

Sir Roger Stevens
Foreign Office

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JOINT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE

THE ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCE OF CAIRO RADIO

REPORT BY THE JOINT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE

In the report at Annex we consider the activities of Cairo Radio and their impact on the territories towards which they are directed.

2. Cairo Radio will continue to be one of the main vehicles with which Nasser will seek to further his aims in the Middle East, and in Africa. Cairo Radio does not directly cause the troubles which beset these areas, but rather it exploits them and heightens existing tensions. Its programmes are attractively presented, well timed and powerfully transmitted, and thus they capture and hold the interest of those towards whom they are directed. Consequently, and because competition from local broadcasting stations and deliberate counter-measures are, at present, generally inadequate, its influence is great in the Middle East, and is increasing to an unsettling extent in parts of Africa.

3. Since the withdrawal of British and United States forces from Jordan and Lebanon, there are indications that Nasser has chosen, for the time being, as proof that he is implementing the Arab Resolution of August 21st, to moderate the tone of Cairo's direct attacks on Jordan and other Arab régimes which are not subservient to the U.A.R. The clandestine stations which were directed towards Jordan and Lebanon have now ceased to broadcast. There is no doubt, however, that Cairo will continue its general line of propaganda glorifying Nasser as the leader of the Arab and Muslim world, and should Nasser be presented with any sudden opportunity of causing particular embarrassment to the "imperialists" or subverting a "traitor" régime, then the full resources of Cairo Radio will be quickly engaged in support and clandestine stations, with their virulent techniques, would almost certainly play a part.

4. During the coming months we expect Cairo Radio to continue to extend its coverage of Africa. The projected installation at Hodeida may be intended to contribute to this effort, as well as the proposed increase in Cairo's transmitting power (the Middle East is already adequately covered by the existing installations). Cairo's African broadcasts will continue to encourage all forms of African nationalism. It will denounce the "colonialist régimes" and incite the "subject" peoples to throw off "the yoke of imperialism." At the same time it may make efforts to woo the newly "liberated"—or shortly to be liberated—peoples of Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Somalia. For these purposes Cairo may start programmes in Bantu languages (including Luganda) and Hausa, &c.

5. Cairo Radio's African audiences, unlike those of the Middle East, are neither predominantly Muslim, Arabic-speaking, nor united by antagonism to Israel. They are, however, united by a willingness to listen to attacks on Colonial Powers and to praise of their own efforts to "throw off the Imperial yoke." The Swahili programmes are orientated to take full advantage of this, and tend to play down their origin in Cairo. In its efforts to dominate African opinion, Cairo Radio is limited by the number of radio sets which receive it and the number of Africans, who can understand it and it will not necessarily be able to repeat the

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kind of success it has achieved in the Middle East. But, in the absence of really effective counter-measures, its influence will increase progressively in the Colonial territories of East and Central Africa, until it becomes a serious threat to British interests there. In West Africa, especially in those countries which have already achieved or are about to achieve independence, its prospects of success are more problematic.

6. There is as yet, apart from a reported intended exchange of announcers, no evidence of Soviet influence upon Cairo Radio broadcasts. It is difficult to see how such influence could improve on the propaganda techniques at present used by Cairo Radio, but the possibility of its being brought to bear in future upon the policy or content of Cairo broadcasts cannot be ignored.

(Signed) P. H. DEAN,
*Chairman, on behalf of the Joint
Intelligence Committee.*

*Cabinet Office, S.W. 1,
3rd December, 1958.*

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THE ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCE OF CAIRO RADIO

Introduction

The Egyptian State Broadcasting Service is the most effective instrument of Egyptian propaganda. Cairo Radio has played a large part in fomenting almost every recent crisis in the Middle East by violent attacks on personalities and Governments and the support of rebel causes. Part of the present popularity of the U.A.R. among the Arab masses is certainly due to Egyptian radio propaganda on the advantages of the U.A.R., and its constant boosting of the whole concept of Arab nationalism as interpreted by Nasser.

2. Nasser's political prestige, the academic standing of Cairo in Islamic affairs and education, the technical training of Egyptians in medicine, engineering, hydrology and agriculture, Egyptian domination of quasi-intellectual Arab societies, the activities of official technical, military, sporting and student missions, the creation of news agencies, all combine to establish a formidable force in Egypt's relations with the Arab states and, to a lesser degree, in the wider fields of Islam and Africa. Moreover, Egypt has the great advantage of being the centre of the Arab entertainment world, with all the most popular film and radio stars at her disposal. Cairo Radio is thus able to present most attractive and popular programmes to which there is no comparable alternative service in entertainment value. These programmes provide an effective and unrivalled vehicle for propaganda throughout the Middle East and North Africa.

