

**“Constructing Anti-Colonial Cairo: The United Arab Republic, News Media, and  
Anti-Colonialism During Decolonization and the Cold War”**

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Prospectus

Table of Contents

- I. Main Prospectus pp. 1-13
- II. Appendix I: Expanded Literature Review pp. 14-31
- III. Appendix II: Intellectual Framework and Methodology pp. 32-28
- IV. Appendix III: Sources, Chapter Outline, and Final Thoughts pp. 49-54

## **“Constructing Anti-Colonial Cairo: The United Arab Republic, News Media, and Anti-Colonialism During Decolonization and the Cold War”**

In his weekly “From the Editor” letter in September 1964, Dr. Abdul Hamid El-Batrik, Editor in Chief of *The Arab Observer: The Non-Aligned Weekly*, depicted Cairo as a city ascendant. With monthly international conferences, revolutionaries from across the globe, and a large print media establishment supplemented with an emerging radio and television infrastructure that was reaching far beyond the nation’s borders, Cairo was now a leader among revolutionary states and as a result, also a hub for international news agencies, who had “been racing to keep up with Egyptian events”. According to Dr. El-Batrik, this new prominent global position for Cairo was proof of the Free Officers’ revolutionary promise - to transform Egypt<sup>1</sup> into an independent nation. While independence in 1952 was largely defined as opposing British rule, by 1964, Egypt’s name had changed to the United Arab Republic, and so too had its definition of independence, which was now premised on opposing imperialism beyond its borders, as the winds of decolonization swept across the globe. To El-Batrik, the United Arab Republic had finally arrived at its rightful place on the international stage when even foreign newspapers acknowledged “Cairo’s vitality as a meeting place for new ideas.”<sup>2</sup>

Yet, even prior to El-Batrik’s heralding of Cairo’s new role in international politics, others, like the leftist intellectual Jean Lacouture, remained skeptical of the U.A.R.’s ability to fulfill its revolutionary promises. In *Egypt in Transition*, Lacouture cautioned, “Cairo runs a serious risk of losing most of its influence once it ceases being a place of appeal for unsatisfied protests, a kind of unreachable promised land for Arab independence.”<sup>3</sup> For Lacouture, the U.A.R.’s

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<sup>1</sup> I use the term United Arab Republic (U.A.R.) and Egypt somewhat interchangeably, though the former is more closely tied with this anti-colonial moment than the later name.

<sup>2</sup> “From the Editor” by Dr. Abdul Hamid el-Batrik, *The Arab Observer: The Non-Aligned Weekly*, issue no. 220, September 7, 1964.

<sup>3</sup> Jean Lacouture, *Egypt in Transition* 1958 (218).

promotion of anti-colonial politics was one based in words and not actions. Prior to the Arab Spring, Lacouture's skepticism of Cairo seemed to have largely been validated, with the anti-colonial solidarities of the 1960s fracturing and much of the U.A.R's radicalism and international leadership disappearing under Sadat's government in the 1970s. Yet, the protests that erupted in Tahrir Square in January 2011 have returned this history to the forefront, with the debates of the Arab Spring over the future of Egypt's politics and position in the world echoing this earlier era.<sup>4</sup>

While much has changed in Egypt since the days of Nasser, one through line between the Tahrir of the 1950s and 60s with the one of the 2010s is that this battle over the future of Egypt and its place in the world was not solely waged on the streets, but also in the pages of magazines and newspapers, across radio waves and television broadcasts, and today, on the web and social media. Yet, while countless pieces have heralded the importance of new media in fomenting the Arab Spring across the region, analysis of how new, and old, media reshaped the decolonizing world remains limited. With regards to Egypt, scholars have explored in depth its media output as one of the foremost media producers in the Arab world, but rarely has this research questioned how Egypt's media infrastructure was part and parcel of constructing global anti-colonialism in the 1950s and 60s. Furthermore, scholarship on global anti-colonialism, which has seen a renaissance in recent years, still marginalizes the role of the U.A.R. in this history, in part because of language and archival difficulties for researchers. Thus, a gap exists between the literature on post-colonial Egypt and its media, which neglects to explore the larger international context, and the scholarship on global anti-colonialism, which

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<sup>4</sup> Many think pieces on the Arab Spring in Egypt tied the protests to the 1952 revolution and the Nasser era. For examples see Larry Diamond and Jeff Shank, "The Betrayal of Tahrir Square", *The Atlantic*, 2014 <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/02/the-betrayal-of-tahrir-square/284144/> and Sarah Mousa, "How Nasser Shaped the Arab Spring", *Al Jazeera* February 22, 2012 <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/02/2012221135257602109.html>.

has sidelined the U.A.R. and its media infrastructure in their narratives. As a consequence our understandings of Cairo and its news media<sup>5</sup> are incomplete, and so too are our understandings of the U.A.R.'s influence in international debates over decolonization, modernity, and sovereignty during this anti-colonial moment.

My dissertation rectifies this gap, exploring how the U.A.R. utilized various media outlets to produce and propagate ideas about anti-colonialism furthering both their revolution at home and a vision of the new Third World, with Cairo as one of its capitals. Anti-colonial movements have a long genealogy, yet the 1950s and 60s have largely been understood as an exceptional period for anti-colonialism. In the case of Egypt, I argue that the convergence of the revolution in Egypt, the rise of the Bandung spirit, and the solidifying of the Cold War produced a new internationalism in Cairo, one that blurred the boundaries between the local, national, regional, and global. Moreover, during the 1950s and 60s, for places like Cairo, I believe that international events and internal politics became so deeply intertwined that the *raison d'être* for the nation became enmeshed with a vision for a new postcolonial international order, one forged through the bonds of anti-colonial struggle.

Through the lens of Cairo's news media, I trace how the U.A.R. attempted to realize this postcolonial vision through a combination of Arab, African, Non-Aligned, Afro-Asian, and Islamic solidarities and policies that aimed to solidify the Free Officers' power both at home and abroad. To uncover this vision, I focus on discourses around anti-colonialism in Cairo's media as the conceptual thread underlying the U.A.R.'s efforts in this period. In my dissertation, I use anti-colonialism as an umbrella term for a broader discursive field that includes anti-imperialism, decolonization, neutralism, neo-colonialism, and non-alignment. The choice of anti-colonialism

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<sup>5</sup> I primarily use news media to refer to information media - that is the newspapers, academic journals, radio, and television. The difference between news media and other forms of media, especially mass media, is something I am still working through and would appreciate any advice on how to parse these categories.

is deliberate though as analytical lens for this moment in part because of its salience at this historical moment, but also because anti-colonialism encapsulates the exceptional revolutionary moment of the 1950s and 60s that differed from earlier periods.<sup>6</sup> The use of vision rather than ideology is also deliberate. Though the UAR promoted neutralism and socialism, official policy was often more the result of pragmatism than firm ideological stances - a reality that often confounded observing Cold War superpowers. Even though this anti-colonial vision was nebulous, it played a central role in legitimizing the new regime, and in helping the regime challenge power structures, whether an older European empire or newly emerging Cold War superpower.<sup>7</sup> I argue that focusing on Cairo's news media institutions and content provides an entry point to consider both Cairo's place in the larger anti-colonial world, as well as the international role of Cairo's anti-colonial media and press.<sup>8</sup> Reconnecting these histories helps elucidate how this moment shaped the relationship between these decolonizing states and the media, both local and international, which continues to have profound repercussions for debates over political legitimacy, censorship, and freedom of the press.

Weaving these threads together, my project explores how Cairo emerged as a leading hub for anti-colonial ideas and movements, focusing on three central questions. First and foremost, what role did Cairo's media play in producing and propagating anti-colonialism? Cairo's diverse media landscape included everything from films, television dramas, radio programs, daily newspapers, magazines, and academic journals. While all of these outlets were part of envisioning anti-colonialism in Cairo, the news media represents a particularly rich

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<sup>6</sup> I realize that there might be some slippage with my usage of this historical term as an analytic category, but for now anti-colonialism is the most accurate description of this phenomenon.

<sup>7</sup> The use of empire and superpower here is a false dichotomy since both were seen as imperial forces shaping the Third World. Nonetheless, these terms do signify the shifting power dynamics that shaped this moment.

<sup>8</sup> The anti-colonial press has largely been overshadowed by more in-depth studies on the black and radical presses. At this moment the three overlap a great deal, but in my project, I explore how the anti-colonial press was often sponsored by newly decolonized states.

resource. Many studies have utilized Cairo's newspapers as a source, but few have considered how the production of the news was constitutive in constructing the politics of anti-colonialism. For example, though reporting on events, the discourses and symbolism deployed in the coverage about places like Havana and Algiers or people like Lumumba and Nkrumah were often part of this larger vision of anti-colonial project in Cairo. Thus, exploring the content and forms in news media during this era helps makes visible how discourses about anti-colonialism were constructed and circulated across the pages of newspapers and radio broadcasts. My project seeks to utilize this content analysis as a foundation for exploring which publications and authors were most central in this information network that spread ideas about anti-colonialism both within and beyond Cairo. Ultimately, I argue this approach makes visible the broader information landscape that helped craft these anti-colonial discourses in Cairo's news media.

Focusing on news media also enables an exploration of the relationship between news, propaganda, and the state. The media was one of the first spheres that the revolutionary government sought to control, and Nasser and his compatriots were well aware of the media's potential to both legitimize the revolution and the government's policies. Over the course of the 1950s, freedom of the press was continually contested, as the regime vacillated from shutting publications to cooperating with editors to spread their revolutionary message. This back and forth between direct government control and a more open press eventually came to a head in the summer of 1960, when the government quasi-nationalized the press under the auspices of the Arab Socialist Union, a government controlled organization.<sup>9</sup> The impact of this 'nationalization' on the freedom of the press was often purposefully obscured, leading to a great

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<sup>9</sup> The exact degree of censorship and the mechanisms are debated in the current literature. While some like Charles Tripp argue that the Egyptian government did not censor every word, others like Laura James maintain that the presence of government 'editors' in each press functioned as a direct form of censorship. My dissertation will not try to resolve this debate, but rather through my content analysis I will explore whether patterns of censorship emerge - that is ideas and direct phrasing being repeated in multiple publications around the same time.

deal of confusion for foreign and domestic observers and continued debates among scholars today. How did narratives about anti-colonialism in the media bolster and diverge from official government positions? In foreign dispatches from Cairo, the news media was often viewed as a mouthpiece for the regime. In fact, Nasser often yielded a direct hand in the press, and key members of government, like Anwar Sadat, at times held positions of influence as directors or editors at the main dailies. Yet, the press in Egypt still maintained a fairly diverse range of publications and voices. In part, the multitude of newspapers and magazines was the direct result of government involvement, which viewed the press as a means to re-educate the Egyptian populace. However, even though journalists often had to refrain from outright critique of the regime, the media was not solely transmitting the views of the government. This question of who exactly controlled the press created blurriness between reporting and rumors, as well as between what constituted official and speculative statements in the press. This haziness enabled the U.A.R. to hedge its politics - sometimes publishing more radical views publicly, but reassuring other countries privately. However, this strategy often strained foreign relations. Furthermore, the active involvement of the government in the news media set the foundation for widespread government censorship that continues into the present. While this longer history is beyond the scope of this project, placing news media at the center of this study is central for exploring how the new revolutionary government tried to control news media, which helped the U.A.R. in spreading its anti-colonial message, but at the cost of undermining trust in both the press and the government.

