THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF THE GLOBAL SIXTIES

Between protest and nation-building

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Cairo and cultural cold war for Afro-Asia

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Cultural cold war played out in Arabic from the late 1950s into at least the early 1970s in the conference halls, hotel lobbies, cafes, bars, magazine offices, publishing houses, kiosks, and streets of Beirut and Cairo. Berlitz, Paris, Tashkent, Khartoum, London, Tunis, and Baghdad all have their place in this built landscape of cultural cold war. It was the focus of Beiruting and especially Cairo, this chapter follows the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization, their Soviet-funded Afro-Asian Writers Association (AAWA), and the CIA's Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) there in the wake of the April 1955 Bandung Conference. Looking to co-opt the emerging, increasingly decolonizing third world as they widened the purview of the cultural cold war far beyond the borders of post war Europe, the CCF had sent prominent African American novelist and essayist Richard Wright to Bandung and begun publishing Latin American and Indian journals by the mid-1950s. As Afro-Asia was just coming together in solidarity at Bandung, non-aligning itself from the Soviet and American global axes of power as from the yoke of their former colonizers, eyes toward Mao, it was at the same time becoming both a theater and a target of cultural cold war. Looking to redirect the "Bandung spirit" of third world independence, John Kent, undercover CIA agent at the CCF's Paris headquarters, underscored the centrality of the Arab world to the Congress's propaganda of cultural freedom: "no one needs to convince me of the importance of our work in Cairo." By 1967 covert American capital had missed its mark. Published in Beirut from 1962 and disseminated broadly in the Arab world and especially in Cairo, the CCF's Arabic magazine, 

Hidra, was banned in 1966 from Cairo's kiosks as the scandal of CIA funding hit the Cairo papers, with Hidra ceasing publication altogether in 1967. Earlier in the decade, the CCF's Cairo offices would prove more of a liability than a cold war asset. While 1960s Cairo greeted Hidra with suspicion and approbation, it played host and patron (along with the Soviets and the East Germans) to the AAHA and their Permanent Bureau, located at 104 Qasr al-Aini Street from 1965, where they published their widely disseminated periodical Afro-Asian Writing beginning in 1968. As Nida Gheuse has pointed out, Afro-Asian Writing staged itself from its first issue as a "counter-action to the imperialist and neo-colonialist infiltration of the cultural field." For the AAHA, Cairo was the site, as Shaden M. Tageldin argues, from which Africa's place in a south-south geography of literature and critical theory could be articulated for the third world in an age of decolonization. Reading Soviet and Nasserist influences as the

dominant ideological currents informing and funding the work of the AAHA, Tageldin lingers over the 1967 Afro-Asian Writers Conference in Cairo, where their new journal, al-Adab al-ifrig al-Ayman (Afro-Asian Writing), renamed Lotus with its sixth issue in October 1970, was announced. Tageldin reads from its first issue—published in Arabic, English, and French—as it "bespeaks a lively interest in translating sub-Saharan African writers and cultural critics into Arabic," and is understood by Tageldin as inaugurating a space of translations of African literature into Arabic in the coming years that she then goes on to enumerate. Like Tageldin, Hala Halim in her essay on Lotus "argue[s] that Lotus represents a decidedly anti-Eurocentric project," its "host of contributors reading like a postcolonial survey course or an anthology of world literature after the opening of the canon." And yet if Afro-Asian Writing/Lotus can be read by Tageldin as "promoting South-South connections" or as "postcolonialism avant la lettre" by Halim, this would be radical gesture borrows more than a few pages from projects already initiated for Afro-Asian literature by the CIA's covertly founded and funded CCF. Looking to co-opt the literary cold war geography of Afro-Asia, the CCF had published a highly successful 1965 special double issue of Hidra dedicated to translating African cultural production into Arabic editing and orchestrating Afro-Asian solidarity under the secret auspices of the CIA.