3. In general it can be said that for the most part Cairo Radio adroitly reflects and intensifies existing public opinion. The available evidence indicates that its broadcasts seldom create opinion. That is to say, the issues between the West and the key areas to which Cairo Radio addresses itself exist independently of its efforts, and its impact depends as much on these substantial issues as on Cairo Radio's manner of exploitation.

4. Apart from its own very powerful transmitters, Cairo must now be presumed to control Damascus radio. The two stations are linked on major occasions such as a speech by Nasser, and further co-ordination has been promised. In addition, the Cairo line is echoed by Sana'a (Yemen) and Baghdad, though neither of these stations appears, at present, to be under Cairo's control and the former tends to confine its attention to the Aden issue. One or more Egyptian assistants have been reported to be working with Sana'a, while Baghdad radio now has some Egyptian announcers on the staff and there also appear to be Egyptian programme producers and technicians. As against these powerful forces, the competition from other stations broadcasting to the Arab world is at present slight. In North Africa there is a growing audience for Rabat, Tunis and Tripoli Radios. The 100 kw. Zyghi relay transmitter in Cyprus and Amman Radio can do something to counter Egyptian broadcasts and Omdurman Radio could prove a forceful competitor when it brings its new installation into operation. But Cairo's transmissions are so powerful and their content so attractive that they remain by far the strongest broadcasting influence in the Arab world.

Organisation and Technique

General

5. The Egyptian State Broadcasting Service is a State monopoly, administered by the Egyptian Broadcasting Board, appointed by the Council of Ministers. The Director-General is a nonentity and individual Directors of Services take their cue from persons of influence in the régime. Egyptian radio programme writers, like Cairo newspaper editors, realise that their continued existence to-day depends on their ability to anticipate the wishes of the régime, which could put them out of business and into gaol tomorrow. This goes far to explain the cumulative virulence noticeable in so many Egyptian propaganda exercises and the ease with which the Cairo Press and radio hold particular lines without, apparently, any co-ordinated guidance.

Expenditure

6. The cost of the Egyptian broadcasting service has increased rapidly since Nasser came to power, from £E.615,300 in 1952-53, to £E.1,650,000 in 1957-58. The Egyptian broadcasting service's official magazine said in April 1958 that it was asking for £E.3 million for the next year's expenditure, almost double that of the previous year. However, the budget estimates for 1958-59 show a slight decline to £E.1,608,400, suggesting that actual expenditure will be little changed.

Transmissions

7. Cairo Radio is organised into home and external services. Apart from the Voice of the Arabs, the latter comprises African, Middle Eastern, Asian, European, Latin American and North American transmissions. The programmes in the various languages are not only beamed to the appropriate targets but are orientated to appeal to local audiences. An analysis of these transmissions, along with those of Damascus Radio and also of transmissions from clandestine stations for which Cairo is thought to be responsible, is at Appendix. This analysis shows the state of affairs before the opening of the Mansourah transmitter. It is too early to revise it, as no settled new pattern of transmissions has emerged yet.

Siting and power of transmitters

8. Cairo Radio consists of a complex of powerful transmitters broadcasting on medium and short wavelengths and located at Abu Zabal and Mansourah. Abu Zabal has employed for some years several transmitters of about 100 kw. output. The recent installation at Mansourah is reported to be planning to use 300 to 600 kw. output. Two transmitters each of 150 kw. and supplied by Czechoslovakia, are already operating. In addition a new 100 kw. transmitter was installed in Alexandria in June 1957; this is at present carrying the Alexandria Regional Service on low power and may be being held in reserve for the possible Cairo third programme (see paragraph 3 of Appendix).

9. BBC monitoring reports show that more powerful transmissions have been received since the Mansourah station opened in May 1958. While the effective coverage of Cairo Radio cannot be fully assessed until more reports are available on the quality of reception in the various areas, Mansourah's reported power-output ranks it as the most powerful in the Middle East and it should be easily audible throughout the Arab world (it is certainly clearly heard in East Africa). Egyptian official sources state that the transmitter is beamed on Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. The other transmitters at Abu Zabal could cover the remaining areas of the Middle East.

10. In Syria there are at present only low power medium-wave stations at Damascus and Aleppo but transmitters on order from Czechoslovakia are due to bring the total power up to 500 kw. It is believed that U.A.R. has also ordered from Czechoslovakia a 100 or 150 kw. transmitter for installation at Hodeida in the Yemen. These new transmitters will considerably increase Cairo Radio's propaganda coverage. The station at Hodeida would be suitably positioned for broadcasts to the Horn of Africa, Aden and Saudi Arabia.

Basic Propaganda Technique

11. Nasser has prescribed three fields in which modern Egypt should determine the destinies of the people around her; the policies of the Arab States, the sympathies and loyalties of the Islamic people, and the awakening world of Africa. There are periods when, for one reason or another, the virulence of Cairo Radio broadcasts is toned down, but these periods of respite seldom last very long.