More so than any other anti-colonial capital, Cairo aspired to be an international media capital, using a range of mediums to challenge imperialism across the globe and assert its leadership in anti-colonial movements. Beginning in the 1950s, but truly gaining prominence in the early 1960s, Cairo's radio and print media, and to a lesser degree television and film media,

circulated not only in the Arab World, but across the decolonizing and radical socialist world. Radio Cairo was especially successful in reaching decolonizing African states, and Cairo's English-language magazines, like *The Arab Observer*, became part of a broader anti-colonial media network that stretched from Havana to Delhi. Western officials often expressed concern over the impact of Cairo's message, and sought to counter it with their own public diplomacy efforts. This transformation of Cairo into an international news media hub was an essential mission of the Free Officers, yet the reception to Cairo's efforts were often mixed. To that end, how was Cairo's leading role in international anti-colonialism reinforced in its news media, and how was this vision received beyond the U.A.R.? Within and from Cairo, the U.A.R. disseminated this revolutionary political vision, which attracted many leftist activists and intellectuals to Cairo. However, as Lacouture criticized, such expansive rhetoric often had unexpected consequences - whether creating skepticism regarding the true intentions of the U.A.R. or embroiling the U.A.R. in disputes beyond its borders. While Western observers' reactions to Cairo's efforts to extend its influence were generally less than positive, the response in other decolonizing capitals varied. Understanding the reception to the Cairo's media and message also requires exploring how Egyptian efforts to construct this media infrastructure were part of a larger endeavor to build alternatives to Western press outlets, like Reuters and Associated Press that were seen as biased in their coverage of the decolonizing world. Considering the influence of Cairo's anti-colonialism and international reception to the U.A.R. highlights how news media was central in constructing competing political narratives about the meanings of anti-colonialism.

In histories of the Middle East and North Africa, Nasser's Egypt has received extensive coverage, especially relative to other decolonizing states in this region. Much of this work has explored the ways that Nasser legitimized his revolution and developed the idea of Arab

Socialism - a central thread in my project. In particular, my project builds on the research of Joel Gordon, Reem Abou el Fadl, Rami Ginat, and Laurie Brands who have all explored this intersection of ideology, international solidarities, and internal politics that the U.A.R. government deployed to re-envision and transform Egyptian society. Joel Gordon and Laura Bier's writings on the cultural representations of anti-colonialism in Egyptian film and women's periodicals respectively have also been influential in my conception of symbolism of anti-colonialism in Egyptian media. In regards to studies of Egyptian media, there's a rich scholarship, though the majority of this literature focuses on the post-1990s era of new media. Furthermore, this research is often in the form of anthropological studies, exploring the impact of new media on religious and political sensibilities in Egypt. Though a useful foundation for my study, I hew more closely to the methodology of Walter Ambrust, who has critiqued Arab media studies for its lack of historical methods and the work of William Rugh, who has written extensively on the Arab news media and its relationship to the state. My project most directly builds on the work of Laura M. James and her book, *Nasser at War*. James raises many of the questions that I have outlined here, exploring the use of Egyptian press and new radio technologies to spread Nasser's radical rhetoric across the Arab world. My project expands on James' work, adopting a much wider geographic perspective beyond the Arab world to include other decolonizing regions and utilizing a larger selection of Egyptian news media materials for my analysis.

My emphasis on the larger international dimensions of Cairo's anti-colonialism is derived in part from the growing scholarship on the Cold War and decolonization. In the last few years, studies have started exploring the previously marginalized movements of neutralism, non-alignment, and Afro-Asianism. The works of Robert Rakove, Philip Muhlenbeck, Frank Gerits, George Roberts, and David Stenner have been particularly helpful - both as model and

for their subject matter, shedding light on competing and alternative visions for this post-colonial world than those produced in Cairo. Furthermore, Jeffrey Byrne and Michael Goebel's recent books both provide exemplary studies of how to marry urban and international history, studying the global impact of Algiers and Paris respectively. Yet, though Nasser and the United Arab Republic are often mentioned in these studies, the history of Cairo's anti-colonialism remains largely on the margins. Two exceptions to that rule are the works of Guy Laron that explore the international dimensions of the United Arab Republic during the Suez Crisis and James Brennan who has explored the impact of Cairo's media in East Africa. Brennan is one of a growing number of scholars that study the media as a site for public diplomacy during the Cold War. These scholars have increasingly demonstrated how radio, public exhibitions, libraries, and imagery were part of American foreign policy during this period.<sup>10</sup> My project draws from this literature, but expands their focus from the American or Soviet context towards the Third World. Thus, my project combines the research on Nasser's Egypt, especially the works that have examined the Arab World's reception to Nasser and the U.A.R.; the field of Arab media studies and broader histories of news media; and new internationalist histories of the Cold War and decolonization, particularly those that focus on public diplomacy and the media, and those that explore spatial history and international politics.

My sources are primarily newspapers, periodicals, official publications, and government speeches produced in Cairo. Chiefly in Arabic, English, and French, these sources were created for a wide spectrum of publics. However, due to the degree of government control of the press, these sources represent a window into the government's understanding of events, rather than a

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<sup>10</sup> Works on public diplomacy that have most influenced my dissertation include: Heather Hendershot's *What's fair on the air? Cold War Right-Wing Broadcasting and the Public Interest*; Kenneth A. Osgood and Brian C. Etheridge's *The United States and Public Diplomacy: New Directions in Cultural and International History*; Andrew Wulf's *U.S. International Exhibitions During the Cold War: Winning Hearts and Minds Through Cultural Diplomacy*; and Sönke Kunkel's *Empire of Pictures : Global Media and the 1960s Remaking of American Foreign Policy*.

lens into public opinion about these events. Future iterations of this project will attempt to integrate radio and television into my analysis. Nonetheless, these print materials present a robust corpus for exploring how the meaning of anti-colonialism fluctuated over this period, as well as how the message produced in Cairo varied depending on venue and language. I also explore the imagery of anti-colonialism in these printed materials, primarily in the form of cartoons and photographs, to add a further dimension to my analysis of the symbolism of anti-colonialism.

In placing news media at the heart of my project, the newspapers and periodicals I study are in many ways my historical actors. While I do explore some of the autobiographies of key writers and government officials, the ability of these sources to answer the questions I raise, specifically about the broader anti-colonial ideational and media networks are limited. Instead, I explore how various print sources propagated anti-colonial discourses, looking at the use of particular symbols, events, and places to ascribe meaning to these ideas. I believe that this method helps extend my project from simply being an examination of Nasser and other top government officials towards an analysis of the larger community that produced this anti-colonial vision. For example, this strategy allows me to include non-Egyptians like David Graham Du Bois and Maya Angelou, who worked at *The Arab Observer* and *The Egyptian Gazette*.<sup>11</sup> I also explore newspaper coverage of Cairo in other anti-colonial hubs, such as Algiers, Accra, and Delhi. Exploring the response to Cairo in other anti-colonial capitals helps qualify and clarify the footprint of the U.A.R.'s anti-colonialism, which is critical as Nasser and his surrogates often envisioned their influence far beyond the U.A.R.'s borders. I also utilize the dispatches of the

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<sup>11</sup> A further benefit of this method is the ability to eventually map anti-colonial activity within Cairo. The majority of explicitly anti-colonial activity in Cairo was centralized in areas like Zamalek, Tahrir Square, Heliopolis, and even Missions City, where government funded initiatives supported non-Egyptians. However, there are few existing archival sources from residents in these neighborhoods or these government-funded programs, and thus, this approach helps elucidate these spaces.

American and British embassies in Cairo to bring into focus when words and actions diverged in Cairo. However, this project is not seeking to offer the definitive account of every anti-colonial activity in Cairo, or pass judgment on the sincerity of this anti-colonialism. Rather, I combine these sources to delve into the narratives and rumors surrounding Cairo's anti-colonialism.

Looking at news media also highlights the growing tension between actions and words, and between international and internal goals in Cairo over the course of the 1960s. As Jeffrey Byrne, Robert Rakove, and others have argued, international anti-colonial solidarities around ideas like non-alignment started to breakdown by the mid-1960s. However, my project continues to trace these anti-colonial discourses into the early 1970s. This expanded periodization is crucial for understanding how the anti-colonial internationalist coalition of the 1950s and 60s split, and states like Tanzania and Libya replaced the U.A.R. as a sponsor of revolutionary radical movements. Most studies of the U.A.R. end in 1970 with Nasser's death and Anwar Sadat's unexpected rise to power. Yet, these works have neglected to explore the connections between Nasser's anti-colonialism and Sadat's attempts to form unions with Libya, Sudan, Syria, and Iraq through the Federation of Arab Republics in the early 1970s. My project concludes on this question and argues that the internationalist anti-colonial discourses of the Nasserist era did not outright disappear, but were transformed under Sadat, from internationalist rhetoric that privileged political unions to discourses that privileged economic treaties and liberalization as the basis for both the global order and the future of Egypt. This final point will hopefully be expanded in subsequent works, but ending my project in the early 1970s helps elucidate the contours of this anti-colonial moment, and forces us to reconsider both the successes and failures of these movements.

This project represents one piece of a larger historical puzzle - making sense of how the end the end of empire and the creation of new nation states in the mid-twentieth century

transformed the international political order, but also reified existing economic and political hierarchies. The choice of Cairo to explore these questions is intentional, though many other cities in Egypt, such as Aswan or Port Said, or in the decolonizing world, such as Algiers, Accra, Belgrade, Conakry, Havana, are potential case studies. Yet, Cairo, relative to its importance for these movements, remains among the most understudied of all the places that were part of the end of colonialism. Furthermore, Cairo was one of the few anti-colonial capitals to actively construct an international media infrastructure. Even though Cairo has been relatively neglected, this question about the dynamics of the decolonizing moment has been the subject for many historians. Most notably the so-called imperial revisionists historians, like Fred Cooper, who have demonstrated that the demise of European empires were often contingent and piecemeal. My work builds on their insights, however, as Samuel Moyn and Michael Goebel have noted, this scholarship has been rife with a tendency of overstating the potential of alternate visions of post-independence, such as federalism or some type of continental unity. For Moyn and Goebel, these scholars have failed to consider why the nation state overwhelmingly became the preferred political unit across the globe, regardless of previous colonial experience or post-independence political ideology. While my work explores the diversity of alternative political visions produced and disseminated in Cairo, I also explore how calls for pan-Arab, pan-African, and non-aligned unity in the media often reaffirmed the new Egyptian state.