After Bandung, the CIA and the Soviets coalesced and disrupted the "Bandung spirit" and its call for decolonization, solidarity, and non-alignment, homing in on the city of Cairo and the magazines its literati read. This chapter draws for the first time upon photos, correspondence, and other documents held in the archives of the International Association for Cultural Freedom at the University of Chicago, to show the threat that Afro-Asian solidarity posed to the bipolar logic of an American/Soviet cold war of superpowers. The CCF's archive casts into relief a deep contradiction riddling that "promoting South-South connections"
of which Tagdite writes. While she looks to cold war Cairo for its "pan-African logic" that "informed Third-Worldist solidarity in the post-Bandung era of the 1950s-1970s and might reinvigorate anti-Eurocentrism and anti-impairalism today," it is crucial to observe that those logics and that solidarity were both Eurocentrically and—many a critic of not only the United States but also the Soviet Union would argue—imperialistically promoted and reinvigorated in their own time.

Bandung’s dream of a united Afro-Asia was a threat to the either/or logic of the cold war, a threat to both the American and the Soviet order. As Duncan M. Yoones notes, in his Africa-focused study of the Afro-Asian Writers Permanent Bureau in Cairo, come 1965, with the Vietnam War still raging and many African countries mired in bloody wars of decolonization, only one Asian country could cite a guerrilla war as the main instrument of an achieved independence: the People’s Republic of China.” Yoones’s article is thus animated by a focus on “symbolic Maoism,” acknowledging but leaving to the side the Soviet influence on Afro-Asian Writers/Lotus. Yoones situates the bureau as “the cultural wing of the [Afro-Asian Peoples’ Solidarity Organization or] AASP,” which held its first conference in Cairo in 1957, where Prants Roson delivered a decisive lecture that would later inform his theory of “combat literature” in The Wretched of the Earth. Drawing from Fredric Jameson’s essay “Periodizing the Sixties,” Yoones defines the “symbolic Maoism” accruing around the AASP and later Lotus through “its capacity to operate as a cipher. Maoism becomes symbolic through its interpretation into a variety of contexts. It is a “shadowy but central presence,””12 Jameson tells us, and if there is a specter haunting Afro-Asia, Yoones and Jameson suggest, it is Mao’s—the “Bandung spirit,” disseminated in English, French, and Arabic with its permanent bureau in Cairo.

In 1953, Richard Wright’s plane touched down in Cairo on the way to Bandung, where “revolutionaries and nationalists” boarded. The trip was paid for by the CCF, whose organizers and editors he would debrief upon his return, offering sections of what would become The Color Curtain for publication in the journals of the CCF. As Hazel Rowley relates in her biography:

In August and September [1955], extracts appeared in Prenses, Encounte, Cuadernos and Der Monat. ... The CCF editors agreed on the importance of “controversial articles” that invited discussion and counterattack. They were also well aware of the need to confront burning “colonial issues.” The minutes of their June meeting in Paris note that “all the editors paid a call to Richard Wright who had just returned from South-East Asia... his manuscript is likely to run to some two hundred pages, with editors free to make such selections as they like.”

In The Color Curtain, Wright described his journey, offering a geography of the cultural cold war on the eve of Bandung:

In Madrid, on Easter Sunday, I boarded a TWA Constellation for Rome where I made connections with a KLM Cairo-bound plane. I was heartened when a batch of French newspapermen hailed me. They were Bandung-bound and had the latest news.

Through the hot night we flew high over Africa, and Cairo was but a far-flung lake of shimmering lights when the plane landed for passengers and refueling. I heard an explosion of the French language; I turned my head and saw red-fezzed North Africans from Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia climbing aboard: revolutionaries and nationalists from the turbulent areas of French rule along the life line of Western imperialism... I told myself: There’s gonna be a hot time in old Bandung...
Andrew Rubin in *Archives of Authority* has compellingly argued for the importance and newness of the kind of literary simultaneity engineered by the CCF, and we see here simultaneity's foot soldiers: agents of American empire in an age of global commercial air travel come to perform and embody the sort of simultaneity of surveillance made only recently imaginable by the radar and video technologies that rose with the cold war. Inhabiting Afro-Asia, the CCF extended its reach into cultural capitals across Asia and Africa, and throughout Europe and Latin America to undermine not just social realism and Soviet art, but also the broadly articulated performance of Afro-Asian solidarity and its "symbolic Marxism." As Gayatri Spivak has noted, in the context of thinking literature comparatively: "Area Studies were established to secure U.S. power in the Cold War."32