12. The one subject upon which all Arabs are united is their antagonism to Israel. Cairo Radio tirelessly presents Egypt as the champion against her. This line of propaganda is generally directed at all the countries of the Middle East other than Israel herself and is a common factor running through most propaganda emanating from Cairo Radio. In the campaign against Israel three purposes are served; Egyptian hegemony in the Arab world is asserted; Moslem opinion in the rest of the world is aroused and dominated; and the campaign against Western imperialism is furthered.

The Impact of Cairo Radio

General

13. Many listeners to Cairo Radio have only low-powered radios on which reception is difficult. However, many of those engaged in trade and commerce have more powerful sets and, even if they do not, they can always listen at hotels and coffee shops where the Cairo programme is usually relayed at full blast. It is in public places such as these, where the atmosphere is conducive to political discussion, that the greatest number of listeners will be found and where the propaganda probably has its maximum effect. This effect cannot be gauged with any accuracy from estimates of listeners. Propaganda is passed on by word of mouth and, the better the propaganda, the more likely it is to be passed on. In this way a single item of news broadcast may eventually, perhaps in an even more distorted form, reach an almost unlimited public.

14. In the succeeding paragraphs we assess the impact of Cairo Radio on individual territories and consider the counter-effects of any rival transmission, e.g., from local stations or the BBC. In most cases we use the general term "Cairo Radio" to cover any transmissions from Cairo which can be heard in the particular country. As will be seen from the Appendix, Cairo Radio's Arabic-speaking audience has a choice of several programmes during most of the day and night, whereas its non-Arabic-speaking audience's listening is limited to an hour or so daily. We have insufficient information to assess for each territory the relative impact of particular programmes.

North Africa

15. *Morocco.*—The influence of Cairo Radio on uninformed public opinion in Morocco is now very great. In the countryside it is heard on communal radio sets in the villages and is listened to largely because of its high entertainment value. In the towns, where reception is not always good, it exercises its influence through the Arab language Press and above all through Radio Maroc where the news editor is a Syrian and the personnel are sympathetic to the main line of Egyptian propaganda; whole chunks of newscasts from Cairo Radio are repeated undigested over Radio Maroc.

16. *Algeria.*—Cairo Radio is heard clearly throughout Algeria, where its main themes (support for Algerian independence and violent denunciation of the French) ensure a wide audience. Many of the less educated Algerians find it sometimes difficult to follow Egyptian Arabic, but its impact is considerable among the educated Moslems. Broadcasts within Algeria, mainly directed by the Psychological Warfare Bureau of the French Army, do their best to counter Egyptian propaganda but no reliable evidence exists of the success of these efforts.

17. *Tunisia.*—The impact of Cairo Radio in Tunisia is still relatively small. Tunisian-Egyptian relations have remained acrimonious, and, as a result, the police discourage, if they do not forbid, the café reproduction of Cairo Radio in the main towns. The most popular station is Tunis Radio, which is very efficiently run although its coverage, particularly in the south, is still limited (it hopes to have improved facilities functioning in 1959). Cairo Radio also has to compete with interesting programmes in Arabic from Paris and Rome, which seem to attract more listeners in Tunisia than in other North African territories. Cairo Radio is probably listened to more towards the Algerian frontier where there are large numbers of Algerian refugees.

18. *Libya.*—The impact of Cairo Radio in Libya is very considerable and is steadily increasing. This is due to good reception all over the country and also to the excellent publicity given to Cairo broadcasts by the hordes of Egyptian officials and school teachers throughout the country. Its programmes are much more popular than Radio Libya, its only effective Arab competitor, whose programmes are by comparison insipid and regarded as of American and Levantine, not Libyan, origin. Soviet, as well as American and French transmissions, also find their audiences. BBC Arabic Service is listened to by educated Libyans anxious to verify the facts.

19. *The Sudan.*—Cairo Radio has a wide audience in the Sudan and its influence is considerable. It attracts listeners by its excellent programmes of music and singing and follows up with a stream of propaganda in which brutal imperialism

is the constantly repeated theme. In addition to its special "Sudan Corner" programme in Arabic it broadcasts a 15-minute programme each day in Sudanese indigenous languages, and is, in fact, the only foreign station to broadcast in these languages. The uneducated (80-90 per cent. of the population) and the young intellectuals (already indoctrinated by Egyptian teachers) soon come to believe all that Cairo Radio tells them. The older educated classes take Cairo Radio with a pinch of salt and often tune in to London for the facts, but even they turn to Cairo for entertainment because there is no sufficiently attractive alternative. The authorities are particularly worried by the hostile "Sudan corner." So far, however, they have made little use of Radio Omdurman which, though widely listened to, is innocuous and dull. As a result Cairo Radio can be heard from almost every coffee house in Khartoum and the provinces.

