

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

RECEIVED IN
 10 JAN 1963
 V4D23/1

Minutes *enter*

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Mr. James of the C.R.O. telephoned yesterday to ask for a brief on Egyptian activities in Africa for Lord Lytton, who is due to go to India in February. I gathered that the visit would be private but that Lord Lytton would be staying with a number of Indian friends and would be discussing world affairs with them. Mr James added that Lord Lytton was 80 years old, and was both anti-Zionist and anti the Eden policy on Suez. He said that Lord Lytton would be seeing the Duke of Devonshire on January 16 and would like the brief to be ready ~~before~~ the Duke to ~~hand~~ to him on that day. He asked for it to be sent to Mr. I.G. Dobbie, Private Secretary to the Duke.

2. Mr. James also said that the brief should be unclassified. I think however that it is virtually impossible to produce a brief likely to be of any use unless it is at least restricted. It could be explained to Lord Lytton when it is given to him that it is for his personal use, that it is not for direct quotation and that it should be returned when he has finished with it.

3. I attach a draft accordingly and should be grateful for W.C.A.D.'s observations by January 14. I am sending a separate copy of the draft and this minute to Mrs. Elwell in I.R.D. for her observations.

P. Laurence
 (P.H. Laurence)
 January 9, 1963.

W.C.A.D.

Copy: I.R.D. (sent)

*we have made a few
 pencil suggestions. I apologise for
 the delay.*

Mr. Lawrence.

A.J. Skelton
 Jan 15

RESTRICTED

The...

Minutes

The draft has also been cleared by IR Dept.

As Mr. James was not available when I telephoned the CRD this morning I spoke to Mr. Robbie direct. He said Lord Lytton was snowed up in Devon and had put off his call on the heels of Nelson's line. He had also postponed his trip to India to May. Mr. Robbie would still, however, like to send the brief to Lord Lytton.

Draft herewith, as agreed with Mr. Carters.

J. Lawrence
16/1

Mr. Carters first.

Thank you. (then to issue.)

Incidentally I believe L. Lytton is only 60!
(me 7/1)

Lord Lytton, change of hands. Jan 14.

See Mr. Carters' minute on the letter. Should the paper be brought up later for a reply? In say 6 weeks?

Mr. Carters *J. Lawrence*
Yes; why not in late March 24/1
By when L. Lytton may again be preparing to travel. (McAness 24/1)

24/1
3/0 March 25
12/25/1

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Is any further action required?

Mr. Carter.

R. Lammie 27/3

*No further action. C. Lyman has
now cancelled his visit to Somalia.*

(unless 27/iii)

LMJ 1/4

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U.A.R. Activities in Africa

The objects of U.A.R. policy in Africa can be summarised as:-

- (a) to exploit the movement towards independence of still dependent countries;
- (b) to establish the U.A.R. as the most influential Arab country in Africa;
- (c) to counter Zionist influence, especially in the newly independent countries, and
- (d) to counter the spread of Communism.

2. The first two objects need no further explanation. Increasing attention is being paid to (c) as a result of the great efforts made by Israel in recent years to cultivate relations with the new countries of Africa, which efforts had considerable initial success. The U.A.R.'s aim is to win these countries over to the Arab point of view on the Arab/Israel dispute. As regards (d), the U.A.R. has two motives in particular. The first is that Communism is opposed to Islam. The second is the Communist doctrine of the class war which the Egyptians do not accept. They consider that Communism is not appropriate to conditions in Africa, and would prefer to sell their own brand of "Arab Socialism".

3. The U.A.R. has a number of means at its disposal to further its objects.

A. Support for "liberation" and pro-U.A.R. Movements

4. Less is now being done in this way than some years ago. It appears that results were not commensurate with the effort and expense. Direct interference indeed tended to create opposition rather than the reverse. In the Congo for example, after their strong support for Gizenga, the U.A.R. now plays a relatively inactive rôle. Nevertheless, direct contact is still kept up with certain local personalities and parties, especially in East Africa, and a number of émigré offices are maintained in Cairo at Egyptian expense (e.g. for Kenya and Zanzibar). These play a part in propaganda (see below) and in the passage of students both to Cairo and to the Soviet bloc.