In December 1957, Hunt—concerned about the influence Bandung could have in the Middle East—would write Behram Ghorayeb at the CCF offices in Beirut:

I am writing to call your attention to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference which will be taking place in Cairo at the end of December. You have no doubt heard of this conference and know something of its origins. It claims affiliation with the Bandung Conference, of which it would apparently like to be thought the logical continuation. Yet in fact, this is not at all an official body operating under the auspices of the

[Special attention] to be given to the possibility of re-directing some of the work of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee & similar groups based in Cairo. At the very least there are good grounds for splitting tactics because of the present political atmosphere in which these groups must exist, principally due to Iraq and Tibet. If the Egyptians can be further encouraged in their disaffection, these organisations would experience a good deal of trouble.33

After Bandung, the Congress turned its attention to decolonizing Afro-Asia, and in particular, to the Arab world, what Hunt called "that most impossible of worlds," aiming to "split [. . .] tactics," "re-direction," and encourage "disaffection."

In April 1962, Hunt wrote to Zareh MAKETIAN, director of the CCF Cairo office, explaining that "our office exists for the purpose of playing a useful role in the cultural and intellectual environment which is taking place in the Arab world."34 That year, Congress representative in Beirut Jamal JABER urged the importance of repudiating the Afro-Asian movement in Beirut in a letter to Simon JARGY, who organized Asian CCF operations from Paris. Jabir wrote:

[The] Lebanese delegation to the Afro-Asian conference consisted of Souhaïd IDRISS, Raïf KHOURY and Hussein MORDO. The conference intended, it appears, to create a permanent office in Beirut with the goal of bringing together [perhaps] a large number of Lebanese writers. It seems useful to follow their steps in this. The most efficacious means [would] be to help publish certain manuscripts for purely symbolic value.

What better way to decimate "symbolic Marxism," to chase the spirit of Bandung in the publishing houses of 1960s Beirut, than to follow the steps of the AAPSO? Marginal notes on Hunt's copy suggest he was intrigued by the idea.35 That fall, the CCF launched its Arabic journal, *Hikmah,* which would eventually reach wide distribution in that most impossible of worlds. Those "one and one-half billion" of whom Wright had written were becoming targets in a global cultural cold war that would aim to either co-opt the solidarity enunciated at Bandung, or disarticulate it into discrete bounded areas better suited to an imperially minded America in a time of cold war, with offices in Beirut and—for a few years of inactivity and suspicion—in Cairo.
As it sought to widen its influence in Arabic, the CCF held a seminar conference on Arabic literature in Rome in 1961. The conference was an opportunity for Hunt to secure an editor for the new CCF Arabic journal—early possibilities included Jalil ibrahim Jalil, Yahia al-Khalil, Walid Khalidi, and Ibrhim Abi-Lughod; in 1962, a CCF conference was held in Makerere on African literature, at Transition joined Black Orpheus as sub-Saharan CCF magazines. In these and other ways, we can observe how the third world became increasingly central to the work of the Congress: Encounter ran special issues on Africa and Latin America, with fiction and essays from a given region printed opposite advertisements for Shell, or for Cambridge University Press’s special series on Latin America, or Africa, or the Arab world. There was Arabic literature, there was African literature, there was Latin American literature—the main categories of area studies, funded by some of the same foundations as were backing the front organizations whispering to the NCC, were being visited upon whole literatures, disarticulating Afro-Asia, countering Communism as the map was reconceived for purposes of cultural cold war, covertly disseminated every two months for five years in Arabic in the pages of Hidat.