The Arabian Peninsula

20. The formation of the United Arab Republic and the establishment of the Iraqi Republic, widely acclaimed as a personal success for Nasser, have initiated a new wave of popular enthusiasm for his policy and for Cairo Radio as his mouthpiece. Since the revolution in Iraq, the authority of Radio Baghdad has greatly increased so that in some parts (*e.g.*, Bahrain and the Trucial States) it now appears to have as much influence as Cairo. Even where the Voice of the Arabs is blatantly inaccurate in the reporting of local events of which listeners are themselves well informed, doubts about the accuracy of the facts do not necessarily breed doubts about the general tenor of the broadcasts. Cairo Radio's coverage of events in the Persian Gulf and in Saudi Arabia has been expanded considerably during the year, and there have been almost daily attacks on British influence in these regions, particularly in Muscat and Oman and Aden Colony and the Protectorate. As a source of light entertainment, however, Cairo Radio is important but not supreme in the area, since Gulf taste is strongly coloured by local tradition, as well as by Persian and Indian influences. For example, Egyptian popular music is nothing like so much admired in the Gulf States as it is in the more sophisticated Arab countries.

21. *Aden.*—The impact of Cairo Radio's Arabic broadcasts is continually increasing, and, in particular, since the Yemen acceded to the United Arab States. The broadcasts are listened to extensively and greatly influence Arab public opinion in both the Colony and Protectorate. Hostile Arab propaganda, of which Cairo Radio is the most dangerous element, forms the most vital single factor working to the detriment of the British position in Aden Colony and Protectorate, and is likely to be stepped up. Because of widespread illiteracy radio programmes have special appeal and, of course, the Cairo programmes also influence sermons in mosques and the writings of local journalists. Observations at Colony coffee shops and eating houses (many of which have Yemeni proprietors) have revealed that, in general, the BBC is listened to in the mornings and the Aden Broadcasting Service in the afternoons. In the evening, sets are usually tuned to Cairo or Sana'a. Cairo is not usually left on to the exclusion of the BBC and Aden, but one complaint from a customer is usually sufficient for the latter to be switched off in favour of the former. In the Protectorate, Cairo Radio is widely listened to and is by far the most popular service. There is some listening to Aden in the afternoons, but in the western Aden Protectorate in particular the reception of the BBC is reported to be poor. Intensive propaganda by Cairo Radio on local political matters in the Colony could probably exert a decisive influence; for example, it might ensure the success of the planned boycott of Legislative Council elections or of a strike.

22. Since the Imam and his Government ceased to be direct objects of attack by the Egyptians, Cairo Radio has lost some of its attractions, but there can be no doubting its profound influence and especially that of the Voice of the Arabs programme on the Yemenis. It is widely listened to by the poorer classes and by the more impressionable young intellectuals who accept what it tells them as the truth. They look upon the plays as true representations of modern Arab society, its problems and reformist desires, and do not see through their propaganda motives. The musical programmes are also popular; Egyptian singers being in general preferred to the others. A remark made by a Yemeni in an interview broadcast by The Voice of the Arabs at the end of June 1958 to the effect that the U.A.R. should get special programmes for the Yemen "because there are broadcasts from Aden containing many programmes of interest to listeners throughout Yemen" does suggest, however, that there may be an audience for Aden's broadcasts.

23. *Saudi Arabia*.—The basic themes of Cairo Radio almost certainly find sympathetic audiences among various urban Saudi elements. It is probably heard with favour among oil workers of nationalist inclinations (including Palestinians, Lebanese and Syrians). Its impact in tribal areas is probably much less. The net effect on the Saudi populace is especially hard to assess due to the absence of popular political activity and expression, and the presence of tight Government security measures. If Cairo chose to renew its attack on the Saudi Government it might create some trouble, but so far there has been no evidence of any specific activity stimulated by Cairo Radio *per se*.

Other Arab States in the Middle East

24. *Lebanon*.—Cairo Radio, particularly the Voice of the Arabs, is now widely listened to in the Lebanon although the audience is probably mainly drawn from the Moslem half of the population. During the recent crisis the Lebanese radio lost listeners among the rebels to the U.A.R. stations. The influence of these stations in raising the already high temperature of the local nationalist extremists is marked, but upon the Christian half of the population and the better-informed and less extremist Moslems the impact is not great. During the crisis a crop of clandestine stations appeared, mainly supporting the Lebanese rebels and the U.A.R. line. The Lebanese Phalangist (extreme Right-wing Christian) Party ran its own station in support of President Chamoun. All these stations have now closed down. The BBC's Arabic Service is fairly widely listened to by the pro-Western half of the community and to some extent by those who tend to oppose the West. Its propaganda impact, however, is not very great, although the News Service is widely respected and used as a check on other broadcasts. The news broadcasts from Israel are followed with some attention. The propaganda impact of the Voice of America seems to be slight.