Ultimately, this project studies the ways in which news media, propaganda, clandestine activities, public spectacles, international politics, and visions for the U.A.R.'s future all combined to construct a new identity for Cairo - as a hub for anti-colonialism. Studying Egyptian media highlights how Nasser and his government tried to control this narrative, and assert their vision for an anti-colonial international order from Cairo. Yet, contextualizing this narrative within

a larger global one underscores how differing perceptions of the U.A.R.'s actions and goals stymied this vision. Finally, in exploring these narratives, I explore how the breakdown of anti-colonial solidarities in the mid-1960s laid the foundation for new solidarities around a re-imagined international economic order. This transformation had profound implications for the emerging Third World, Egypt's place in international politics, and ultimately, the structure of international news media. Thus, tracing this shift is imperative for rethinking anti-colonialism in Cairo during the 1950s and 60s, understanding the legacies of these internationalist politics into the 1970s and beyond, and uncovering the influence of this earlier anti-colonial media on our current international news media structures.

## **Appendix I: Expanded Literature Review**

To craft a story with both local and global dimensions, I draw upon a wide range of literatures. First and foremost, my work builds on scholarship about modern Egypt, specifically works focusing on Egypt's foreign relations and media landscape. I also incorporate the literature on pan-Arabism and pan-Africanism, as well as the much smaller historiography on pan-Islamism, nonalignment, and Afro-Asianism. Urban historians have also produced a number of studies on Cairo, and I combine these works with more conceptual writings on spatial history. I rely heavily on the research on the United States in the World, and specifically on African Americans in Africa, international public diplomacy, as well as some of the new global intellectual histories. The larger fields of media studies and media history also inform my work, though much of this work either focuses on the Western world, or on the post-digital age in the Middle East. Lastly, I utilize the growing scholarship on the international dimensions of decolonization and the Cold War to explore the larger global context of this history. While these scholarships also inform my methodology, I also draw upon the insights of science studies, social movement and intellectual history, and the emerging fields of digital humanities and computational linguistics. This project is viable in large part because of the richness of these existing scholarships. However, I also explore how this project fills a gap that these previous works have ignored. Overall, I believe that combining these literatures is crucial for exploring both the full extent of global anti-colonialism in Cairo, and the media infrastructure that helped construct and spread these ideas.

Since the outbreak of the revolution, Gamal Abdel Nasser has been a subject of fascination for historians. Much of this earlier work from the 1950s and 1960s examined the biography of Nasser and his peers, as well as their ideas of Arab socialism, revolution, and regional unity.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Lacoutre, *Egypt in Transition*. (New York, Criterion Books. 1958); Wilton Wynn, *Nasser of Egypt: The Search for Dignity*. (Cambridge, MA: Arlington Books, 1959); Keith Wheelock, *Nasser's New Egypt; a Critical*

Many of these initial scholars were also more attentive to Egypt's role in African and nonaligned affairs.<sup>2</sup> Malcolm Kerr's work on the Arab Cold War in 1971 has become foundational for studies on Arab regional affairs, and in many ways, the Sadat era, with its emphasis on de-Nasserization and economic privatization, shifted the scholarship on Egypt towards studies of political economy.<sup>3</sup> The Mubarak era resulted in a new openness to examine Nasser, and many of the works from this era rely on oral history interviews with key figures from the Free Officer's and Nasser regime.<sup>4</sup>

The advent of the cultural and social turns also produced a growing emphasis on non-elite Egyptians and media spaces, from workers and peasants to television and soap operas.<sup>5</sup> For example, Joel Gordon's *Revolutionary Melodrama*, published in 1998 delves into the more international and ideational elements of the Nasser regime through the lens of films. In this book, Gordon explores the relationship between cinema and politics as a site for the production of a revolutionary citizenship during the 1950s and 60s. Gordon posits his work as looking, "at

*Analysis*. (New York: Praeger, 1960); Malcolm H. Kerr, *Egypt under Nasser*. (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1963); Peter Mansfield, *Nasser's Egypt*. (Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1965); P J. Vatikotis, *Egypt Since the Revolution*. (New York, Praeger, 1968); Robert Stephens, *Nasser: A Political Biography*. (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1971); Anthony Nutting, *Nasser*. (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1972).

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Baulin, *The Arab Role in Africa*. (Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1962); Tareq Y. Ismael, *The U.A.R. in Africa: Egypt's Policy Under Nasser*. (Chicago, IL: Northwestern UP, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> Malcolm H. Kerr, *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir and his rivals, 1958-1970*. (London: Oxford UP, 1971); Raymond William Baker, *Egypt's Uncertain Revolution under Nasser and Sadat*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1978); John Waterbury, *Egypt: Burdens of the Past, Options for the Future*. (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1978); Israel Gershoni, *The Emergence of pan-Arabism in Egypt*, (Tel Aviv, 1981); John Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: the Political Economy of Two Regimes*. (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1983); Raymond A. Hinnebusch, *Egyptian Politics under Sadat: the Post-Populist Development of the Authoritarian-Modernizing State*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985).

<sup>4</sup> Anthony McDermott, *Egypt from Nasser to Mubarak: a Flawed Revolution*. (London: Croom Helm, 1988); Ismael Hoseein-zadeh, *Soviet Non-Capitalist Development: the Case of Nasser's Egypt*. (New York: Praeger, 1989); Israel Gershoni, *The Emergence of Pan-Arabism in Egypt*. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv UP, 1984).

<sup>5</sup> See Joel Beinin, *Was the Red flag flying there? Marxist politics and the Arab-Israeli conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948-1965*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Samah Selim, *The Novel and the Rural Imaginary in Egypt, 1880-1985* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004); Michael Gasper, *The Power of Representation: Publics, Peasants and Islam in Egypt* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

the meaning of the Nasser era to Egyptians who lived - and remember - it",<sup>6</sup> and my work builds upon Gordon's efforts to trace this construction of a revolutionary ethos in Egyptian media.<sup>7</sup> Gordon's earlier work on the Officer's Revolution is also useful for understanding the contingency of the revolution and how the lessons of 1952 continued to reverberate for the remainder of the Nasser era.<sup>8</sup> More recently, Gordon published a biography of Nasser, and shared an unpublished paper on the cultures of neutrality in Nasserist Egypt.<sup>9</sup> Both works focus more directly on the international and nonaligned aspects of Nasserism, though both only hint at the broader scope my dissertation explores. Nonetheless, Gordon's work is helpful for validating my assertion about the breadth of the U.A.R.'s aspirations and the influence of media in the early postcolonial moment.<sup>10</sup>

Since the late 1990s, historians have increasingly examined the narratives, meanings, and memories surrounding Nasser and Nasserism - the term for the mix of ideology and personality cult that emerged during his regime. This shift has spawned a number of biographies of Nasser, and reinvigorated studies of pan-Arabism.<sup>11</sup> Noteworthy is Rami Ginat's *Syria and the Doctrine*

<sup>6</sup> Joel Gordon, *Revolutionary Melodrama: Popular Film and Civic Identity in Nasser's Egypt*. (Chicago UP: 2002) 9.

<sup>7</sup> In fact, Gordon poses a number of similar questions, including "To what extent did the Nasser regime succeed in propagating a revolutionary ethos? ... How did popular culture reflect the abolition of formal class lines, expanded educational opportunity, women's suffrage, Arab socialism, independence? How was religion or religious expression manifested in a civic culture that was avowedly secular?" *Revolutionary Melodrama*, 10. However, our studies diverge though around the question of whether popular culture reflects popular belief.

<sup>8</sup> Joel Gordon, *Nasser's Blessed Movement: Egypt's Free Officers and the July Revolution*. (Oxford UP, 1992).

<sup>9</sup> Joel Gordon, *Nasser: Hero of the Arab Nation* (OneWorld Publications, 2006) and "Cultures of Neutrality - Nasserism and its Discontents" Working Paper 2008 [http://cavern.uark.edu/rd\\_arsc/mest/Cultures\\_of\\_Neutrality.pdf](http://cavern.uark.edu/rd_arsc/mest/Cultures_of_Neutrality.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> For example see, Gordon, *Nasser: Hero of the Arab Nation*. Gordon writes, "In a global context, Nasser and Nasser's Egypt are best studied in the context of Nehru's India, Sukarno's Indonesia, Nkrumah's Ghana, Tito's Yugoslavia, (as well as Ho Chi Minh's Vietnam and Castro's Cuba): fellow leaders with whom the Egyptian ruler rubbed shoulders and with whom he forcefully advocated international recognition of the concerns and agendas of new states. In the Arab world, Nasser had many rivals but few peers." 4.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Woodward, *Nasser*. (London: Longman, 1992); Anne Alexander, *Nasser: His Life and Times*. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005); Laura M. James, *Nasser at War: Arab Images of the Enemy*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Adeed Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003); James P. Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic*. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Ripeper Publishers, 2001); Elie Podeh, *The Decline of Arab Unity: The Rise*

of Arab Neutralism, which explores the longer intellectual history of neutralism in the Arab world, as well as the intellectual underpinnings of the union between Egypt and Syria from 1958 to 1961. Ginat approaches these topics from a similar framework to my dissertation, focusing on press and government narratives to study discourses around neutralism, especially from the Syrian perspective.<sup>12</sup> (NOTE: Ginat also has an article on the longer intellectual origins of neutralism in Egypt. "The Egyptian Left and the Roots of Neutralism in the Pre-Nasserite Era" British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 30, No. 1 (May, 2003) 5-24.) However, without the digital tools I use, his study relies on a more limited scope of sources. The question of the origins of neutralism in Egypt is also the subject of Reem Abou-el-Fadl's recent article on the Free Officer's early policy formation. Fadl argues that previous scholarship has largely dismissed the impact of the colonial experience on Nasser and his compatriots, and how this legacy was central to their support for neutralism and pan-Arabism.<sup>13</sup> My work builds on Ginat and Fadl's studies by extending their work into the 1960s, and integrating a more global approach to these questions.

Two works that do explore these questions into the 1960s is Gerasimos Tsourapas' "Nasser's Educators and Agitators across al-Watan al-'Arabi: Tracing the Foreign Policy Importance of Egyptian Regional Migration, 1952-1967", and Laurie Brand's *Official Stories: Politics and National Narratives in Egypt and Algeria*. Tsourapas' article explores how efforts to send Egyptian professionals, and specifically teachers, were part of a larger Egyptian policy to cement regional solidarities. Tsourapas focuses primarily on the Arab region and on the

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*and Fall of United Arab Republic*. (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> Ginat also has an article on the longer intellectual origins of neutralism in Egypt. "The Egyptian Left and the Roots of Neutralism in the Pre-Nasserite Era" *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (May, 2003) 5-24.