Hunt wrote Siyoss on May 30, 1963, Hidat still in its first year, asking him to “please give as much of your time as possible to supervising the business and distribution side of the magazine. It would not be of much use to have a first-class magazine which finds no readers.” Hunt wanted readers of Hidat in every Arab country, and Siyoss was routinely in negotiations with censors and distributors. Hunt envisioned a journal in which a wide range of Arab writers were represented in its pages: “I do hope that you will make a determined effort to continue to secure the best of the established Arab writers and to discover the best of the unknown or little known writers from the younger generation.” Rome was a decided success for Hunt and the CCF. Efforts would continue in the wake of Algerian independence to secure distribution for Hidat throughout the Maghreb, while Iraq, Gulf state, and Egyptian censors confiscated issues of the journal on a number of occasions. As they targeted the Arab world as a cultural theater of the cold war, the CCF became the target in turn of persistent Arab suspicion, struck in part by the very aura of prestige briefly surrounding the CCF; prestige, the CCF operated hoped, with which neither those misappraising as Bandung powers in Cairo, nor those promoting Communism in the region, could compete. This was a challenge made more complex by the CCF if the use of the increasingly Soviet-sponsored AAWA, which had in first Congress in Tashkent in 1958.

In May 1959, Iran Kats prepared a report for John Hunt entitled “The Projected Near-Eastern Forum Service,” and another report, “Lebanon & Egypt 1959,” which focused on “the influence that radiates from Cairo.” Four years after Bandung, not only was “the field open” for an Arabic magazine along the lines of Encounter or Quest, but the target of operations was clear:

Such a magazine must be edited and produced in Cairo, the cultural and political capital of the Arab world. Magazines coming from Lebanon—the only other possible choice—are very little read in Egypt. In Egypt, one has the benefit of the large potential home market plus the influence that radiates from Cairo. I would say that if we cannot start the magazine in Cairo, it would be better not to start it at all.

Prestige could be found then in Cairo, “the cultural and political capital of the Arab world.” But the question was not entirely one of distribution and readership. The goal was to “start the magazine in Cairo,” to edit and produce it there, to stamp the journal with Cairo’s political and cultural capital, to present there, to be part of the influence that radiated from there. It was there—glittering lights—that Wright’s plane touched down on the way to Bandung, it was there that Bandung powers perhaps misappraised, there that Afro-Asian solidarity could begin to be disarticulated. As Kats was told, “If you can find a way to do your work in Cairo, you will have gone a long way toward establishing yourself in the Afro-Asian world.”

The report warns that “we have to allay suspicion,” as it appraises opportunities for the CCF in light of the much larger context of American geopolitical policy in the cold war. We read:

The best approaches to the Middle East at the moment are through the arts and the social sciences. Arabic cultural attachments are to the West. We can reach them, and disinterestedly, through music, painting, and literature. At the same time, the problems which are most urgent to them lie in the realm of the social sciences. Seminar on various phases of social and economic development are highly welcome and cannot be duplicated by the Communists. There are not many doors still open to the Arab world, but intellectual and cultural Point Four which carries within itself an anti-Communist antidote is still possible and most desirable.

Operation code names, anti-Communist antinodes, looking for “open doors” to the Middle East—the CCF was part of the United States intelligence operations’ best approach in the region, Cairo the center of its target.

The CCF began work setting up a Cairo office. The CCF representative there, Zadeh Misketian, in January 1960 let Hunt know that he:

[c]an bring down the cost of the desks by getting cheaper and smaller desks. Can cut the typewriter prices probably by half by buying Czech or East German stuff instead of Olivetti or Remington, however cannot touch the painting and lighting jobs, as these have to be first class.

Misketian described the office's layout to Hunt as he prepared to furnish the space:

The office has 4 fairly large rooms, on the 1st floor of a brand new building to be ready on end of March or beginning April, it is located about 100 yards from [publisher] Morty's offices, thus very convenient, also located on the same sidewalk at the Hilton, Seminaria & Shepheard's.