25. *Jordan*.—Jamming of all foreign broadcasts ceased in Jordan early in July, apart from some intermittent jamming of Baghdad Radio in the early days of the Iraqi revolution. Cairo Radio's broadcasts are not heard in public places although they have a large private audience. Prior to the Arab resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly on August 21st, responsible Jordanians were expressing apprehension at the likely effect in Jordan of the continuation of hostile broadcasts. Since the passage of the resolution, the Jordan radio has ceased its counter-offensive. There has been some moderation in the tone of Cairo's official programmes and the clandestine "Jordanian People's Radio" has ceased to broadcast. In general, it is more true than it was a year ago to say that in the event of a crisis in Jordan the Voice of the Arabs and its allied broadcasting stations would play a major part in inciting the mob to violence. The BBC Arabic Service is however gradually extending its audience. The English lesson feature of the service attracts a growing number of impressionable students and refugees. Other counterpoises to Cairo Radio in Jordan are the Hashemite Broadcasting Service (not yet very effective) and the Voice of Israel which is widely listened to and often contains disparaging attacks on Egypt.

26. *Iraq*.—Cairo Radio is even more popular under the republican régime than before the *coup d'état*. Baghdad Radio now has some Egyptian announcers on the staff and there also appear to be Egyptian programme producers and technicians. Baghdad Radio's medium wave transmission, which caters for the Iraqi listener, echoes to a great extent the Cairo Line. Cairo Radio also transmits in Kurdish but these broadcasts have not yet been monitored by the BBC or the American Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS).

Non-Arab Countries of the Middle East

27. *Israel*.—Israel's own Arabs openly listen to Cairo broadcasts but they are too much aware of the strength and efficiency of Israel's security administration to be led into active opposition to the Government.

28. *Turkey*.—The impact of Cairo Radio on the population of Turkey is negligible. Concern at Cairo's attacks on the Baghdad Pact and Western interests has led the Turkish Government to initiate broadcasts in Arabic from Ankara Radio. These programmes include the reading of excerpts from the Arabic Press favourable to Turkey.

29. *Iran*.—Cairo's Arabic transmissions are very popular with the Arabic speaking half of the population of Khuzistan. Radio Tehran's daily 45-minute

Arabic programme is dull and lacking in continuity. Cairo's transmissions in Persian have no serious impact in Iran, but its transmissions in Kurdish have been causing the Iranian authorities serious concern.

30. *Cyprus*.—It appears that at present Cairo Radio is not directing any programmes specifically at Cyprus.

East Africa

31. *Ethiopia*.—In Ethiopia, Cairo Radio, as the only foreign station broadcasting in Amharic, has a certain popularity with the Amharic population. Cairo Radio's broadcasts in Arabic and Somali are popular with the large Muslim minority and form their chief source of news.

32. *Somalia*.—Cairo Radio's Somali broadcasts have a wide appeal in Somalia. They are more popular than the BBC's Somali service, largely because they are better timed from the listener's point of view and more spicy in their presentation of news and comment. Both Cairo Radio and the BBC easily outweigh the local station at Mogadishu in their political impact.

33. *Somaliland Protectorate*.—Cairo broadcasts heard in the Somaliland Protectorate are mainly in Arabic which is understood by only about 5 per cent. of the population, although the more influential section. Passing by word of mouth exaggerates what is heard but the more responsible check against BBC broadcasts. The impact of the Cairo Somali broadcasts is lessened by the fact that the dialect used is not generally understood by the Protectorate Somalis. In general, the rural nomadic Somali is little affected. Cairo Radio has, nevertheless, contributed to the current agitation for unity with neighbouring Somali territories, particularly Somalia.

34. *British East African Territories (Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar)*.—Cairo Radio's transmissions heard in British East Africa are:—

- (a) Voice of Cairo in Swahili
- (b) Voice of Free Africa in Swahili
- (c) Voice of the Arabs in Arabic
- (d) Voice of the Arabs in Somali

35. Swahili is the language of Africans in the coastal regions of Kenya and Tanganyika, but it is also understood by most other Africans in those territories and in Zanzibar, as well as by the Arabs, and of these four transmissions the Voice of Cairo is the most generally effective. It is well received on low-powered inexpensive shortwave sets. The Voice of Free Africa is even more vitriolic than the Voice of Cairo but it is rather less clearly heard. Some Africans believe that the Swahili transmissions emanate from East or Central Africa and that they have a champion in their midst. Since many are illiterate and unquestioning, the cumulative effect of the propaganda is dangerous. Virtually the whole Arab population of Zanzibar and a large proportion of the Arabs of Kenya and Tanganyika listen to the Swahili broadcasts and are affected by them.

36. The Voice of the Arabs in Arabic is intended for Middle East rather than East African consumption and its impact is less than that of the Swahili programmes; the Arabic used is not generally familiar to the East African Arabs. This transmission, nevertheless, has its public in East Africa, particularly in Zanzibar. Reception is good.