<sup>13</sup> Reem Abou-el-Fadl, "Early Pan-Arabism in Egypt's July Revolution: the Free Officer's Political Formation and Policy-Making, 1946-54" *Nations and Nationalism*. 21. 2. 2015. 289-308.

question of migration policy, but his article is useful for understanding alternative tools of Egyptian foreign policy in this era. Similar to Tsourapas, Brand uses educational textbooks, as well as other official documents, to explore the creation of an official narrative in the U.A.R. This emphasis on narrative is also similar to Ginat's work, but Brand compares the Egyptian experience to Algeria, rather than exploring the discourses in Egypt and Syria. All of these works are foundational for my approach of focusing on print materials to explore discourses, but my project utilizes both a more refined methodology and broader corpus to answer these questions.

In addition to the scholarly interest in Nasser and his policies, historians have long studied Egypt's relations to the global superpowers, especially the United States and the United Kingdom, and to a lesser degree the Soviet Union.<sup>14</sup> Many of these works have focused on two of the key crises of the Nasser period - the Suez Crisis and the Six Days War.<sup>15</sup> However, these studies have primarily explored questions around the decline of the British Empire and the rise of American power in the Middle East, as well as Egypt's relationship with Israel and Arab states.<sup>16</sup> Recently, Jesse Ferris' *Nasser's Gamble: How Intervention in Yemen Caused the*

<sup>14</sup> Rami Ginat, *The Soviet Union and Egypt, 1945-1955*. (London: Frank Cass, 1993); Ray Takeyh, *The Origins of the Eisenhower Doctrine: The US, Britain, and Nasser's Egypt 1953-57*. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); Salim Yaqub, *Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Robert McNamara, *Britain, Nasser and the Balance of Power in the Middle East, 1952-1967: From the Egyptian Revolution to the Six-Day War*. (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003); Jon B. Alterman, *Egypt and American Foreign Assistance, 1952-1956: Hopes Dashed*. (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Nigel John Ashton, *Eisenhower, Macmillan, and the Problem of Nasser: Anglo-American Relations and Arab Nationalism, 1955-59*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Silvia Borzutzky and David Berger. "Damned if You Do, Damned if You Don't: The Eisenhower Administration and the Aswan Dam." *The Middle East Journal*. 64. 1 (2010) 84-102.

<sup>15</sup> William Roger Louis and Avi Shlaim. *The 1967 Arab-Israeli War: Origins and Consequences*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012); Keith Kyle, *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East*. (London: I.B. Taurus, 2003).

<sup>16</sup> Zach Levey and Elie Podeh. *Britain and the Middle East: from Imperial Power to Junior Partner*. (Portland, Or: Sussex Academic Press, 2008); *Empire and Revolution: The United States and the Third World Since 1945*. Ed. by Peter L. Hahn and Mary Ann Heiss. (Columbus, OH: Ohio State UP, 2001); Lloyd C. Gardner, *The Road to Tahrir Square: Egypt and the United States from the Rise of Nasser to the Fall of Mubarak*. (New York, NY: New Press, 2011); Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945*. (Chapel Hill:

*Six-Day War and the Decline of Egyptian Power* and Guy Laron's *Origins of the Suez crisis: Postwar Development Diplomacy and the Struggle over Third World Industrialization, 1945-1956* have re-examined these conflicts from a more international perspective. Laron's recent articles on the 1955 Czech arms deal in Egypt, Soviet policy in the late 1960s towards the U.A.R., and the role of economics in Third World solidarities have also been useful in elucidating the debates over industrialization and development during this era.<sup>17</sup> Laron's work somewhat overlaps with my project, since he also explores Egypt's role in nonalignment and Afro-Asianism, but I believe our approaches are more complementary since I focus primarily on narrative and ideas, whereas Laron focuses on economics and international trade.

A further difference between my study and Laron's is my emphasis on Cairo's media. Egypt more so than most Arab countries has received significant attention to its media production, but these studies have often focused on the digital era of the 1990s, utilized news as a source but not a historical object, or ignored the institutional histories of media. One model for my research is Ziad Fahmy's article "Media-Capitalism: Colloquial Mass Culture and Nationalism in Egypt, 1908-18" explores the earlier antecedents of Egypt's media infrastructure.<sup>18</sup> Fahmy's conception of 'media-capitalism', a term he coins to discuss the larger production and economies of print, audio, and visual media in Egypt at the turn of the twentieth-century, has been useful for thinking through the media economies in Cairo and the Third World. Fahmy's study also builds

University of North Carolina, 2004) and "The New Frontier on the Nile: JFK, Nasser, and Arab Nationalism." *The Journal of American History*. 75. 2 (Sep., 1988), 501-527; Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East Since 1945*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005).

<sup>17</sup> Guy Laron, "Stepping Back from the Third World: Soviet Policy toward the United Arab Republic, 1965–1967." *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 12. 4, Fall 2010. 99-118; Guy Laron, "Semi-Peripheral Countries and the Invention of the 'Third World', 1955–65", *Third World Quarterly*, 35:9, (2014) 1547-1565; Guy Laron, "Cutting the Gordian Knot: the Post-WWII Egyptian Quest for Arms and the 1955 Czechoslovak Arms Deal" *Cold War International History Project*. 55. 2007

<sup>18</sup> Ziad Fahmy, "Media-Capitalism: Colloquial Mass Culture and Nationalism in Egypt, 1908-18" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 42, 1, (Feb. 2010) pp. 83-103.

on earlier histories, like Lila Abu-Lughod and Joel Gordon's work on the use of television and film as mass media to build new political subjectivities in Egypt.<sup>19</sup> The intersection between politics and media during the Nasser regime is also explored in William Rugh's *Arab Mass Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television in Arab Politics*. Rugh provides a topography for discussing media infrastructure and regimes, and also describes some of the shifts in the relationship between the press and the Nasser government. Building upon Rugh's work, Laura M. James, whose work I discussed earlier, has been especially useful for understanding the shifting political winds that influenced media and press policies during the Free Officers' regime. Though James is attentive to censorship, her accounts and those of Charles Tripp in an essay in *Contemporary Egypt: Through Egyptian Eyes* and Rugh's account in *Arab Mass Media* diverge over the degree and mechanisms of government control of the press differ. This gap is in part due to differing source bases and oral histories, but also speaks to the difficulty in understanding the underlying mechanisms of the media and the press in Cairo during this period.

In part, this question of relationship between state and media is one piece of a larger debate in the field of Arab media studies over how to approach the history of Arab media given the current Eurocentric nature of media history and studies. Two of the foremost scholars that have shaped this debate are Walter Armbrust and Tarik Sabry. In *Cultural Encounters in the Arab World*, Sabry outlines much of the central dilemma for media theorists of the Arab world - understanding Arab media not solely the byproduct of a Western model, but rather the result of entanglements between differing conceptions of modern, modernity, modernization, and modernness. This emphasis on the 'modern' in media is also central to Walter Armbrust's chapter

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<sup>19</sup> Lila Abu-Lughod, *Dramas of Nationhood: The Politics of Television in Egypt* (Chicago: UP Chicago, 2005) and Joel Gordon *Revolutionary Melodramas*.

on History in Arab Media Studies from the anthology *Arab Cultural Studies*. Both studies argue against Western versions of modernity and highlight the specific periodization of media development in the Arab World. Armbrust also calls for a more historical approach to media studies of the Middle East, which has a tendency to homogenize audiences. Armbrust outlines areas for future scholarship, and my work in particular heeds his call for attention to the relationship between media and colonialism, the connections between high and colloquial version of Arabic in Egyptian media and conceptions about the Egyptian nation, and the overlap between various types of media from visual to audio that were part of imagining this new Egyptian modernity.

One area that is central to my dissertation and builds on Armbrust's clarion call is my inclusion of Radio Cairo. Though accessing the original radio broadcasts is impossible, I do have many of the BBC summaries to draw upon. Furthermore, I also draw on Laura M. James' "Whose Voice? Nasser, the Arabs, and 'Sawt al-Arab'", which explores the impact of these radio broadcasts in the Arab world, especially as a vehicle for radical ideas and political change.<sup>20</sup> Similar to her book, James does not fully explore the more international dimensions of Cairo's radio, but James M. Brennan does have a chapter and article that explores the impact of Radio Cairo in East Africa. Both these studies help expand both my conception of media and the geographic range of my study. In addition to works on Radio Cairo, Laura Bier's work on feminism and women's activism in the Nasser era also explores some aspects of the Afro-Asian and nonaligned dimensions in Cairo, especially around the Afro-Asian Women's Conference in 1961.<sup>21</sup> The Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in Cairo in 1962 is also featured in Vijay Prashad's

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<sup>20</sup> Laura M. James "Whose Voice? Nasser, the Arabs, and 'Sawt al- Arab' Radio", *Transnational Broadcasting Studies*, 16, 2006.

<sup>21</sup> Laura Bier, *Revolutionary Womanhood: Feminisms, Modernity, and the State in Nasser's Egypt*. (Palo Alto, CA, USA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

*The Darker Nations.*<sup>22</sup> These works are part of a fairly small literature on Afro-Asianism and the Bandung moment that in the recent years has started to grow with a renewed interest in decolonization.<sup>23</sup>

Matthew Connelly's pioneering work *Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War* highlighted the need and potential for Cold War histories with a more in-depth consideration of decolonization and the emergence of a Third World.<sup>24</sup> In the last fifteen years, numerous scholars have explored this intersection, though studying this phenomenon at a global level remains difficult for one scholar. One solution has been the creation of anthologies, such as *The Cold War in the Third World* and *The Regional Cold Wars in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East*, which have brought together scholars working on a variety of regional specialties to explore this larger dynamic.<sup>25</sup> This greater attention to decolonization has also sparked new studies on the role of China in the Third World, and I plan to use this research, as well as work on the Soviet Union's activities in my project since I lack the requisite linguistic skills to work directly in these materials, and

<sup>22</sup> Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*. (New York, NY: New Press, 2007).

<sup>23</sup> Kweku Ampiah, *The Political and Moral Imperatives of the Bandung Conference of 1955: The Reactions of the US, UK, and Japan*. (Poole, England: Global Oriental, 2007); Jacqueline Anne Braveboy-Wagner, *Institutions of the Global South*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009); *The Idea of Freedom in Asia and Africa*. Ed. by Robert H. Taylor. (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2002); Christopher J. Lee, *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*. (Athens, OH: Ohio UP, 2010). David Kimche, *The Afro-Asian Movement: Ideology and Foreign Policy of the Third World*. (New York: Halsted Press, 1973); Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and its Impact: A Comparative Approach to the End of the Colonial Empires*. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008); *The United States and Decolonization: Power and Freedom*. Ed. by David Ryan and Victor Pungong. (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2000); Jamie Mackie, *Bandung 1955: Non-alignment and Afro-Asian Solidarity* (Singapore: Select Books, 2005).