This was becoming the Cairo sidewalk traversed by the CCF's itinerant cultural elite of editors, publishers, novelists, poets, journalists, and CIA agents, just off the Nile. The CCF particularly liked the newly rebuilt Shepheard's Hotel. The next month Hunt wrote a letter to Misketian, telling him:

Our Secretary General, Mr. Nicolas Nabokov, is leaving this weekend for a trip to Asia and he plans to stop in Cairo on his return. We will be arriving in Cairo on the 18th or 19th March and will be staying until the 21st. I suggest that you get him a nice room at Shepheard's with a balcony on the river. I don't think he would enjoy the Hilton.

Hunt would telegraph Misketian that summer:

ARRIVING CAIRO AIR INDIA 107 JULY 30 STOP PLEASE RESERVE AIRCONDITIONED ROOM SHEPHEARDS UNTIL AUGUST 4 STOP
world. I realize that in your area the Congress will be to a certain degree judged by the character and appearance of the office, but we are not in a position to spend any more than your original estimate. I suggest that we stick to the path of plain living and high thinking and forego the leather armchairs. However, I would like for the office to reflect our interest in art and the life of the mind and think a small library and some of the work of local painters would be most worthwhile."

The CCF was indeed acutely aware that it would "to a certain degree [be] judged by the character and appearance of the office," and it wanted that and all its offices to pose as exemplifying "the path of plain living and high thinking."

Cone 1962, as the AAWA relocated to Cairo, Ignazio Silone (centrally involved in organizing the CCF's global efforts, and editor of the Italian CCF magazine Tempo Fratelli) wrote to Hunt, reevaluating the cold war cultural landscape in the region:

The situation for the Congress in Egypt is very ambiguous. The general situation is known. Censorship is quite severe. It is becoming increasingly difficult to find at a kiosk any foreign journals at all. The Cairo office does practically nothing, can do nothing; but the office is located in the center of the city, on the first floor. A naif observer could suppose that it directs some clandestine activity, but the police tolerate it because they know it does not do anything. The justification for the existence of this office that was given me by those responsible for it was as follows: "We need to be present; if the situation is going to change, we will already be there." It is not a very persuasive reason. The moment the situation is reversed, power will pass to those coming out of the prisons."

It is plain enough: the goal was presence, to "be there." But with the Cairo office at a standstill, the city's kiosks empty of foreign journals, censorship having become "quite severe," immanent power located in the prisons—even the naif observer would be suspicion of the activity being clandestinely directed by the CCF from the center of Cairo, first floor; only the police seemed able to overlook the aura of suspicion accruing around the CCF in the Afro-Asian Writers Association, sought to establish their own influence from their Permanent Bureau in the city. In early 1962, the Congress was preparing to publish Adalar at a new office in Beirut, a city Silone had surveilled as he considered the prospects for the new Arabic magazine.

Beirut is the only center that can serve as a base for almost free cultural activity. In my opinion, the recent attempt at a coup d'etat does not change the relatively stable situation. Friends of the Congress in Beirut enjoy high esteem. Perhaps they lack the intellectual authority, the vitality, the plan in order for their influence to radiate to other countries of the Arabic language; but these are not qualities that can be invented. They are thus in need of permanent external assistance, not only materially. Beirut, in the near future, will become even more of a center of intellectual activity with the publication of a new journal [new] of Communiti inspiration and a journal, first monthly then every two weeks, of a democratic tendency, with rather considerable means at its disposal from an unanticipated source.

Less radiant and influential than Cairo, the Beirut CCF office came to represent a threat to the kind of presence the Congress was trying to cultivate at the Arab front of the cultural cold war for Afro-Asia. After a visit there in 1963, Roger A. Farrand, who served as business director of the Magazines for Cultural Freedom, wrote to Hunt in Paris:

...
I cannot understand why the office should have been rented by the Congress in the newest, most lavish block of business premises in Beirut. I feel that this gives it a rather chromium plated air of suspicious opulence, perhaps asking it to be criticized as an American cold war organization. I believe space is cheaper in the area round the university, which is presumable [sic] where we want to be. Buildings, etc. are also not so brassy.  