B. Publicity

5. Egypt is exceptionally well placed for this, both geographically, culturally and politically. Cairo has long been the most important city of North Africa. Its radio is immensely popular; its newspapers and magazines are widely distributed and read; and its films are shown throughout the area. Egyptian resources under all

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three heads are utilised to the full. The "Voice of the Arabs" broadcasts 15 hours a day to the Arabic speaking countries, with a special programme for the Sudan. In addition there are daily broadcasts in a number of African languages, including Swahili and Somali; while a "private" station, the "Voice of Free Africa", is specially beamed towards Black Africa. The effect of Egyptian broadcasts in East Africa, however, has recently diminished somewhat as local stations have developed.

6. Egyptian newspapers and magazines are well produced and have plenty of popular appeal. This, however, is obviously greatest in the Arabic speaking countries.

7. Films again are well suited to local tastes, but again the appeal is primarily to Arabic speakers.

C. Cultural Contacts

8. Cairo is a considerable cultural, intellectual and religious centre. There are 2,000 or more African students studying at the Al Azhar University (founded 1,000 years ago). The University syllabus has recently been modernised to increase its appeal. Hundreds of Egyptian school teachers are sent abroad, especially to the Arabic speaking countries of North Africa and to the Sudan.

9. Islam also is exploited. There are broadcasts to the Muslim communities in Africa under the title "Voice of Islam". Funds are provided for the building and staffing of mosques. The Koran is being translated into a number of African languages including Swahili. And Islamic teachers are being trained for work in Black Africa. Muslim communities are mainly found in the northern half of the continent, from Nigeria in the West to the Sudan and Somalia in the East. Islam however is spreading southwards in East Africa.

D. International Organisations

10. The U.A.R. is an active member of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), the headquarters of which is in Cairo, and of the All African Peoples Congress. It uses both to project its own image. The former organisation has a large Communist membership, and the Russians, Chinese and Egyptians tend to pull in different directions. The Third Conference of the Organisation is due to be held in Moshi (Tanganyika) early in February. The latter Organisation is a vehicle for pan-African propaganda.

11. The U.A.R. is not, however, a member of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and South Africa (PAFMECSA).

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12. The U.A.R. is, on the other hand, a member of the Casablanca Group set up in 1961 and consisting of the U.A.R., Ghana, Morocco, Mali and Algeria. This is a loose association which has tended to be at loggerheads with the larger Monrovia Group. It has no spectacular achievement to its credit, and is at present immobilised by its own internal dissensions.

13. In the trade union field the U.A.R. makes use of the Confederation of Arab Trade Unions and the All African Trade Union Federation. The former was established in Cairo in 1956 but has been less effective since the secession of Syria from the U.A.R. in September 1961. The latter is led by a Guinean.

General Observations

14. The U.A.R. has a natural appeal to the less developed or still dependent countries of Africa as a country that has successfully "liberated" itself and is apparently succeeding in expanding its economy. President Nasser is also personally popular as a revolutionary hero. This natural appeal is exploited to the utmost by the U.A.R.'s well-developed publicity organs.

15. The appeal is greatest in those countries where Islam is the predominant religion and Arabic the predominant language. It declines in proportion as these two factors diminish. Furthermore the Egyptians tend to overplay their hand and thus create a natural reaction.

16. U.A.R. activities are most effective in countries still under Colonial rule. The effect tends to diminish as independence is achieved. The U.A.R. Information Office (amongst others) in Accra was recently shut down by the Ghanaian Government, and the U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires was expelled from Upper Volta last year for "interference" in the country's domestic affairs.

Foreign Office

January 17, 1963.