

PAN-AFRICANISM IN EGYPTIAN NATIONAL CULTURE

Dr. ABDEL MALIK AUDA

*Professor of Political Sciences,
Faculty of Economics & Political Science,
Cairo University,*

The purpose of this paper is to present and evaluate the context of Pan-Africanism in Egyptian culture. It traces the evolution of the African image in the Egyptian culture, since the beginning of the 20th Century up to 1958. The study is based on the analysis of material gathered from documents, books, magazines and newspapers published in the Arabic language in Egypt.

Some introductory remarks come first, and some points ought to be clarified or defined :

1. *The meaning of «Pan-africanism» in this paper* : For present purposes, I suggest the following definition of Pan-Africanism : a) an intellectual or political movement among Africans or people of African descent which looks upon Africa, Africans and people of African descent as a unit, designed of instil self-confidence by referring to Africa as «Fatherland», without meaning necessarily physical return to Africa b) any ideas which envisage Africa as a unit, that calls for political independence of Africa, the economic, technical and social modernization of African society, by the adoption of modern techniques, c) the achievement of some kind of African political unity or close political co-operation⁽¹⁾.

2. *The historical period covered by the study* : From the beginnings of the 20th Century to 1958. The political study is connected with the change in the socio-economic stratifica-

tion of the Egyptian society, and the change in the international relations, which reflected itself and its impact on the cultural life, values and trends. So, we can trace the changes in the African image through the following sub-periods :

- a) The first period ending with the beginning of World War II.
- b) The second period, from the end of World War II to the Egyptian Revolution (1952).
- c) The third period, from 1952 to 1958.

The essay stops at 1958 for the following reasons : In that year, Egypt attended the First Conference of Independent African States, and the First All-African Peoples Conference which were held in Accra. Pan-Africanism has then become an official policy. Egypt played an active role in the Pan-African movement ever since. Other Arabic speaking African independent states have also joined Pan-African Conferences and organizations since 1958. Not only has Egypt participated in political activities, but also has maintained cultural activities with other African states. The following are some illustrating examples :

- a) Eleven cultural agreements and five scientific and technological agreements have been concluded between Egypt and other independent African states between 1958 and 1967. The agreements do not include those concluded between Egypt and other Arabic speaking African states.⁽²⁾
- b) The total number of African students in different educational stage in Egypt reached 1642 (school year 1966—1967). This does not include students coming from Arabic speaking states.⁽³⁾
- c) Daily Egyptian broadcasting transmission directed towards West, East, Central and South African in their languages have reached 1105 minutes.⁽⁴⁾

- d) The Arabic Book Journal published a complete bibliography of printed material in the Arabic language dealing with Africa in Egypt. The list contains 1100 titles from 1952 to the end of 1968.⁽⁵⁾
- c) The fourteen Arab league member states are represented in African independent capitals by 131 diplomatic missions (1958).⁽⁶⁾

The first Period :

The beginning of the 20th century witnessed Egypt under British occupation, Sudan under condominium, and other parts of Khedive Ismail empire were divided between European powers⁽⁷⁾.

The Egyptian national movement refused to accept the status quo, and the political parties before and after the 1919 Revolution insisted on the idea of the unity of the Nile Valley⁽⁸⁾.

The hope for a political unity of Egypt with Sudan became an ideology or a doctrine in Egypt. The differences between political and cultural trends were either regional unity (Egypt and Sudan) or total unity (the whole basin or the territories of Khedive Ismail empire).

Before World War II, traditionalists and Islamic articulated cultural trends considered the African image from religious context. For them, the frontiers of African were the frontiers of Islam in the continent. They asserted the ideas of Islam's denial of racial and colour discrimination. Students came seeking knowledge at Al-Azhar from all over Africa. They lived in special hostels (Rewak) which were given African names (i. e. Sennari, Takrur). For them, the unity of African moslems was an indivisible part of the unity of Islamic world⁽⁹⁾.