By May, Tawfik Sayigh was looking for something more "suitable," reviewing:

[b]the expenses that will have to be incurred by the transfer of HIWAR, to new premises. I have seen quite a few places which would be suitable—they all are in the Ras Beirut area, an area of colleges and schools and cultural centers, which at the same time is only a few minutes away by car from both the Congress Office and the printing press. I find that the rent for 3 rooms in such places varies between LE 3,500 and 4,000.  

In Cairo as in Beirut, the Congress was plagued by "suspicious opulence" that threatened to blow its cover and reveal it to be what it was: an "American cold war organization." The CCF was targeting Cairo, Beirut, and Arabic literature and culture, and in turn the balance of cultural geopolitics in the cold war—the CCF was dreaming in area studies configurations, extending a franchise of American soft power as a bulwark against both the threat of a Soviet world order, and the one that the growing nonaligned movement after Bandung was working toward all over Afro-Asia.

As the Afro-Asian and Communist circles converged in early 1962, Hunt wrote to Jamal Ahmed, the Sudanese ambassador to Ethiopia and a close advisor to the CCF, mentioning that:

[b]the Afro-Asian people Solidarity Committee which is, as you know, rather heavily dominated by the Russian and Chinese and their sympathizers, will be holding a Writers conference in Cairo around the 12th of March. As you might imagine, the themes of the conference are heavily political and have nothing to do with literature, except insofar as literature may be considered a weapon for political purposes.

This is Hunt foiling "the good name and the official aura of Bandung"—the prestige radiating from Bandung now to Cairo. As the 1960s witnessed increasing suspicion of the CCF and its connections with American intelligence, Hunt had to set aside an idea for a new magazine. Proposed by Jargy in November 1962, just as [unidentified name] was going to press, the idea was to publish "an Afro-Asian cultural review." Hunt wrote that though he "lashed Jargy's" opinion that such a review would be desirable, he:

[nevertheless feared] that for the moment we must set this project aside for budgetary reasons. In terms of Africa and the Arab world, we will concentrate our efforts for now on Black Orpheus in Nigeria, Transition in East Africa [Uganda], and Blackвет for the Arab world. We cannot undertake anything else for the moment.  

The moment would pass—come 1966, the CCF was exposed on the front page of the New York Times as a cultural cold war organization covertly founded and funded by the CIA; Blackvet was on the verge of collapse; Transition's editor was soon to be imprisoned for sedition. In the ever-shifting cultural terrain of the cold war after Bandung, it would be the Soviet-sponsored AAWA that would found an "Afro-Asian cultural review" in Cairo—Afro-Asian Writing/Lotus. "Insofar as literature may be considered a weapon for political purposes," from 1968, American soft power gave way in Arabic, and all over Afro-Asia, to a new decade of Soviet-sponsored, often symbolically Maoist cultural cold warfare.

Acknowledgments
Thank you to Bard College, the Chicago Special Collections Research Center, the American University of Beirut's Jafet Library, the Forum Transregionale Studien, and the Friedrich Schlegel School for supporting research that contributed to this chapter, and to NYU Abu Dhabi and the organizers for the invitation to present this work as part of a two-part conference on 1960s and the global 1960s. Thanks are also due to Jason Frymank for his help completing this piece.