37. The small Somali communities in Kenya, particularly in the trading centres, are keen listeners to the Somali transmissions of the Voice of the Arabs. This draws their thoughts to the idea of union of the Somalilands, of which they like to consider the northern areas of Kenya to be a part. If Cairo attempted to arouse the Somalis over local politics it might increase its impact considerably.

38. Uganda has so far been little affected by Cairo Radio as Swahili, Arabic and Somali are not commonly understood there. The Uganda Broadcasting Service transmitting in the vernacular languages is much more popular. This position is liable to change, however, should Cairo choose to broadcast regularly in the vernacular tongues, e.g., Luganda.

39. In summary it can be said that Cairo Radio is beginning to have an unsettling effect upon the African, Arab and Somali populations of Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, particularly in the coastal areas. In the inner regions of Kenya and Tanganyika the effect at present is not so great. Perhaps the territory most affected so far is Zanzibar because of the ties its Arab population feels for the Arab world. It has an Arab Sultan and the Arabs there exercise an influence far greater than their numbers (about 50,000 as compared with 200,000 Africans). At the same time it presents a particular problem to Cairo. There is fierce rivalry in Zanzibar between the extreme Arab Nationalist Party and the majority African party. Cairo Radio has tried to avoid taking sides in this contest, although tending to ignore the Africans and referring to the Arab party as leaders in the "anti-colonial struggle."

40. It has been observed that in those areas where there is a good reception of programmes from East African stations, they are just as popular from an entertainment point of view as those of Cairo. The latter, however, have the advantage in their appeal to the politically conscious; the interpretation given to events in Cairo broadcasts is what they want to hear. BBC transmissions are generally welcomed, but are not heard very well.

41. Cairo Radio has, so far, had no apparent effect on personnel of the King's African Rifles.

West African Countries

42. Egyptian broadcasts in Arabic are clearly heard in the north of Nigeria and in Lagos, but at present, they do not seem to be much listened to. There is, as yet, no evidence to suggest that special Hausa broadcasts are being beamed to Nigeria, although it has been reported that the Egyptians are considering this, and also broadcasts to Ghana. A clandestine programme on Cairo's French service is being broadcast to the French Cameroons.

Future Trends

43. Since the withdrawal of British and United States forces from Jordan and Lebanon, there are indications that Nasser has chosen, for the time being, as proof that he is implementing the Arab Resolution of August 21st, to moderate the tone of Cairo's direct attacks on Jordan and other Arab régimes which are not subservient to the U.A.R. The clandestine stations which were directed towards Jordan and Lebanon have now ceased to broadcast. There is no doubt, however, that Cairo will continue its general line of propaganda glorifying Nasser as the leader of the Arab and Muslim world, and should Nasser be presented with any sudden opportunity of causing particular embarrassment to the "imperialists" or subverting a "traitor" régime then the full resources of Cairo Radio will be quickly engaged in support, and clandestine stations, with their virulent techniques, would almost certainly play a part.

44. During the coming months we expect Cairo Radio to continue to extend its coverage of Africa. The projected installation at Hodeida may be intended to contribute to this effort, as well as the proposed increase in Cairo's transmitting power (the Middle East is already adequately covered by the existing installations). Cairo's African broadcasts will continue to encourage all forms of African nationalism. It will denounce the "colonialist régimes" and incite the "subject" peoples to throw off "the yoke of imperialism." At the same time it may make efforts to woo the newly "liberated"—or shortly to be liberated—peoples of Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Somalia. For these purposes Cairo may start programmes in Bantu languages (including Luganda) and Hausa, &c.

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ANALYSIS OF CAIRO RADIO BROADCASTS

Home Services from Cairo

1. *Cairo Radio's Home Service.*—On the air for a total of 19 hours a day, 0300–2200 on Short and Medium wave. It carries daily seven news bulletins, two commentaries and two Press reviews, in addition to its entertainment and religious programmes. It promotes the cause of Arab nationalism and Arab unity through the medium of news broadcasts, carefully edited “Press reviews” of the newspapers of Cairo and other Arab countries, and political talks, all of which are designed to convey a message—often directed with great intensity and violence against a particular country or régime—which is simultaneously carried on many other channels in different forms. Monitoring coverage is by the American Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) in Cyprus. Almost all news bulletins, daily commentaries and Press reviews are on the regular coverage schedule and the rest of the transmission is, as far as possible, watched.