The westernized intelligentsia was the image of Africa in a different context. Their cultural views represented different shades of liberalism and other ideas of western civilization, three factors shaped their trends, the French language and

culture, the new archaeological discoveries of ancient Egyptian civilization and the idea of the unity of the Nile Valley⁽¹⁰⁾. The Egyptian ex-royal family, the upper classes, and the rising elites were French educated and French cultured. This gave them the chance to explore the wide extendt of the French printed material. The magazine of the Egyptian Geographical Society for example, was printed in French. In the period extending from 1875 to 1921, it published 200 articles on Egypt and Sudan, and 68 articles on other parts of Africa⁽¹¹⁾. The new archaeological discoveries led an influential cultural group to propagate the ideas of an Egyptian nation, and Egyptian culture different from the Arabic culture, and to assert the Afro-Pharaonic historical roots of modern Egypt⁽¹²⁾. The unity of the Nile Valley as a national ideology led to the appearance of many printed material in the fields of history, geography, international law and journalism. A number of Egyptian military and civil personnel published books on their work experiences in Africa.

The following are some inllustrations :

The Egyptian University published in 1912 professor Ismail Raafat's book on Africa⁽¹³⁾. In 1924 ex-Prince Mohammed Ali wrote a book on his journey to East and South Africa⁽¹⁴⁾. In 1935, Professor Mohammed Thabet wrote a book on his journey to East, Central and South Africa⁽¹⁵⁾. Hundreds of other books and articles were written on Egypt, Sudan, Nile River, the history of Islam in Africa and the empire of Khedive Ismail.

The events of 1935 stirred up Egyptian public opinion. The Italian aggression against Ethiopia was condemned by all Egyptian people⁽¹⁶⁾. The newspapers and magazines covered the daily events of war and resistance. Some newspapers sent special correspondents to Addis-Ababa⁽¹⁷⁾. Ex-military officers went to Ethiopia and joined the Ethiopian army⁽¹⁸⁾. A general committee for the aid of Ethiopia was formed, and was presided by an ex-Prince⁽¹⁹⁾. Another committee was organized for medical aid, and presided by Dr. Abdel Hamid Said, the president of the Moslem Youth Association, five Egyptian medical missions worked in the Ethiopian front. Financial

contributions were collected in schools and university through student committees. The members of these organizations came from different social strata. They included Moslems, Christians, Jews, westernized, traditionalists, civilian and military elements. These wide activities were motivated by the idea of brotherhood of the African peoples, in their fight against colonialism. Egypt, also, was motivated by her worries that the Italian invasion was threatening the Nile source in Ethiopia⁽²⁰⁾.

An important book appeared in 1935, it was entitled : « Between the African Lion and the Italian Tiger »⁽²¹⁾ The writer was an Egyptian Lawyer and member of Parliament. The book stated that Ethiopia was the only independent state in Africa. Egypt has known Ethiopia since the dawn of history. The Egyptians were interested in the cause of liberty and to them the Italians were imperialists. Egypt joined the civilized world in condemning the aggression. It was a mistake of the Egyptian foreign policy to wage against Ethiopia under Khedive Ismail. The Ethiopians have never threatened the flow of the Nile. The Italian aggression was purely due to economic factors.

The Second Period :

After World War II, the image of Africa in the Egyptian culture widened. Africa appeared in the printed material published during this period in a wider and more confused framework than the traditional concept of Moslem Africa and Africa of the Nile Valley. This gradual cultural change was due to new political, economic, national and international factors :

1. The formation of the League of Arab States (1944-1945) was met by an opposition from an influential and unorganized elite group, in Egypt. After the Palestinian war in 1948, their voice became louder in denouncing any Egyptian Rapprochement of other Arab Governments⁽²²⁾. These cultural trends and views survived until 1954, after which they disappeared totally from the Egyptian cultural life. This group was divided, in

the meantime into different sub-groups. The most important of which were :

- a) A group of westernized intellectuals (especially the francophone) insisted that «we are Egyptians only, and Egypt comes first». They appreciated cultural links with the Mediterranean and European civilizations⁽²³⁾.
- b) A group affiliated to the ideas of the Nationalist party and the ex-Pan Islam Movement. They believed that «the security of Egypt is maintained not by an Arab collective security arrangement, but by a Nile collective security arrangement»⁽²⁴⁾.
- c) A group called for Great Egypt, i. e. a federation including all the territories of the Nile basin, from the Mediterranean Sea to Lake Victoria, extending to other parts of Khedive Ismail empire⁽²⁵⁾. Some of them proposed a plan for a Nile United States⁽²⁶⁾.