<sup>24</sup> Mathew Connelly, *Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era*. (Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 2002); Mathew Connelly, "Rethinking the Cold War and Decolonization: The Grand Strategy of the Algerian War for Independence." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 33. 2 (May, 2001) 221-245; Mathew Connelly, "Taking Off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence." *The American Historical Review*. 105. 3. (June 2000) 739-769.

<sup>25</sup> *The Cold War in the Third World*. Edited by Robert J. McMahon. (New York, NY: Oxford UP, 2013) and *The Regional Cold Wars in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East: Crucial Periods and Turning Points*. Ed. Lorenz M. Luthi. (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2015); *The Middle East and the Cold War: Between Security and Development*. Ed. by Massimiliano Trentin. (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).

access to archives in these countries is increasingly being denied to foreign researchers.<sup>26</sup>

Recently scholars have started to re-explore North African history through this lens, building upon Connelly's earlier insights. In particular, I have already mentioned how Jeffrey Byrne's recent book *Mecca of Revolution* is a model for my project. In the book, Byrne explores many of the similar questions I raised in my introduction, specifically around the multiple meanings of Third World. Byrne also elucidates much of the history of the Algerian FLN in Cairo, and the relationship between Nasser and Ahmed Ben Bella, which are important pieces of my story. In his article on efforts to build a nonaligned coalition in Algiers and Belgrade, Byrne argues that the lofty rhetoric of Third Worldism often obscured the pragmatic and actual efforts to construct foreign policies, which is a dynamic at the heart of my dissertation.<sup>27</sup> In addition to Byrne's work, David Stenner's recent article "'Bitterness towards Egypt' – the Moroccan Nationalist Movement, Revolutionary Cairo and the Limits of Anti-Colonial Solidarity" illuminates how the Moroccan independence movement struggled with Nasser's efforts to assert his leadership over revolutionary movements, which he argues ultimately led to a schism in the Arab world.<sup>28</sup> This alternative perspective on Cairo's role in anti-colonialism is also explored briefly in recent works from the field of US in the World. Philip Muehlenbeck and Robert Rakove have been among the

<sup>26</sup> Jeremy Friedman, "Soviet Policy in the Developing World and the Chinese Challenge in the 1960s." *Cold War History*. 10. 2 (2010) 247-272; Zhihua Shen and Yafeng Xia, "The Whirlwind of China: Zhou Enlai's Shuttle Diplomacy in 1957 and its Effects." *Cold War History*. 10. 4 (2010) 513-535; Lorenz M. Luthi, *The Sino-Soviet split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2008); Jian Chen, "Bridging Revolution and Decolonization: The Bandung Discourse in China's Early Cold War Experience" *Chinese Historical Review*. 15. no 2. 2008; Jian Chen, *Mao's China and the Cold War*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Kyle Haddad-Fonda, "An illusory alliance: revolutionary legitimacy and Sino-Algerian relations, 1958–1962", *The Journal of North African Studies*, 19:3, (2014) 338-357; Guy Laron, "Stepping Back from the Third World: Soviet Policy toward the United Arab Republic, 1965–1967." *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 12. 4, Fall 2010. 99-118.

<sup>27</sup> Jeffrey James Byrne, "Beyond Continents, Colours, and the Cold War: Yugoslavia, Algeria, and the Struggle for Non-Alignment", *The International History Review* (2015); Jeffrey James Byrne, "Our Own Special Brand of Socialism: Algeria and the Contest of Modernities in the 1960s." *Diplomatic History*. 33. 3 (June 2009) 427-447.

<sup>28</sup> David Stenner "'Bitterness towards Egypt' – the Moroccan Nationalist Movement, Revolutionary Cairo and the Limits of Anti-Colonial Solidarity", *Cold War History* (2015).

first to look at the United States' response to Nasser in relation to the broader question of US policy towards African decolonization and nonalignment respectively.<sup>29</sup> Rakove has also explored the question of Non-Aligned Movement summity, and specifically the non-aligned policy of mediation. In this article, Rakove argues that the late 1950s and 60s, non-aligned states, like the U.A.R., sought to pursue a policy of mediation with the Cold War superpowers over conflicts in the Congo and South East Asia. Though partially driven out of self interest, Rakove details how these states were primarily motivated by "conceptions of ideals and identity: the notion that the post-colonial world could act with an energy, morality, and creativity lost to the industrial North."<sup>30</sup> However, Rakove details how mediation's success at lessening Cold War tensions, unexpectedly also limited the policy's impact and that the shift towards more militant means in places like Vietnam and Rhodesia further splintered this ethos. Rakove also discusses the 1964 Non-Aligned Conference in Cairo, and Nasser's efforts to present the conference as a milestone for the movement, even as the renewed civil war in the Congo overshadowed the conference.<sup>31</sup> Though these international histories provide important insights into the U.A.R. and the larger global political order, none of these works fully engage with media - though they often cite newspapers and press clippings as sources. One area that is bridging international history and media history is the emerging sub-field of public diplomacy. Many of these studies also

<sup>29</sup> David D. Newsom, *The Imperial Mantle: The United States, Decolonization, and the Third World*. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 2001); Philip E. Muehlenbeck, *Betting on the Africans: John F. Kennedy's Courting of African Nationalist Leaders*. (Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 2012); *Race, Ethnicity, and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*. Edited by Philip E. Muehlenbeck. (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt UP, 2012); Robert B. Rakove, *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Nonaligned World*. (New York, NY: Cambridge UP, 2012); Jason Parker, "Cold War II: The Eisenhower Administration, the Bandung Conference, and the Postwar Era." *Diplomatic History*. 30. 5. (November 2006) 867-892; Eric Gettig, "Trouble Ahead in Afro-Asia": The United States, the Second Bandung Conference, and the Struggle for the Third World, 1964–1965," *Diplomatic History*. 39. 1. (2015) 126-156.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Rakove, "The Rise and Fall of Non-Aligned Mediation, 1961-1966" *The International History Review*, 37. 5. (2015) 19.

<sup>31</sup> Janick Marina Schaufelbuehl, Sandra Bott, Jussi Hanhimäki & Marco Wyss "Non-Alignment, the Third Force, or Fence-Sitting: Independent Pathways in the Cold War", *The International History Review* (2015).

build upon earlier cultural histories of America's empire and 'sticky' power. In particular, I draw upon Heather Hendershot's *What's fair on the air? Cold War Right-Wing Broadcasting and the Public Interest* as a model for exploring radio in the Cold War; Andrew Wulf's *U.S. International Exhibitions During the Cold War: Winning Hearts and Minds Through Cultural Diplomacy* for exploring public exhibitions and trade fairs in Cairo; and Sönke Kunkel's *Empire of Pictures: Global Media and the 1960s Remaking of American Foreign Policy* to explore the use of anti-colonial imagery in Cairo newspapers. Combining the broader perspective of these US in the World studies which explore Nasser's role in African affairs, with studies of American public diplomacy enable an exploration of both the broader impact of the U.A.R.'s anti colonialism, as well as the mechanisms that enabled this vision to spread beyond the borders of Cairo and across the Third World.

Even though the U.A.R. does not feature prominently, I also examine the literature on modern African international relations, which highlight some of the alternative efforts at constructing regional and continental unity that at times challenged the version propagated in Cairo.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, this literature hints at how racial and religious differences were barriers to the U.A.R.'s efforts to bridge the Sahara.<sup>33</sup> For example, Zach Levey's work on Israel's

<sup>32</sup> Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2002); Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1996); Howard W. French, *A Continent for the Taking: The Tragedy and Hope of Africa*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004); Daniel Speich, "The Kenyan Style of "African Socialism": Developmental Knowledge Claims and the Explanatory Limits of the Cold War." *Diplomatic History*. 33. 3 (June 2009) 449-466; Kwesi Krafona, *The Pan-African Movement: Ghana's Contribution*. (London, UK: Afroworld Pub.1986); Colin Legum, *Africa Since Independence*. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1999); Elizabeth Schmidt, *Foreign Intervention in Africa*. (West Nyack, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Jeffrey S. Ahlman, "The Algerian Question in Nkrumah's Ghana, 1958–1960: Debating "Violence" and "Nonviolence" in African Decolonization," *Africa Today*. 57. 2 (Winter 2010) 66-84.

<sup>33</sup> Ryan M. Irwin, *Gordian Knot: Apartheid and the Unmaking of the Liberal World Order*. (New York: Oxford UP, 2012); Ryan M. Irwin, "Mapping Race: Historicizing the History of the Color-Line. *History Compass*. 8/9 (2010) 984-999.

development efforts in decolonizing African states underscores the difficulty the U.A.R. faced in trying to build continental solidarities, and how this anti-colonial solidarity was not inevitable.<sup>34</sup> I also utilize the literature on the Congo crisis, which in the last few years has grown considerably as historians have unearthed the larger global implications of the crisis. These works mention Nasser and Cairo but fail to explore much of the U.A.R.'s efforts or how the city became a key hub for Congolese rebels.<sup>35</sup> The Congo crisis also opens a window into the U.A.R.'s relationship with Cuba, and the U.A.R.'s response to Cuba's efforts at establishing tricontinentalism.<sup>36</sup> Lastly, the literature on Sub-Saharan African decolonization also illuminates the role of African Americans in these movements. A growing subfield of the US in the World literature examines African Americans during the Cold War, and how efforts for African decolonization were intertwined with efforts to achieve civil rights.<sup>37</sup> While most of these works focus on sub-Saharan Africa or the Black Atlantic, my dissertation explores the experiences of some of these African Americans, such as Shirley Graham Du Bois and Maya Angelou, who spent time in Cairo during the 1960s.<sup>38</sup> While American missionaries, embassy officials, and development experts were in the city during this decade, many of the African Americans who advocated for African liberation also participated in the U.A.R.'s anti-colonial vision through conferences and government owned

<sup>34</sup> Zach Levey, *Israel in Africa 1956-1976*. (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Republic of Letters Pub., 2012); Zach Levey, "The Rise and Decline of a Special Relationships: Israel and Ghana, 1957-1966." *African Studies Review*. 46. 1 (Apr. 2003) 155-177.

<sup>35</sup> Larry Devlin, *Chief of Station, Congo. A Memoir of 1960-67*. (New York, NY 2007); Lise A. Namikas, *Battleground Africa: Cold War in the Congo, 1960-1965*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2013); John Kent, *America, the UN and Decolonisation: Cold War conflict in the Congo*. (New York, NY: Routledge Press. 2010); Alessandro Iandolo, "Imbalance of Power: The Soviet Union and the Congo Crisis, 1960– 1961." *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 16. 2, Spring 2014, 32-55.