Notes
2 Letter from John Hunt to Zarch Miskarian, April 25, 1962, International Association for Cultural Freedom, Box 166, Folder 2, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries I: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–67, Sub-subseries 8: "HI," Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago, Illinois (hereafter IACF).
5 Tapalgin, "The Place of Africa," 314.
6 Hali, "Lotus, the Afro-Asian Nucleus," 565.
7 Ibid., 565, 573.
8 Letters from Tawfik Sayigh to John Hunt, May 24, 1965, Box 231, Folder 2, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries I: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–67, Sub-subseries 12: "L...", IACF.
9 Young, "Our Forces Have Redeveloped," 249.
10 Quoted in ibid., 238.
14 Wright, Black Power, 468.
15 Ibid., 597.
16 Letter from Michael Josselson to Bechara Ghosnayeb, April 13, 1955, Box 4, Folder 5, 1955, Series II: Correspondence Files Chronological, 1953-1968, Subseries 3: Correspondence 1955, IACE.
18 Issues of Al-Manaqebād al-Ālimiyāt lil-Ḥurrīyat al-Thaqāfī, Al-Ḥurrīyat Annalun, and Agfaret are held in Box 52, Folder 1-6, Series V: Documentation and Ephemeral Publications, 1950-1972, Subseries 1: Newsletters, Sub-subseries 2: Arabic Language—Miscellaneous, IACE.
19 See Holt, "Cold War in the Arabic Press," and also John Hunt's correspondence in late 1961 with Yusuf al-Khal surrounding plans to publish Afaf as a CCF publication, and in early 1962 with close confidaents regarding his concerns that al-Khal might have remained closely connected to the Syrian Social Nationalist Party as they planned their botched New Year's Eve 1961 coup. See especially Box 165, Folders 4-6, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948-67, Sub-subseries 8: "H", IACE.
20 Letter from John Hunt to Bechara Ghosnayeb, December 10, 1957, Box 162, Folder 9, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948-67, Sub-subseries 8: "H", IACE.
21 Letter from secretary to John Hunt to Voyages Mercure in Paris, Box 162, Folder 8, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948-67, Sub-subseries 8: "H", IACE.
23 Letter from John Hunt to Bechara Ghosnayeb, December 10, 1957, Box 163, Folder 9, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948-67, Sub-subseries 8: "H", IACE.
24 "Lebanon & Egypt 1959," Box 92, Folder 3, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, Sub-subseries III: "C", IACE; 13.
25 Letter from John Hunt to Morrow Berger, October 23, 1962, Box 166, Folder 4, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948-67, Sub-subseries 8: "H", IACE.
26 Letter from John Hunt to Zahef Miskarian, April 25, 1962, Box 166, Folder 2, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948-67, Sub-subseries 8: "H", IACE.
27 Letter from Janal Jabre to Simon Jaragi, February 14, 1962, Box 228, Folder 9, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948-67, Sub-subseries 8: "L", IACE.
30 Ibid.
31 "Lebanon & Egypt 1959," Box 92, Folder 3, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, Sub-subseries III: "C", IACE; 1-2.
32 Ibid., 1.
33 Ibid., 8.
34 Ibid., 7.
35 Letter from Zahef Miskarian to John Hunt, January 1960, Box 127 folder 5, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, Sub-subseries 5: "E", IACE.
36 Letter from John Hunt to Zahef Miskarian, February 15, 1960, Box 127, Folder 5, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, Sub-subseries 5: "E", IACE.
37 Telegram from Ivan Kats to Zahef Miskarian, February 2, 1961, Box 127, Folder 6, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, Sub-subseries 5: "E", IACE.

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39 Letter from John Hunt to Zahef Miskarian, February 15, 1960, Box 127, Folder 5, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, Sub-subseries 5: Correspondence and Subject Files, Sub-subseries 12: "L", IACE.
40 Letter from Ignazio Silone to John Hunt, February 1962, Box 230, Folder 9, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, Sub-subseries 12: "L", IACE.
41 Translation from the French my own.
44 Letter from John Hunt to Jamal Ahmed, January 18, 1962, Box 165, Folder 4, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, Sub-subseries 8: "E", IACE, 3.
45 Letter from John Hunt to Simon Jaragi, December 3, 1962, Box 166, Folder 5, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files, Subseries 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, Sub-subseries 8: "E", IACE, 3.