2. The Council of Foreign Ministers of «the Big Four» met in Paris, succeeded by the Peace Conference in 1946, to discuss the future of the ex-Italian colonies in Africa. The Egyptian Government presented a memorandum and the Egyptian representative delivered a speech stating the views of the Egyptian Government on the matter. Egypt demanded the return of all ex-Egyptian territories in East Africa, also a part of the Libyan territories bordering Egypt⁽²⁷⁾.

3. Some segments of the Egyptian bourgeoisie looked for a living space (Lebensraum) in Sudan, others began to seek a living space in other parts of Africa. A proposal was published in «Al-Ahram» newspaper to take part in the plans for collective investments in Africa planned by colonial powers jointly with South Africa Government. The article was entitled «Africa calls upon us »⁽²⁸⁾.

4. Al-Azhar announced a plan to send four missions to tour Africa, to study and report on the needs of African muslims communities. The final report was to include recommendations of various sorts of aid⁽²⁹⁾.

5. The Egyptian Prime Minister Nahas Pacha said in 1950 that :

«Egypt is a part of Africa. Africa is still living under European colonialism. Africa's wealthy resources are not yet exploited. It is not the time yet to speak about regional arrangements, for independence is the basic condition for organizing regional arrangements. There are differentiations among African peoples, therefore understanding must precede co-operation. African people must work for their freedom and independence, in the first place»⁽³⁰⁾.

The newspapers commented widely on the Prime Minister's statement⁽³¹⁾.

6. In August 1951, a Conference was held in Nairobi to discuss the military arrangements for defending Africa against a third World war. Egypt declined to attend while other independent states in Africa joined the European colonial powers and attended the Conference⁽³²⁾.

7. The Egyptian newspapers covered African news and publications, articles and comments on the subject. They gave for example :

- a) A detailed covering of all discussions and conferences on the ex-Italian colonies in Africa ;
- b) The political progress of the national movements in French North Africa and the bloody events there ;
- c) The Nigeria political situation (Enugu Labour disturbances in 1949)⁽³³⁾.
- d) Seretse Khama marriage and its political implications⁽³⁴⁾.
- e) The governmental welcome given to two Nigerian ministers (Chief Awdowo and Mr. Akinloye) visiting Egypt on their way back from India in 1952.

8. In 1945, Mahmoud Kamel (a lawyer) wrote a book elaborating many ideas concerning Egypt and Africa. He dis-

cussed the geopolitical position of Egypt and defended the capitalist system in Egypt. He proposed a programme for building Great Egypt. Two points of this programme are:

- a) Building a federation that includes all territories of Khedive Ismail empire in Africa and other territories occupied by Mohammed Ali in Asia.
- b) Calling upon Egypt to defend a new idea «Africa for Africans» The Pan-African idea meaning Africa for Africans. The historical and geographical realities of Africa indicate that it is inhabited by two groups of peoples. The first group is the Semitic-Hametic peoples of which the majority believe in Islam and speak the Arabic language. The second group, the Aryan peoples, who are mostly Christian, and speak European languages. The role of Egypt is to lead the first group. Co-operation between the two leading powers of Africa will overcome all obstacles and hence realize the idea of Pan-Africanism⁽³⁵⁾.
- c) In 1951, Mahmoud Kamel published a book on «the Liberation of the Nile Valley». In this new book he retreated from all his previous views concerning South Africa and co-operation with it. He asserted his views concerning Great Egypt, but the geographical boundaries shranked to territories along the Nile Basin only. He expressed also his belief on the obligation of Egypt in civilizing Africa, insisting that Egypt is not a colonial country, and that his views have nothing to do with colonialism⁽³⁶⁾.