<sup>36</sup> Lillian Guerra, *Visions of Power in Cuba: Revolution, Redemption, and Resistance, 1959- 1971*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions Havana Washington and Africa, 1959-1976*. (Chapel Hill, NC 2002).

<sup>37</sup> Brenda Gayle Plummer, *In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization, 1956-1974*. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge UP, 2013); Kevin Kelly Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2006).

<sup>38</sup> Horne, Gerald. *Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois*. (New York, NY: New York UP, 2000).

newspapers and periodicals, and provided a bridge to both sub-Saharan Africa and communities in the United States.

Historians have increasingly explored the extent of African Americans travels across the Third World, but few scholars have focused on individuals in Cairo. One exception is David Graham Du Bois, the son of Shirley Graham Du Bois, who spent most of the 1960s in Cairo, and features prominently on two works on the historical connections between Palestinians and African Americans.<sup>39</sup> After arriving from Peking in 1960, Du Bois found Cairo to be a revolutionary hub, and was able to find work as a writer for *The Egyptian Gazette* and *Arab Observer*, as well as on Radio Cairo. After the coup in Ghana in 1966, Shirley joined David in Cairo, and also promoted Nasser and the UAR to her networks. In the article "Towards an Afro-Arab Diasporic Culture: The Translational Practices of David Graham Du Bois," Keith Feldman does a close reading of Du Bois' semi-autobiographical work *And Bid Him Sing...*, which loosely described his time in Cairo, and the aspirations and struggles for non-Egyptians in the city. Du Bois was also central during Malcolm X's visit to Cairo in 1964, which is the subject of Edward E. Curtis' recent article "My Heart Is in Cairo": Malcolm X, the Arab Cold War, and the Making of Islamic Liberation Ethics". Curtis explores for the first time the importance of Cairo, Nasser, and al Azhar to Malcolm X's development of a new Islamic ethics of liberation towards the end of his life. While Manning Marable's earlier biography of Malcolm X discussed his time in Saudi Arabia and Egypt, Curtis explores much more in depth how the revolutionary ethos of Cairo inspired Malcolm X's efforts to establish the Organization of African American Unity and propagate a new understanding of the connection between Islam and

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<sup>39</sup> Alex Lubin, *Geographies of Liberation: The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Keith P. Feldman, *Shadow over Palestine: The Imperial Life of Race in America*. (Minneapolis, MN, USA: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

nonaligned politics.<sup>40</sup> While both Du Bois and Malcolm X were exceptional individuals, their experiences in Cairo provide an alternative lens into this anti-colonial vision than the records of foreign embassies. Furthermore, I believe that including these historical actors opens up the potential for bridging scholarship on the black press with scholarship on the radical press during this era. I plan to explore in my project how anti-colonial media connected these presses, and how various intellectuals and revolutionaries circulated their ideas across these publications.

Besides Curtis' work, most historians have ignored the Islamic aspects of the Nasser regime. This neglect is in part due to the focus on the Muslim Brotherhood during this period, which was outlawed and its leaders, like Sayyid Qutb, were executed. Furthermore, the subsequent rise of political Islam during the Sadat period has largely overshadowed the role of pan-Islamic ideas in Nasser's anti-colonial vision. One of the few books on this period is Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen's *Defining Islam for the Egyptian State: Muftis and Fatwas of the Dār al-Iftā*, which examines the crucial reforms of 1961 that nationalized all Islamic institutions in Egypt, including al-Azhar, the seat of Islamic learning in Egypt. In these reforms, Nasser also established new ministries for Islamic charities and missionaries.<sup>41</sup> In my dissertation, I explore how the Nasser government leveraged these Islamic solidarities with other decolonizing states, and supported missionaries from across the continent to study at al-Azhar. I also consider efforts to establish some form of pan-Islamic institution during this era, which eventually materialized into the Organization of Islamic Conference in 1969. While the thread of

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<sup>40</sup> This article builds upon Sales, William W. Jr. *From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity*. (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1994) focusing on Malcolm X's time in Cairo.

<sup>41</sup> Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen expands on the impact of these changes in the 1970s in the chapter "Egypt's Ulama in the State, in Politics, and in the Islamist Vision" in *The Rule of Law, Islam, and Constitutional Politics in Egypt and Iran*. Eds. Said Amir Arjomand and Nathan J. Brown, (SUNY Press 2013). Also see Malika Zeghal, "Religion and Politics in Egypt: The Ulema of al-Azhar, Radical Islam, and the State (1952-94)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Aug., 1999) 371-399.

pan-Islamic ideals was less overt in revolutionary discourses in Cairo, missionaries, Islamic thinkers and educators, and Islamic magazines were important vehicles for imaging these anti-colonial solidarities and spreading them to places like Nigeria and Indonesia. Ultimately, my dissertation attempts to cut across both racial and religious divisions that have shaped current historiographies on these topics, and highlight the intersections between all these seemingly disparate movements and ideas that crisscrossed through Cairo.

As I mentioned in the introduction, I utilize the lens of Cairo to frame my study. Cairo has been a subject of inquiry for numerous urban histories, though the Nasser era has only recently received detailed study.<sup>42</sup> In the edited anthology *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*, Omani el Shakry traces from the 1930s to the late 1970s the spatial practices around urbanism in/from Cairo, and argues that understanding this question requires examining the relationships between the city and the rural. In the chapter "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution?", Shakry argues that state planners viewed Cairo as a model for revolutionary modernity, as opposed to the countryside which was a site for development projects. According to Shakry, efforts to remake the peasantry through social welfare development projects and land redistribution were in fact designed to regulate these populations. Shakry's insights build upon the groundbreaking work of Timothy Mitchell on the emergence of 'techno-politics' and the expertise of development during the Nasser period. In *The Rule of Experts*, Mitchell explores the construction of an 'economy' in twentieth century Egypt, exploring the intersections of science, politics, and technologies and how experts tried to make these entities legible. Mitchell describes how during the Nasser era, Egyptian and

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<sup>42</sup> Nezar AlSayyad, *Cairo: Histories of a City*. Cambridge, (MA: Harvard UP, 2011); Andre Raymond, *Cairo*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2000); Nancy Reynolds, *A City Consumed: Urban Commerce, the Cairo Fire, and The Politics of Decolonization in Egypt*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2012); Andrew Beattie, *Cairo: A Cultural History*. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005).

American development experts attempted to transform the peasantry away from feudalism towards a more socialist and modernized model of property and labor. Both Shakry and Mitchell's works explore not only the longer histories of these practices and ideas, but also how these experts often failed to achieve their aims or even understand the communities involved in these projects. While this assessment is true for many modernizing schemes, this insight is particularly important for understanding both the scale of the Nasser's government's development plans, as well as the disconnect that developed between the ideas and realities about the future of modern Egypt.

Most recently, the organizer behind the e-zine *Cairo Observer*, Mohamed Elshahed defended his dissertation, which builds upon Shakry and Mitchell's research, while also exploring in depth the role of architecture and spatial planning during the Nasserist period. In "Revolutionary Modernism? Architecture and the Politics of Transition", Elshahed explores how architectural modernism emerged in late colonial Egypt, and became tied to the revolutionary and anti-colonial struggles over national identity in the 1950s and 60s. Elshahed traces how urban spaces, from housing to schools to major landmarks like the Cairo Tower, were designed and built to embody this new revolutionary ethos, and represented the most visible symbols of the Nasser regime's legitimacy. Elshahed explores how the construction of these new spaces was part of larger discourses in the media around the changing landscape of Egyptian politics and society. My dissertation and Elshahed's research overlap considerably, as he also considers the anti-colonial and global aspects of Nasserism in this period. In fact, he writes about some of the international exhibitions, such as the Afro-Asian Housing Congress in Cairo in 1963, that I also cover in my research. However, though our questions and sources have much in common, Elshahed is more focused on the development and disappearance of a

professionalized architectural expertise in Egypt, and how the rise and decline of this field was tied to a belief in revolutionary modernism throughout the Nasser regime. In essence, Elshahed, Shakry, and Mitchell's scholarship all provide important pieces of how Egyptian experts beyond the top rungs of the government mediated, perpetuated, and legitimized this revolutionary agenda. My dissertation builds upon these works to tie this history to the development of Egypt's press during this period as a vehicle for a global revolutionary vision.

## **Appendix II: Expanded Methods Section**

### **Intellectual Framework**

Though historians traditionally eschew theory, I believe that a project like mine - that bridges multiple regions and scales - requires some discussion of how I plan to organize and delimit the scope of this study. With these digital tools and extensive datasets, there is a temptation to indulge in mission creep, and essentially produce a panopticon of media, politics, and society in Cairo. To prevent this fate, I have tried to limit the scope of my study temporally and in this section I outline my current intellectual framework that attempts to marry the scale of my project with the historiography and theory that has informed my research questions. Scale in particular is critical to my project, as I am attempting to identify patterns in my media analysis around historical events, places, and figures, as well as ideas, which is only possible through comparing trends across a broad swath of historical evidence. This approach is necessary because of the lack of accessible archives in Cairo, which makes inferring the impact of policy in media production and the relationship between media and politics difficult. Nonetheless, the sheer output of print and audio-visual media in Cairo represents a unique opportunity to leverage newer methodologies for managing large amounts of research to explore my research questions. Ultimately, my method is not so much a search for ground truth into the meaning of anti-colonialism or the definitive causal hierarchy for the collapse of anti-colonial solidarities, but rather an investigation into the spectrum of meanings and the entanglements that produced this new vision for the political order.

Many of the historiographies I previously discussed provide both a foundation for content and a template for structuring my project. For example, I incorporate: the emphasis on narratives and memories in works on modern Egypt; the focus on global movements and international politics in the international histories of nonalignment and the Third World; and the

construction of Cairo as a space from urban histories.<sup>1</sup> In addition to these works, my project also draws from the history of ideas, the new global intellectual history, and media history. As I discussed in my introduction, my two primary models are Michael Goebel's *Anti-Imperial Metropolis* on Interwar Paris and Jeffrey Byrne's *Mecca of Revolution* on Algeria, both of which are exemplary international histories of space and movements. In terms of histories of ideas, this project draws from Daniel Rodger's *Age of Fracture*, Erez Manela's *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*, and Mark Mazower's *Governing the World: The History of an Idea*. I push Rodger's insightful argument about the fragmenting of identities and solidarities in America during the late 70s and 80s to the earlier Egyptian context to understand the fracturing of these anti-colonial solidarities and identities. Both Manela and Mazower's books offer models for understanding how political imaginings travel across borders and help construct international movements. Manela and Mazower's works also exemplify the new trend in intellectual history to explore questions from a global perspective.<sup>2</sup> This global approach builds upon the work of historians of international relations and empire, who have long emphasized the analytical category of 'power' as a subject for historical inquiry, especially the ways power encourages and halts certain flows of ideas and people across networks.<sup>3</sup> For my project, Frederick Cooper's definition of discourses as "coercive power" is critical, as well as his argument that discursive power can constitute and frustrate certain power formations.<sup>4</sup> As I mentioned earlier, Walter Armbrust and Tarik Sabry's works have been particularly instructive in my conception of the U.A.R.'s media and press, as

<sup>1</sup> Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton, US: Princeton University Press, 2016); Diego Adrian Olstein. *Thinking History Globally*. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> For overview, see Paul Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World," *American Historical Review* (December 2011) 1348-1391.

