

a) The establishment of an airline crossing the continent from north to south and subsidiary lines to the other parts situated east and west of this line, using Egyptian aeroplanes.

b) The establishment of ocean and coast lines around Africa in order to develop commercial exchanges and facilitate the connection of the African peoples with Egypt.

6. Institute for African Studies

Our African policy and its execution should be planned and directed in the light of knowledge and an accurate study of the conditions in African countries. It is therefore desirable to establish as soon as possible an institute for African studies managed by a group of scientists and professors specializing in African affairs. The function of this institute will be the study of and regular researches in:-

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1. Every country and every people of the continent, provided that this study include:
 - a) (1) The formation of African peoples as regards their race relationships. These are of fundamental importance in their life.
 - (2) The habits, languages and traditions of each people.
 - (3) Their needs and economic and social problems.
 - (4) The geography of each region and its most important sources of wealth.
- b) The extent of ties binding each country with Egypt from the point of view of nationality, language, religion, society, economics, national aspirations and political objectives, and also the extent of the ties binding Egypt's interests to each country.
- c) The general imperialistic methods used in the African countries. The extent of the competition between states in Africa, and the analysis of the benefits derived from that competition.
- d) The objectives of the Institute are to prepare groups of experts specialized in African affairs, and in particular in the study of the imperialistic methods which have enabled some European states to maintain their hold on those regions. These experts may be given appointments in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which will later send them into Africa for service.
- e) A section of this Institute is to be allocated for special studies by those who will be sent on missions from the Azhar and the Ministry of Education and Instruction. They will go to Africa for teaching, preaching, and giving lessons in the fundamentals of religion, so that they may by this means be able to preach Egyptian politics there.

7. Africa for the Africans

Egypt's declaration of this principle at a suitable time, its endeavours to stabilize this principle and not to deviate from it or go against it resembles the Monroe Doctrine (America for the Americans). The reaffirmation by Egypt of this principle, keeping staunchly to it and defending it will enable her to win a high position in the hearts of the peoples of Africa. This will make all these countries direct their gaze towards Egypt and gather around her.

8. Egypt's Activity in the European Field

The United Nations is considered a fertile field where Egypt can carry out her African policy. It can utilise the pulpit of this organization for defending her policy which has for its aim the welfare of the Africans.

Another reason for the importance of this field is the participation of Egypt in the Africo-Asian group. This is a great help in the organization of cooperation in international fields for the realization of this policy.

It will help to refer here, for example, to the aspects that the activity of Egypt has assumed in the United Nations in the African field, and Egypt's defence of Tunis, Morocco and Algeria, as well as her stand on problems of race distinction in the Union of South Africa, or the interests of peoples not enjoying home rule and of those under the system of international tut^{or}ship, as well as Egypt's participation on the U.N. Advisory Council for the Somali-land.

It is therefore the duty of the Arab nations to secure permanent seats for themselves on the Council. This does not contain one single African nation. Egypt must endeavour to replace Iraq on the Committee for countries not enjoying home rule at the expiry of Iraq's period.

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Economic Objectives

1) The enlargement of the net of consular representation on the continent, the establishment of commercial bureaux, propaganda for Egyptian products, and the conclusion of commercial agreements with African countries.

2) The study of African markets to discover the desires of the various peoples and the extent of their approval of and demand for various Egyptian products. Demand for a certain article is subject to taste, which differs from one country to another. The study of the different tastes, therefore, and meeting the requirements of the inhabitants is an important factor in the disposal of products. This can be realized by only two means: -

First - Sending economic missions to the different regions, and charging those missions to make accurate reports on the different demands of the people for Egyptian articles.

Second - The establishment of exhibitions and commercial markets in every region in Africa in order to discover the information and statistics necessary for traders, and to make propaganda for Egyptian products.

Third - The peoples of Africa are weak and cannot come to Egypt. Egypt must therefore go to them in the following ways:

1. The frequent sending of experts and Egyptian technical missions such as engineers and physicians to take part in their turn in the development and raising of the standards of the countries to which they are sent.

2. Establish joint stock companies, agricultural, industrial and commercial, in collaboration with the local inhabitants for the exploitation of resources of their country, taking into consideration that they must be treated very well and justly. Egypt must be liberal with them so that they may know that the objectives of Egypt are sound and that our aim is the welfare of the country and its people, and not to exploit them as the foreign imperialist does.

Fourth - To encourage the emigration of Egyptians to many African countries such as the Sudan and East Africa, facilitate their journeys and grant them subsidies.

Cultural directives

1. Expansion in sending cultural and preaching missions, particularly from Al-Azhar, calling for the spread of Islam in Africa.

2. The establishment of educational institutes, mosques, and hospitals all over the African countries, and the acceptance of African students in Egyptian educational institutes on a large scale.

The utilization of the Egyptian Broadcasting station for broadcasting scientific and cultural lectures specially for these regions, and the allocation of special cultural and educational programmes to enlighten the Africans on their affairs and to direct African public opinion. This can be done by a specialized broadcast under the name of The Voice of Africa similar to the Voice of the Arabs.

4. The organization of touristic affairs as to travel expenses and cost of residence and entry facilities, particularly for African students, so that this may help African students to visit Egypt and its monuments. This will help to increase the contacts of the peoples of Africa with Egypt and the Egyptians, thus increasing the spiritual and mental connections between them and strengthening the ties of cooperation and similarity among them all.

5. The organization of athletic tours for African countries and increasing the number of Egyptian athletic teams to those countries. It is quite obvious that Egyptian athletic teams would make great and vast propaganda for Egypt.

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No doubt the success of our policy in Africa necessitates care for the organization of this policy through:

1. Our general Arab policy, because of the existence of Arab peoples in Africa.
2. Our Islamic policy, because of the existence of Islamic peoples and races who can rely on Egypt to safeguard their Islamic personality.
3. Our European policy, because of the existence of European imperialistic states in Africa.

Moreover, the success of Egypt's African policy necessitates drawing the attention of all Egypt's people to Africa, and the collaboration of all efforts and powers of all Egyptian ministries in order to carry out this policy with accuracy and enthusiasm. Each Ministry will act within its own competence and to have the possibilities of this policy completely and abundantly in mind before beginning to carry it out.