9. Professor Mohammed Rifaat (a university professor of History) wrote a book on the history of Modern Egypt in 1946. After that, he published his book in English in London in 1947 under the title of «The Awakening of Modern Egypt». In a chapter entitled «A leap into the Dark Continent» he pays a tribute to Mohammed Ali's and Khedive Ismail's expansionist policy in Africa. He says :

«In any case Egypt could not possibly resist the urge to secure her vital interest in the Nile Valley, and it was partly

for this reason that Mohammed Ali had sent expeditions to conquer Sudan in 1820.

«It was reserved for Ismail to conceive the grandiose idea of an Egyptian Empire in the very heart of Africa. It was in the second half of the nineteenth century when the call of Africa was as alluring as the call of India had been in the fifteenth century, that Ismail's attention was drawn to the mine reputed wealth that lay next door to him.

«For Egypt, her conquests in Africa were a leap in the Dark. The powers were first caught napping, but when Ismail splendid success at least roused Europe, and when England raised an admonishing finger, Ismail had to draw the mine, and soon, afterwards, began the disruption of Egypt's African empire»⁽³⁷⁾.

The Third Period :

Two important events took place between the last Pan-African Congress (London 1945) and the First Conference of Independent African States (Accra 1958). The first was the Egyptian Revolution (July 1952) which marks the breakthrough of modern Arab nationalism, the second was the Bandung Conference (1955) which was symptomatic of Asia's appearance on the World scene.

1. Gamal Abdel Nasser published in 1953 a book entitled «The philosophy of the Revolution». He mentioned that Egypt evolved in three circles, the Arab circle, the African circle and the Islamic circle. On the African Circle, he wrote the following paragraphs :

«Can we possibly ignore the fact that there is an African continent which fate decreed us to be a part of us and that it is also decreed that a terrible struggle exists for its future — a struggle whose results will be either for us or against us, with or without our will ?

«It is not without significance that our country lies in North-East Africa, over-looking the Dark Continent, wherein

rages a most tumultuous struggle between white colonizers and black inhabitants for control of its unlimited resources.

«If we consider next the second circle—the Continent of Africa, I May say, without exaggeration that we cannot, under any circumstances, however much we might desire it, remain aloof from the terrible and sanguinary conflict going on there today between five million whites and two hundred million Africans. We cannot do so for an important reason : we are in Africa. The peoples of Africa will continue to look to us, who guard the outside world. We will never in any circumstances, be able to relinquish our responsibility to support, with all our might the spread of enlightenment and civilization to the remotest depths of the jungle.

«There remains another important reason. It is that the Nile is the life artery of our country, bringing water from the heart of the continent. As a final reason, the boundaries of our beloved brother, the Sudan, extend far into the depth of Africa, bringing into contiguity the politically sensitive regions in that area.

«The Dark Continent is now the scene of a strange turbulence : the white man, representing various European nations, is again trying to redivide the map of Africa. We shall not, in any circumstances, be able to stand idly by in the face of what is going on, in the false belief that it will not affect or concern us⁽³⁸⁾».

2. Before surveying the evolution of Egyptian culture and new cultural trends concerning Africa, we recall what Gamal Abdel Nasser has written about Africa in the National Charter (1962), after years of experiment and trial in African politics :

While our people believe in Arab Unity, they also believe in a Pan-African movement and an Afro-Asian solidarity. They believe in a rally for peace, that pools the efforts of those whose interests are associated with it. They believe in a close spiritual bond that ties them to the Islamic World. They believe in belonging to the United Nations and in their loyalty to the U. N. Charter.

«There is no contradictions or clash between all these ideals in which our people believe. In fact all these ideals form links in one chain.

«Our people live at the North-Eastern gate of struggling Africa and cannot be isolated from its political, social and economic development⁽³⁹⁾».