<sup>4</sup> Cooper, Frederick, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1996) 15.

well as the larger analytic of media and its forms. I also utilize Laura James and Sönke Kunkel's emphasis on imagery and symbolism in media for my analysis of cartoons and photographs in Cairo's print media. Thus, considering both ideas and discourses, and their relationship to the form of media and politics is central to my framework.

Analyzing complex historical data and extracting patterns is not easy, but there are successful models. One in particular is Cameron Blevins' work on mapping the production of space in late nineteenth century Houston newspapers. In an article and companion methods piece, Blevins outlines how he mapped the construction and production of space in two daily newspapers, quantifying where and which places appeared in the newspaper and how these place names were part of envisioning new regional and national spaces. Blevins utilizes Franco Moretti's method of 'distant reading', which uses large datasets to extract patterns about literature. Blevins employs distant reading to study how the newspaper discussed place, and argues that collectively all the articles and advertisements were part of imaging new regional spaces. Blevins' work is a model both for his compelling argument, and because he outlines his method. Blevins first transforms the newspapers into a machine readable format, and then uses a combination of frequency analysis and content sampling to extract both the amount of place names and where in the newspaper each place was mentioned - whether in advertisements or the front page, etc.... Blevins explicitly states that the method is far from perfect with the data often producing errors. Nonetheless, he is able to explore these larger patterns within the newspapers, and then blend this meta-analysis with a more traditional narrative and close reading approach. Essentially, Blevins turns the traditional historical approach of closely reading a text and then extrapolating its importance on its head, using distant reading to first extrapolate the patterns and then closely reading certain articles to understand particular moments. Ultimately, Blevins persuasively uses this method to argue that regional conceptions of space

trumped national ones, even though this period is traditionally thought of as one of national consolidation.

This digital/computational method for exploring places can also be applied to ideas, or more specifically clusters of words that represent ideas and discourses.<sup>5</sup> However, whether studying places or ideas, this method involves abstracting text, and there is a danger of misinterpreting these patterns and overstating their significance. Yet, even with this cautionary admission, I still believe that this approach provides a novel way of understanding my sources at a different scale, especially around the question of how discourses and meanings around ideas, places, and people change over time. One model of this method is Micki Kaufman's Quantifying Kissinger project that explores the constellation of ideas in memcons and telcons from Kissinger's time in the Nixon White House. Kaufman uses a number of corpus linguistic tools to explore how both the content and tone of these sources changed over time. I plan to use these same methods and tools to explore and compare Egyptian print media, government documents, and non-Egyptian print media envisioned Cairo's role in anti-colonialism.

Taken together - ideas, discourses, power, networks, and media, provide a robust analytical framework, which when combined with close and distant reading methods are the foundation for this study. Exploring the historiographical and intellectual background for this project is critical, even if it is a bit dry, because my dissertation is not one with obvious edges. My project has limits (space: Cairo, time period: 1950s and 1960s) but the people and ideas involved are wide ranging. Thus, I believe that my intellectual framework can help focus my project productively, while also enabling me to draw on a diverse range of literatures and sources. Ultimately, my

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<sup>5</sup> For more, see Geoffrey Rockwell and Stefan Sinclair, *Hermeneutica: Computer-Assisted Interpretation in the Humanities*. (MIT Press, 2016); Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan, and Scott Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data: The Historian's Macroscope*. (London: Imperial College Press, 2016) Historian's Macroscope, Taylor Arnold and Lauren Tilton, *Humanities Data in R: Exploring Networks, Geospatial Data, Images, and Text*. (Cham: Springer, 2015).

strongest rationale for using this framework is that the story of anti-colonial Cairo has remained on the margins, and this approach will help me uncover this elusive place in time.

### **Case Study of Method**

To best demonstrate this digital method, I have developed a small case study from a previous conference paper, entitled Cairo's Congo Crisis. The paper explores the impact of the Congo Crisis in Cairo, as well as the U.A.R. and Nasser's role in the conflict. The current Egyptian historiography largely neglects the conflict, and new literature on the Congo crisis still treats Cairo as a marginal actor. In the paper, I argue that this neglect has obscured the coverage of the Congo in the Egyptian press, especially in the early 1960s, and how the conflict became a symbol and rallying point for anti-colonial solidarities. In the paper, I trace the beginning of the U.A.R.'s involvement in African affairs in the mid-1950s from the initial focus on the Sudan to their support for decolonizing states, and specifically Congolese independence in mid-1960. I also explore Nasser's role in mediating the conflict at the UN, and especially his leadership among nonaligned and radical African states. Lastly, I study the press coverage and protests around the conflict in Cairo, and the eventual marginalizing and forgetting of the Congo in official Egyptian discourses post-1965. For this case study, I explore similar questions using corpus linguistic tools to look at how the constellation of meaning around the Congo changed from 1960 to 1965.

My corpus for this study is *The Arab Observer*, which was a U.A.R. funded magazine published in English from Cairo. The magazine had the tagline of "the nonaligned weekly", and was circulated to a number of decolonized and Western countries. Thus, *The Arab Observer* provides a useful window into the 'official' version of Cairo's role in the Congo crisis since the publication was largely produced for propagating the U.A.R.'s government vision for

anti-colonialism. Many of the articles are unattributed so determining the individuals involved is difficult. Nonetheless, both David Graham Du Bois and Maya Angelou worked on the magazine in the early 1960s. My original paper was based on a wider range of sources, but for this case study focuses on one periodical to limit the number of variables. Also as a point of order, this case study is not intended to provide new information from the paper, but rather validate this method against a thoroughly researched question and dataset.

For this case study, I primarily use textplot, a statistical modeling tool developed by David McClure. Textplot allows for exploration of both the conceptual and temporal trends over a corpus, which is helpful for historians interested in change over time.<sup>6</sup> However, unlike other statistical analyses such as topic modeling, textplot does collapse individual sources into one larger corpus. I may include these alternative methods in my dissertation to help situate and validate my analyses, but for this case study I plan to solely use textplot for brevity's sake. To organize this study, I first processed my corpus of *The Arab Observer* through an optical character recognition process, which extracted the text with a high accuracy rate. These OCR programs are not perfect but most of the errors are for placeholder words - it, is, are, etc..., rather than more unique words. Unfortunately, this process also removes all the images from the articles, but I do keep all the captions of images, advertisements, and table of contents in the corpus for a more holistic analysis.

To analyze occurrences of the name Congo in this corpus, I split the corpus into years, each with the following word count:

- 1960: 290524;
- 1961: 720828;

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<sup>6</sup> David McClure has a series of blog posts about how textplot works on his website <http://dclure.org>. For further example of this tool, see Micki Kaufman's use of the tool here <http://blog.quantifyingkissinger.com/2015/01/force-directed-diagram-memcons-and-telcons-textplot/>

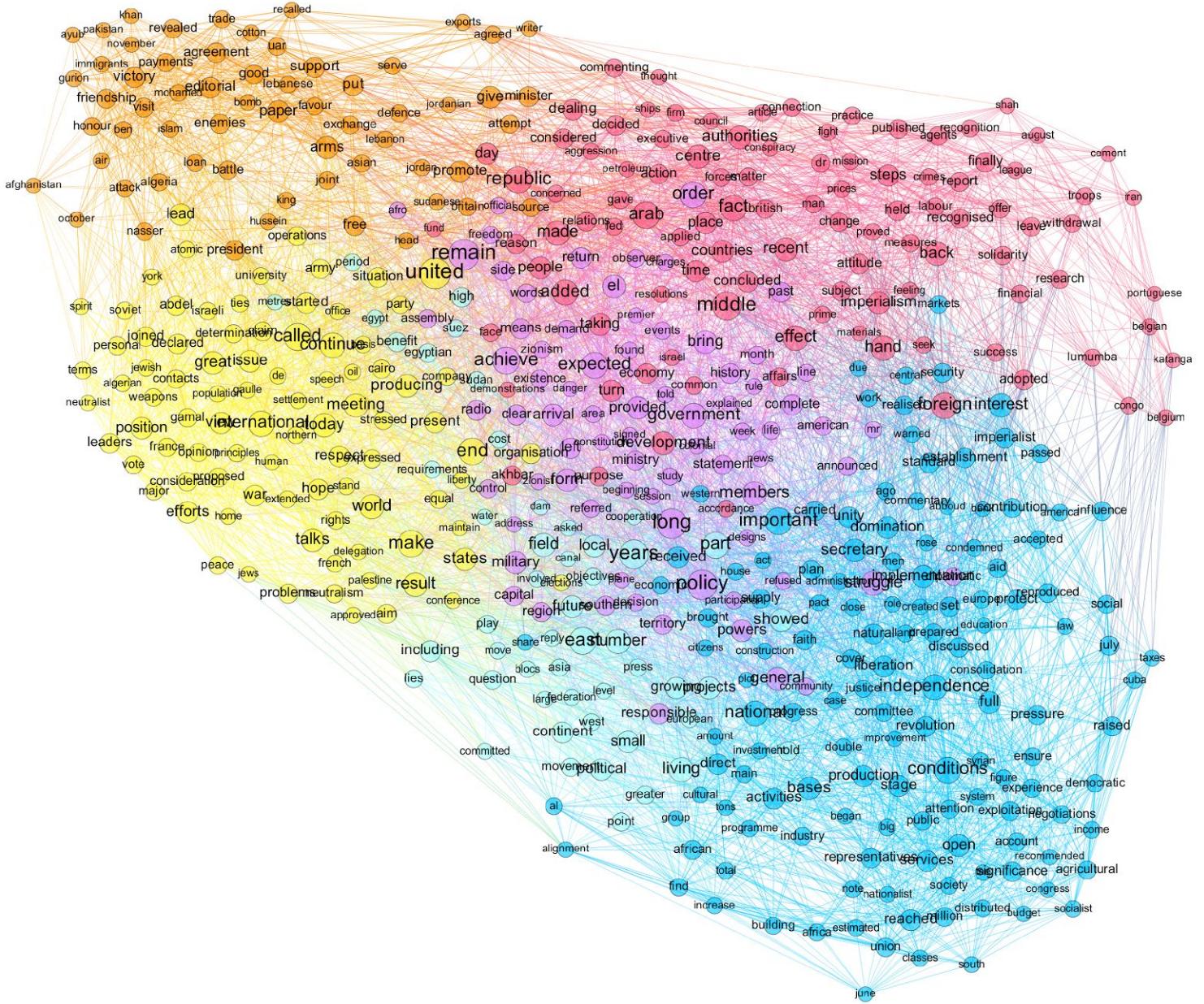
- 1962: 1179231;
- 1963: 1037616;
- 1964: 679272;
- 1965: 354014.