2. *Cairo Radio Second Programme.*—On the air for two hours a day, 1900–2100, on Medium wave only. Directed by Sa'd Lahib. The second programme began on May 4th, 1957; it had been announced in the Egyptian Radio magazine on March 16th, 1957, that the transmission was to be two hours long and was at first only intended to cover a small area, with Cairo as its centre, extending south to Beni Suaif and north to Benha. When the programme began, it appeared to contain mostly cultural talks and similar material, although a broadcast recorded by a Moslem from Accra on the Gold Coast's “struggle against imperialism” was also put out. An article in the Egyptian Radio magazine on April 27th described its aims: “The Second Programme is an additional programme, a programme supporting the first, a programme for the broad masses. Its level is not different from the first, save that it can deal more extensively and more deeply with questions arising in the first, questions which the first cannot discuss and present to the full.” The Second Programme has presented works by Sartre, O'Neill, Ibsen, Pirandello, Shaw, Shakespeare, Chekhov and Berthold Brecht; during the summer of 1957 it was apparently strongly criticised for “communism” by one Arris Mansur. On November 20th, 1957, Fathy Radwen, Minister of National Guidance, confirmed that it was hoped in due course to transmit the Second Programme to “the whole of the Arab Nation.” In April 1958 the Egyptian Radio magazine reported that the Second Programme had received from Salah Zaki (the Egyptian announcer on loan to Moscow's Radio Arabic section) a number of recordings illustrating life in Moscow, particularly that of Russian Moslems during Ramadan. This programme is not at present monitored.

3. *A possible “Third Programme.”*—A hint of yet another Cairo programme, “independent of the general and second programmes and including all the well-known cultural and radio corners,” which has not so far materialised, was given in the radio magazine of February 22nd, 1958.

4. *Alexandria Regional Transmissions.*—Is now on the air for six hours a day on medium wave, 1500–2100. Not monitored.

The Voice of the Arabs

5. On the air for a total of 8 hours 15 minutes a day, 0330-0430, 1030-1130, 1630-2245, on Short and Medium Wave. This well-known and popular programme, inaugurated by the military régime on July 4th, 1953, is the Egyptian Government's main instrument of pan-Arab propaganda. It carries special programmes for "Palestine," Somalia and Somaliland Protectorate, and the Arabian Peninsula. The political talks which it broadcasts are designed to emphasise Nasser's theme of Arab unity "from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf," and the station also provides religious and musical programmes and news broadcasts. The role of the Voice of the Arabs in Egyptian plans has been frankly admitted in many of its inflammatory broadcasts; on March 9th, 1957, the programme for the "Arab South" contained the following passage: "Brethren in the South and the Arabian Gulf, in your areas there are now national movements which are trying to deliver them from the yoke of imperialism and to incorporate them into the liberated Arab community. . . . As these movements always need guidance and explanations, the Voice of the Arabs will undertake this task. . . ." On the Voice of the Arabs' fifth anniversary, July 4th, 1958, Ahmed Said, the programme's first director and still a regular commentator, in a short talk "praised God for those blessed revolutions which broke out in every part of the Arab homeland, in which the Voice of the Arabs played a leading role which was recognised by the enemy." Monitoring coverage is done by the BBC, all politically significant and audible material being transcribed.

Cairo's African Services

6. Apart from its general daily services in Arabic and its special 3-hour programme in Arabic for the Sudan, Cairo's service to Africa includes both official and nominally underground broadcasts in various African languages. These begin with a "Sudanese dialects" programme of 15 minutes. This is followed by the "Voice of Cairo" for an hour in Swahili, and a 30-minute programme in Amharic. Then comes the clandestine "Voice of Free Africa" for 40 minutes in Swahili and finally the official service comes on the air again with a 45-minute programme in Somali. Further details of these broadcasts are given below.

7. *Sudan Services.*—Cairo broadcasts a special programme in Arabic for the Sudan, the "Sudan Corner," which is on the air for 3 hours a day, 0430-0530 and 1430-1630, on Short and Medium waves. Sudan Corner began in 1954 with a ½-hour service only. It contains political material interspersed with relatively short periods of entertainment. It strives to convince the Sudanese people that Egypt is their best friend and support, and to foster pro-Egyptian and anti-Western sentiments. Its tone is similar to that of Voice of the Arabs. Monitoring coverage is provided by the BBC and all politically significant and audible material is normally transcribed by them. Cairo also broadcasts a 15 minute "Sudanese dialect" programme. This usually contains some Arabic and at times English, but also includes broadcasts in Moru, Nuba, Zande and Nuer.

8. *Swahili Service.*—"The Voice of Cairo" is broadcast in Swahili to East Africa from 1630 to 1730. The programmes begin with the announcement "Hini Cairo," music and readings from the Koran. The music is both Arabic and Latin American and the programme is well presented and of an extremely high standard. The news, from the Egyptian angle, is read at 1700 hours and from 1715 to 1730 there is a political talk designed to further the policy of nationalist movements and to embarrass the East African Governments. Before 1957 the programme was directed mainly towards the Arabs of East Africa and Zanzibar; but during the past year it has been designed to attract and unite Africans in an anti-colonial, anti-British crusade for early independence. Two of its announcers have been identified as Zanzibari Arabs and another is an Arab from Mombasa. This programme is monitored by the BBC on an average of about 3 days out of 7, all politically significant and audible material being transcribed on the days covered. "The Voice of Free Africa," a clandestine station (see below) comes on the air shortly after "The Voice of Cairo" closes down.