3. Between the years 1952-1958 Nasser elaborated his ideas about Africa in some writings and speeches. In 1953, the new regime appointed a committee to publish a series of books for explaining and propagating the ideas of the Revolution. The series began to appear in 1954. Nasser wrote the introduction of some books in this series. The following books dealt with Africa :

- a) Africa. The Dream of British Imperialism
- b) Ethiopia
- c) North Africa
- d) South Africa
- e) The Message of Egypt

In the introduction of these books, Nasser emphasized the following ideas :

« During the period of the scramble of Africa, Britain's relations with other colonial powers were governed by her colonial economic interests in Africa. Today, the African peoples are struggling for freedom and independence. Their unity in struggle is the road to liquidate the British imperialism.»⁽⁴⁰⁾

« Egypt and Ethiopia are neighbours and partners of the Nile waters. The Egyptians and Ethiopians are brothers in spite of difference of religions.»⁽⁴¹⁾

« All Africans are brothers and neighbours. We grant them aid, back them to attain their security, help them to liberate themselves. There are no religious or racial factors in shaping and strengthening the brotherly relations among African countries.»⁽⁴²⁾

- « The Blackman is the slave and the white man is the master in spite of the fact that the black is the real owner of the land. This terrible situation is only a type of exploiting the wealth and efforts of people. Abolishing racial discrimination is associated with political liberation and the downfall of the white racial regime⁽⁴³⁾ ».
- « Egypt, since the dawn of history, has been the center of knowledge and civilization. Egypt has its own independent personality. Egypt has never been a colonial nation. This is Egypt in its historical stages : Pharaonic, African, Mediterranean, and Islamic, its foreign policy seeks peace, security and stability⁽⁴⁴⁾ ».

Besides, Nasser delivered a speech in Port-Said on December 23, 1957. To quote a part of this speech :

- « The people of Africa are engaged in bitter battles. Their news are censored and suppressed. The people of Africa demand their legitimate right in life, they demand their freedom and independence. To-day, we call upon the whole world to stand by the principles of justice and by the people's right to self-determination. We address the whole world demanding that every colony should be granted its independence and the right of self-rule. We call for the elimination of racial discrimination in Africa so that the Africans may have equal rights as those enjoyed by all the inhabitants of their own country.» ⁽⁴⁵⁾

4. The impact of self-determination and independence in Sudan was tremendous. The Egyptian newspapers and magazines commentend on the political repercussions of independence in Uganda, Kenya and North Nigeria. Articles were published on the role of Egypt in awakening Africa after some visits paid to the Egyptian President (General Naguib) by a number of African leaders. We mention the name of J. Murumbi from Kenya. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

In 1954, the newspapers said that plans were discussed for convening a Pan-African Conference in Cairo or Khartoum. Some spoke about a meeting of the President of Egypt with the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast and the Prime Minister of

India⁽⁴⁷⁾. An Islamic conference was organized in East Africa, and Egyptian minister of National Guidance was invited to deliver a speech, but the British Government refused to give him an entry visa⁽⁴⁸⁾. In a survey of 1953, the Director of the United Press Agency said : «Cairo has become the center of African Nationalists. Leaders from Kenya, Uganda, and Nigeria came and met the Egyptian President⁽⁴⁹⁾».

5. The books were published in that period dealing with the Afro-Asian spirit and Bandung Conference. We mention two important books, the first is an Arabic translation of Malik Ben Nabi's book on «The Afro-Asian Idea in the Light of Bandung Conference», and the second is Dr. Mohammed Anis's book on «The Afro-Asian Conference». The two books appeared in 1958.

6. Four books were also published in that period dealing with Africa and the Egyptian thoughts and trends concerning Africa :

- a) The first is Dr. Hussein Mones book on the «Message of Egypt». It is important because it was published by the governmental committee which was mentioned before. The book says that :

« Three forces gathered to create the history of Egypt. Africa, Asia and the Mediterranean. The influence of the first force lasted until the appearance of the Modern state in the Pharaonic Egyptian history. The second was imposed on Egypt and left its marks in the Egyptian history. The third is the essential factor in shaping the history of Egypt.

« Egypt was born African and until now it feels its Africanism ; and its responsibilities towards the continent. We are the gate to Africa. Its civilization is our civilization. Its future is our future. Our destiny will be decided in Africa. We cannot forget the geographical facts, and that we are an African state⁽⁵⁰⁾».

- b) The second is Dr. Abdel Ghani Khalafalla's book on «The Political future of Africa». It is a wide survey of the continent, but the important chapter is the

fourth. It bears the title «The future of Africa, Africa needs a great power». In this chapter, the writer is the last voice of the cultural group who called previously for the unity of the Nile Valley, but the book was printed in 1957 after the independence of Sudan. The writer says :

« Europe has discovered the fact that Africa is in need of a great state. The Nile Valley is the natural site for building this state. The Nile Valley includes : Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Erythrea, Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika. The Egyptians are racially from African descent, and the founding fathers of Egypt came from the African Horn and Central Africa. Africa needs a giant Union, it is the Nile Union. The Union of the peoples of the Nile Valley. To build this union there are many steps to take both inside and outside Africa. The unity will be build gradually. The role of the Union is to liberate African people from European colonialism. This Union, is a step on the road to Continental Union. It is the responsibility of Egypt, and it must fulfill its role» (51).

- c) The third book is written by two majors, Mohammed A. Gamsi, and Ahmed H. Eid. It is called «Africa for Africans». It is a small book, but one which contains radical ideas. The writers try to survey the political situation in Africa, and state that the Dark Continent is struggling for national liberation and independence. They say : «There are four main problems in Africa, it is the last bastion of European imperialism, it is waging fight to overthrow the colonial rule, it is the continent of racial discrimination and it has an important strategic position in the Cold War».

The two writers survey the French, Belgian and British administration in Africa, and speak about the white minorities in Africa. In the end they say : «It is certain that the African liberation day is very near. The national movements are destructing the imperialist structures in Africa. Africans are

working hard for abolishing the racial regimes, liberating their countries from colonial rule. All this means : Africa for Africans»⁽⁵²⁾.

- d) The fourth book is printed in Beirut, but it is a study on «The Arab Idea and Arabism in Egypt». It is written by an Arab scholar Dr. Anis Sayegh in 1959. In some of the chapters Dr. Sayegh describes the cultural struggle between those who call for Arabism and those who call for Africanism. He sees that the sources of modern Egyptian civilization are Islamic, European and African. He explains the influence of the geographical and historical factors in shaping the Egyptian point of view about Sudan, the Nile and Africa. He sees that the African trends have revitalized Egyptian Nationalism. He surveys the picture of Africa in Pharaonic, Christian, Islamic and modern Egypt, he mentions the relations through all these periods, and he sees that «all these relations are not a colonial heritage, but they are an expression of Egypt's Africanism⁽⁵³⁾».

7. The Egyptian newspapers covered Africa news, and comments were published on :

- The revolutions in Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, the discussions of the events in international organizations. The activities of the North Africa Bureau organized in Cairo to represent the national movements in these countries.
- Kenya, Mau-Mau, British atrocities and the trial of Jomo Kenyata⁽⁵⁴⁾.
- The African opposition against the African Central Federation.
- The crisis in Buganda, and the exile of the Kabaka.
- The African leaders visiting Egypt⁽⁵⁵⁾.
- The impact of the Egyptian Revolution (1952) and the independence of Sudan on Africa.
- The racial discrimination in South Africa.

- The visit of an Egyptian delegation to Liberia (1957).
- The Egyptian broadcasting transmission directed to Africa in African languages ⁽⁵⁶⁾.
- The U. S. A. policy in Africa after the visit of the Under secretary of State to Africa (1956).
- The independence of Ghana (1957).
- The Egyptian role in the political progress in Somalia towards independence.
- Nkrumah's proposal for convening of the First Conference of African Independent States, and Ghanaian delegation visiting Cairo for this purpose ⁽⁵⁷⁾.
- The preparations for convening the First Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo. They covered Conference news (1957).