9. *Somali Service.*—Cairo broadcasts a 45-minute daily programme in Somali, designed for consumption by Somalis throughout the Horn of Africa. The original religious flavour is being superseded by political diatribe in support of the Greater Somalia concept. Reference to the Somaliland Protectorate have a strong anti-colonialist bias with references to the "struggle for freedom and unity of the Somalis." Monitored by the BBC.

10. *Amharic Service*.—Cairo broadcasts a 30-minute daily programme in Amharic. This is mainly devoted to attacking the Western Powers' policies in the Middle East, giving news of financial support for Algerian "freedom fighters" and harping on the theme of Afro-Asian solidarity. At the present there is no direct criticism of the Ethiopian Government. Not monitored by the BBC.

Other Cairo Services

11. *Israel Service*.—1½ hours in Hebrew and 30 minutes in Palestinian Arabic; the Hebrew is covered by FBIS for about 30 minutes a day. This programme, particularly the political commentaries by "the Sphinx," quite often contains material of interest.

12. *Turkish Service*.—45 minutes; not monitored.

13. *Persian Service*.—45 minutes; not monitored.

14. *Kurdish Service*.—In addition to the clandestine "Voice of Kurdistan" (see paragraph 24 below), Cairo broadcasts an official Kurdish programme. Means have not yet been found to monitor any broadcasts in Kurdish.

15. *South-East Asian Service*.—This consists of 30 minutes in Arabic, 1 hour in Indonesian, 30 minutes in Malay, 30 minutes in Bengali and 30 minutes in Urdu. There is also 1 hour in English, of which the news bulletin is monitored by the BBC.

16. *European Service*.—1 hour English and 1 hour French, monitored by the BBC. The latter included the "Voice of Free Algeria" every day, and twice weekly talk on the Cameroons by the Cameroonian exiles in Cairo. The hour of German to Europe is not monitored.

17. *Latin American Service*.—45 minutes each in Arabic, Spanish and Portuguese. The Arabic is monitored by FBIS.

Damascus Radio

18. Damascus broadcasts a Home Service programme for about 17½ hours per day. In its foreign commentary, e.g., on events in Oman and Algeria, Damascus Radio faithfully follows the Cairo line and can in general now be regarded as a relay station for Cairo. Damascus also broadcasts a local European programme in English and French for a total of 5½ hours per day and with two news bulletins in each language. The Home Service is monitored fairly fully by the FBIS, and material of political significance is transcribed.

Pro-Egyptian Clandestine Stations

19. Material extremely hostile to the Western Powers and designedly productive of violence and confusion in the countries to which they are directed had been put out by a number of pro-Egyptian clandestine stations operating in the Middle East. These stations purport to transmit from within the countries to which they are directed and to be operated by compatriots of the audiences which they address; in fact several of them are located in the U.A.R.

20. *Radio Free and Fighting Algeria*.—On the air from 2110–2240 daily. First heard on December 18th, 1956, this station supports the F.L.N., attacks the French, and emphasises Egyptian support for the Algerian rebellion. It claims to speak "from the heart of Algeria" but is thought to be located near Oudja just over the border in Morocco.

21. *Voice of Free Africa*.—First heard in April 1957, this station is on the air from 1700–1740 hours daily. It is thought to be located in Cairo, but claims to be somewhere in East Africa. Its programme consists of dance music followed by a political talk in Swahili, the whole being preceded by a series of sinister drum beats. This exceedingly vitriolic station addressed itself exclusively to Africans, engendering racial hatred and inciting to rebellion. Europeans are described as "blood-sucking white dogs," &c., and any local incident is seized on and distorted for propaganda purposes. "Voice of Free Africa" supports Mau-Mau and also the National Congress Parties. Monitored by the BBC.

22. *The Voice of the Free Jordanian People*.—This station which was located in Damascus has now stopped transmitting. Its broadcasts consisted of violently anti-Hussein and anti-Western material and had no regard for the terms of the Arab Resolution of August 21st.

23. *The Voice of the People*.—This station which was located in Iraq has also ceased to transmit. In its broadcasts it violently attacked the Lebanese and Jordanian Governments.

24. *The Voice of Kurdistan*.—This station broadcasts in Kurdish and is located in Cairo. It was first heard on June 7th, 1958, and is on the air for 45 minutes a day. Before the fall of the Iraqi Monarchy it attacked the Iraqi Government and called upon the Kurdish tribes to form an independent State. Not yet monitored by the BBC or FBIS.

25. *The Voice of Free Cameroons*.—A "Cameroons talk" is broadcast twice a week as part of Cairo's French service. It is directed by two French Cameroon exiles in Cairo, Dr. Felix Moumic and Ernest Ornandie. The programme has been publicised under the title of the "Voice of Free Cameroons" but, according to BBC monitoring, this title has not been used on the air.