8. During that period, Egypt organized some institutions specializing in African Affairs. These institutions are :

- a) The Department of African Affairs was formed in 1953. It is affiliated to the Presidency.
- b) The Department of African Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was formed in 1956. Following the independence of Sudan, the personnel was moved to form two specialized departments in the African Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education (later Ministry of Higher Education). In 1957, an Egyptian goodwill mission visited some African capitals headed by the Under-Secretary of State of the Ministry of Economics. It visited Accra, Monrovia, Dakar, Lagos and Kano. In 1957, Egypt established diplomatic relations with Ghana, before establishing such relations with Liberia.
- c) The African Association was established in 1945 as a non-governmental organization. Its General Secretary was the late Mohammed A. Ishak who worked in the Ministry of the Affairs of Sudan, and was later transferred as Councillor to the Department of Afri-

can Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. African Bureaux were organized in the association to represent African national movements, i.e. the Kenya Bureau representing KANU ; the West-South African Bureau representing SWAPO, the Cameroon Bureau representing UPC, the Zanzibar Bureau representing ZNP, the Uganda Bureau representing UNC. The Bureau of North Africa has been organized before, and continued its activities outside the domain of the African Association.

- d) In 1957, the African Association launched its monthly magazine published in the Arabic language. It was called «Nahdatu Ifriquiah» Its aims were «the promotion of African national consciousness, creating medium of cooperation between Africans in their respective milieu, and publishing special and general studies relevant to the African in his vital fields of activity» ⁽⁵⁸⁾.

The magazine covered different areas of Africa, it was interdisciplinary and presented the African national activities to the Egyptian reader.

- e) In 1958, the Bureau of the President was reorganized in the form of specialized units (bureaux). In respect to Africa, two bureaux have considerable importance ; the Bureau of the President for African Affairs, and the Bureau of Political Refugees. The Director of the first one is Mohammed Fayek (Minister of National Guidance actually).
- f) Some governmental organizations established special administrative and research units for African Affairs i.e. the Information Department, the Islamic Conference, Al-Azhar, and Al-Nasr Company for Exportation and Importation.
- g) In 1957, the Egyptian Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity was organized and was presided over by Anwar Al Sadat (the Vice-President). In 1958 an Egyptian Committee for All-African peoples organization was formed headed by the late Fouad Galal (ex-minister).

- h) A special bureau attached to the Prime Minister's office was to deal with the relations with Sudan and Libya.
- i) The overseas broadcasting transmissions to Africa began in July 1954 and developed as was previously mentioned. There are other special broadcasting transmissions to Sudan and the Voice of the Arabs ⁽⁶⁰⁾.
- j) 1957 ended with the convening of the First Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo. The preparatory Committee organizing the conference issued its magazine in the Arabic language in November 1957. It furnished the Egyptian reader with information about African national movements ⁽⁶⁰⁾.

9. The paradox is obvious. In this period (1952-1957) three trends interacted in Egyptian cultural and political life, the Arabic, African and Islamic trends. The Islamic trend was defeated and retreated, and the struggle was intensified between the Arabic and African trends. The independence of Sudan shocked the Egyptian Revolution, this gave supremacy and precedence to the Arabic trend. Beginning 1956, the Egyptian Government started to visualize Africa outside the Nile Valley context. The internal situation and the Suez War in 1956 prevented the government from making the new idea possible. In 1957, Ghana became an independent state, Prime Minister Nkrumah announced his plans for African liberation and unity. Egypt was ready in 1957 to step in that road and therefore, she joined the Pan-African Movement in 1958.

Conclusions :

In this short survey we traced the growth and the evolution of the African image in the Egyptian national culture and we analyzed the cultural trends that emphasize the mutual relations between Egypt and other parts of Africa. The following conclusions sum up the survey :

1. The end of 1957 and the beginning of 1958 marked the birth of a new stage in the African Egyptian relations, for the following reasons :

- a) In 1958, Egypt officially joined the Pan-African Movement by attending the two conferences held in Accra.

This meant that Egypt has entered the period of implementation of its policies and views concerning Africa and Pan-Africanism.

- b) The Egyptian institutions working in Africa and shaping the African Egyptian relations were fully established before this period.
- c) In 1958, Egypt and Syria formed the United Arab Republic as a step on the road towards Arab political unity. This step introduced to the scene some critical questions concerning the relations between African unity and Arab Unity.
- d) The study of the Egyptian activities in the years following 1958, requires investigation of many governmental documents and files which are still considered secret.

2. The geographical factor had important consequences on the evolution of the African image in the Egyptian culture ⁽⁶¹⁾. Since the Egyptians lived in Africa for 60 centuries, the historical heritage must be fully evaluated, due to the mutual effects of the Egyptian history and civilization on Africa ; and the effects of the African history on Egypt. Not only had the Egyptians dominated many parts of Africa, ancient Egypt also, was governed by two African dynasties : the Libyan dynasty and the Sudanese dynasty ⁽⁶²⁾. In the Islamic period of the Egyptian history, Kafur the African became a sultan during the second half of the Ikhichid regime (935 — 969) ⁽⁶³⁾.

In the review of the Egyptian culture we do not find any colour problem nor any racial discriminatory ideas or practice. Historically and geographically, Egypt has been a melting pot. The River Nile has led the Egyptians to look southwards and this is what prompted Christianity and Islam to spread from Egypt and propagate southwards and westwards ⁽⁶⁴⁾. These relations were feit long before Mohammed Ali and Khedive Ismail started their expansionist policy.

3. The images of Africa «the Nile Valley» and Africa «the Moslem territories» dominated the Egyptian culture up till the period between the two World Wars. During that period, a

third image began to appear. This image took its shape in printed material, it is the image of continental Africa. This new image was a wider and a more complicated one than the two previous images. The differences among these images in the Egyptian thought were due to the values, principles and contexts on which each image was drawn. In that period, and after World War II, the Egyptian bourgeoisie tried to look for a living space in Africa, but due to its weakness, it did not play any independent role in capitalistic exploitation. Its activities were liquidated after the 1952 Revolution.

4. After World War II, a cultural change in Egypt took place as a result of political, economic and international changes. The new ideas, principles and values of the Egyptian Revolution in 1952 have left their wide impact on the Egyptian culture. The new ideas were in constant conflict with the previous ones. By the time, Sudan proclaimed its independence the trends calling for the unity of the Nile Valley disappeared. The secular basis of the Egyptian Revolution forced the trends towards the Islamic Unity to retreat ⁽⁶⁵⁾. The third image (continental Africa) was strengthened by the new ideals and principles of the Revolution, and the writings of Gamal Abdel Nasser. The quotations which we have referred to in this paper clarify the new principles proposed to shape the new Egyptian views concerning Africa.

5. Following World War II, a deep and dynamic change in the African political situation took place, which expressed the maturity of the African national ideas and action. The African national liberation movements have been an effective force both inside and outside Africa. Egyptian and African thinking met each other in the second half of the fifties, and their cooperation and understanding left its repercussions on all colonial Africa. The Egyptian Revolution has given aid to all those fighting for liberty and independence in the Continent.

6. There still exists a contradiction between the trends towards Arab Unity and African Unity, inside the Egyptian culture. Though right now this contradiction is imaginary from a theoretical point of view the Arab unity is seeking the unity of all Arab countries whether in Africa or in Asia, under one federal government, while the African Unity, on the other hand, calls for a regional organization which includes all African inde-

pendent countries. The contradiction will appear only if Arab nationalism succeeds in building one federal government, or organization of African Unity turns into a federal continental government, a step which is not predictable in the near future. Hence, the contradictions and discussions are still on a theoretical level yet.

In the end, the cultural survey expresses the feelings of Pan-Africanism in Egyptian culture. The Egyptians feel deeply that they are Africans. They believe in the independence of all African countries, in close Pan-African political cooperation, and more so, within the boundaries or the organizations of African Unity.

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