Both 1960 and 1965 are noticeably smaller because the publication started in mid-1960 and I have been unable to locate many of the issues from 1965. After I completed the OCR process on *The Arab Observer*, I calibrated the textplot settings for each year.<sup>7</sup> To enable comparison across years, I tried to find a setting that accurately reflected each corpus year. Ultimately, I decided on the following textplot settings: term depth: 500, skim depth: 20, and bandwidth: 10000. These settings likely seem arbitrary, but just as traditional history requires the somewhat arbitrary choice of a project's parameters, these settings represent both an arbitrary and calibrated decision.<sup>8</sup> Briefly, the term depth sets the number of words to allow in the analysis. Skim depth sets the number of connections between the words. Bandwidth sets the smoothing function of the distribution, allowing me to smooth out irregularities while also keeping the distinctive patterns of each word overall in the text. Ultimately, these settings determine how many terms and connections from the corpus to analyze, and how much to smooth the noise of the corpus to allow for the extraction of meaningful statistical patterns.

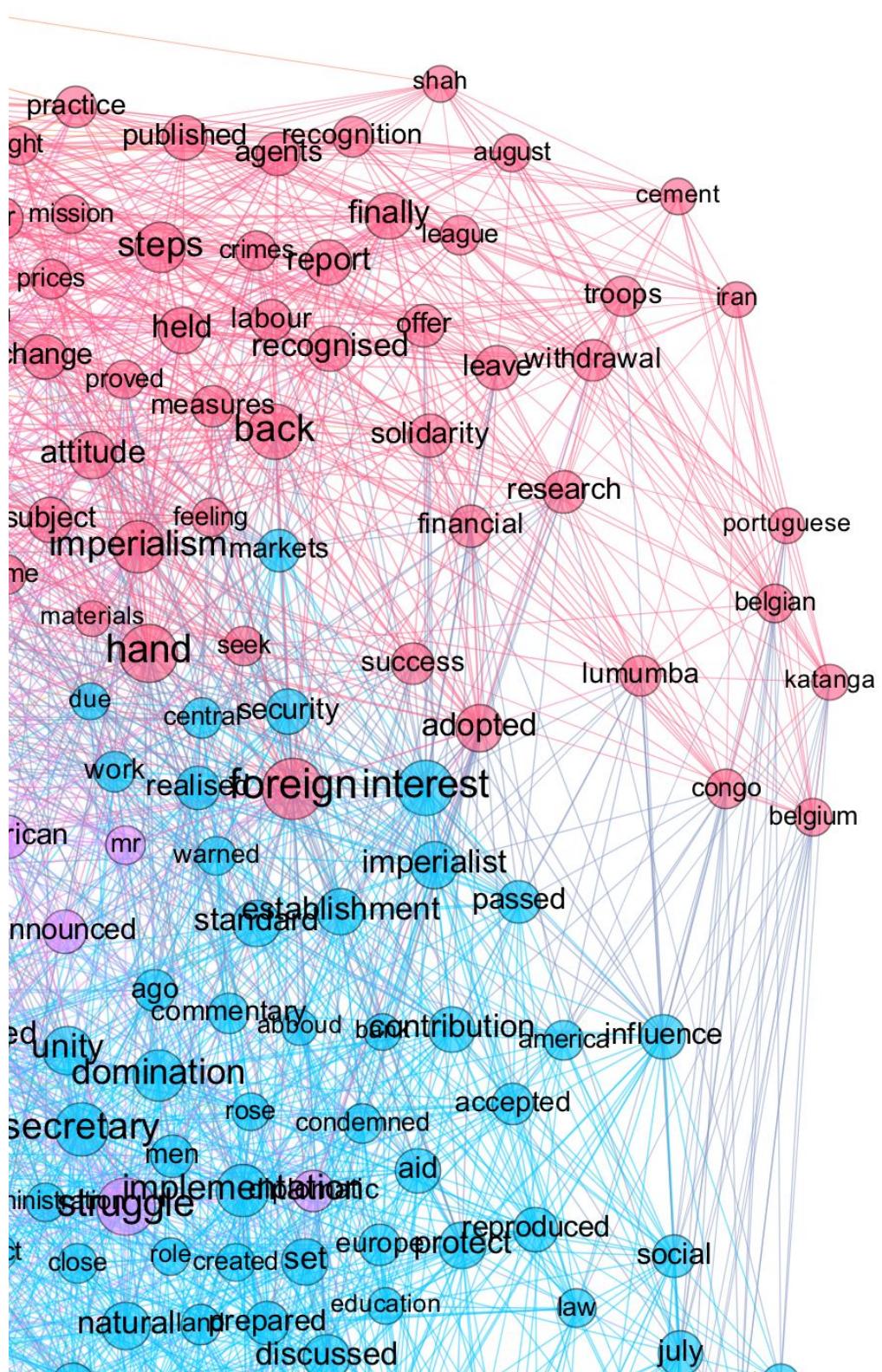
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<sup>7</sup> To understand more about how the settings of textplot work, see David McClure  
<http://dclure.org/logs/tuning-textplot/>

<sup>8</sup> I chose the particular settings after running numerous tests to calibrate textplot to my corpuses, and if interested I would be willing to share the full spreadsheet where I recorded how the settings altered the output of textplot



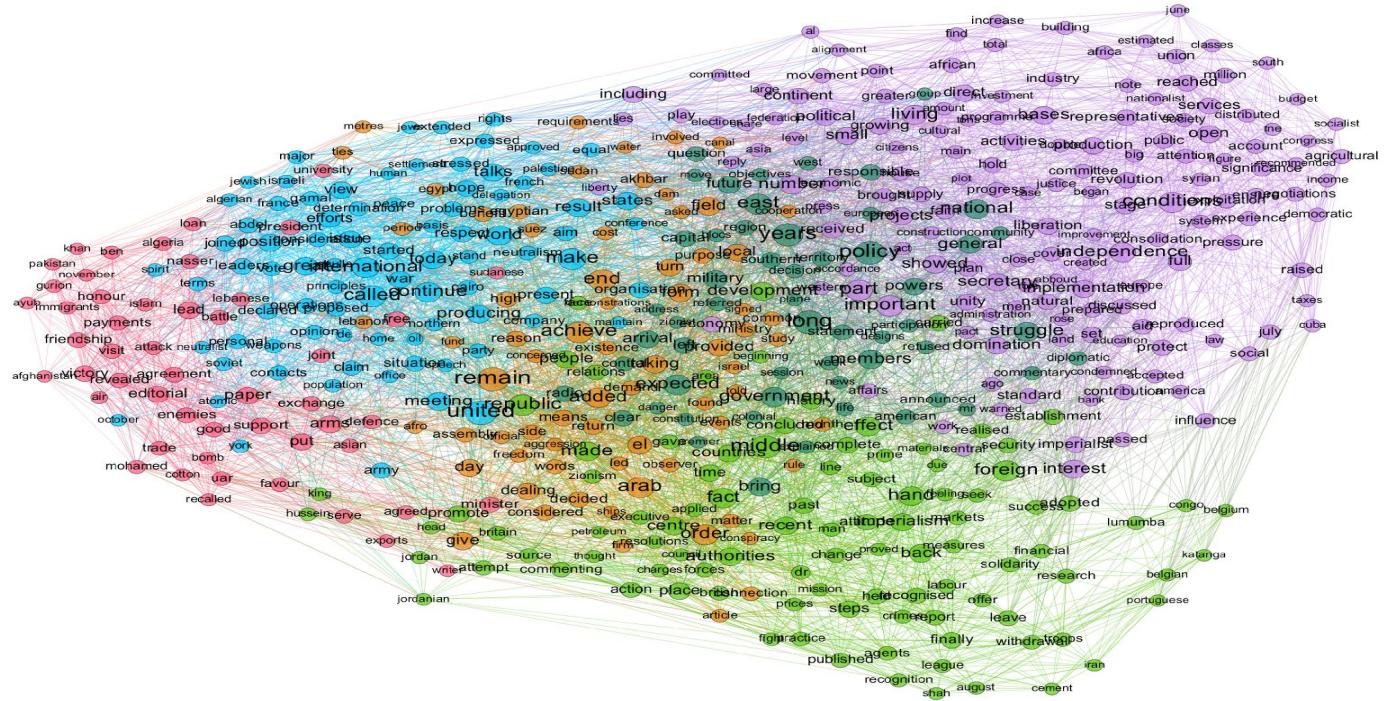
**Figure 1: Textplot Map for *The Arab Observer* corpus 1960.** Term depth: 500; skim depth: 20; bandwidth: 15000.



**Figure 2: Zoomed in view on Congo Cluster in *The Arab Observer* corpus 1960 textplot**

Each textplot produces a networked map of the conceptual hubs and linkages in the text. This map shows *The Arab Observer* from 1960, which consisted of 15 issues from the end of June to December. Understanding what this map and textplot visualizes is difficult since the map looks more like spaghetti than an interpretative argument. To give some perspective, David McClure describes textplot as producing mental maps of texts, and he built the program to find how words both flow and cluster within a text. On his blog, McClure uses the case study of *War and Peace* to demonstrate how distinct events in the text, such as battles, have similar characteristics even though they do not appear conterminously in the text. The same is true when he looks at words that cluster around the concept of peace and war, as well as key characters in the book. In the textplot shown above there are fewer distinctive groups, as many of the most central terms appear frequently throughout the corpus, and thus, cluster at the center of the graph. Along the edges of the map, the more distinctive clusters could be labeled: as neutralism, socialist development, imperialism, and international relations.

These broad labels are not hard and fast, since the map itself is more of a fluid than fixed arrangement. In fact, the ‘spatial’ orientations of these nodes are actually three dimensional, and consequently, examining them in two dimensions flattens many of these connections. Furthermore, the position of each node in the map is relative to every other node. Lastly, the colors of the map are based on running a statistical analysis on the clustering within the network, but these clusters change depending on which the settings of the textplot. To give a sense of how these parameters change, here is the same textplot analysis run through the same network mapping analyses but producing a different layout.



Though these maps are arbitrary at some level, they are helpful for visualizing these connections and clusters, and as a starting point for digging into this data. As I mentioned previously, this case study is focused on the words that are connected to ‘Congo’, in an effort to understand how the meaning associated with the noun changed over time. This approach is an attempt to historicize the meaning of Congo and how the noun was associated with other concepts in *The Arab Observer*.

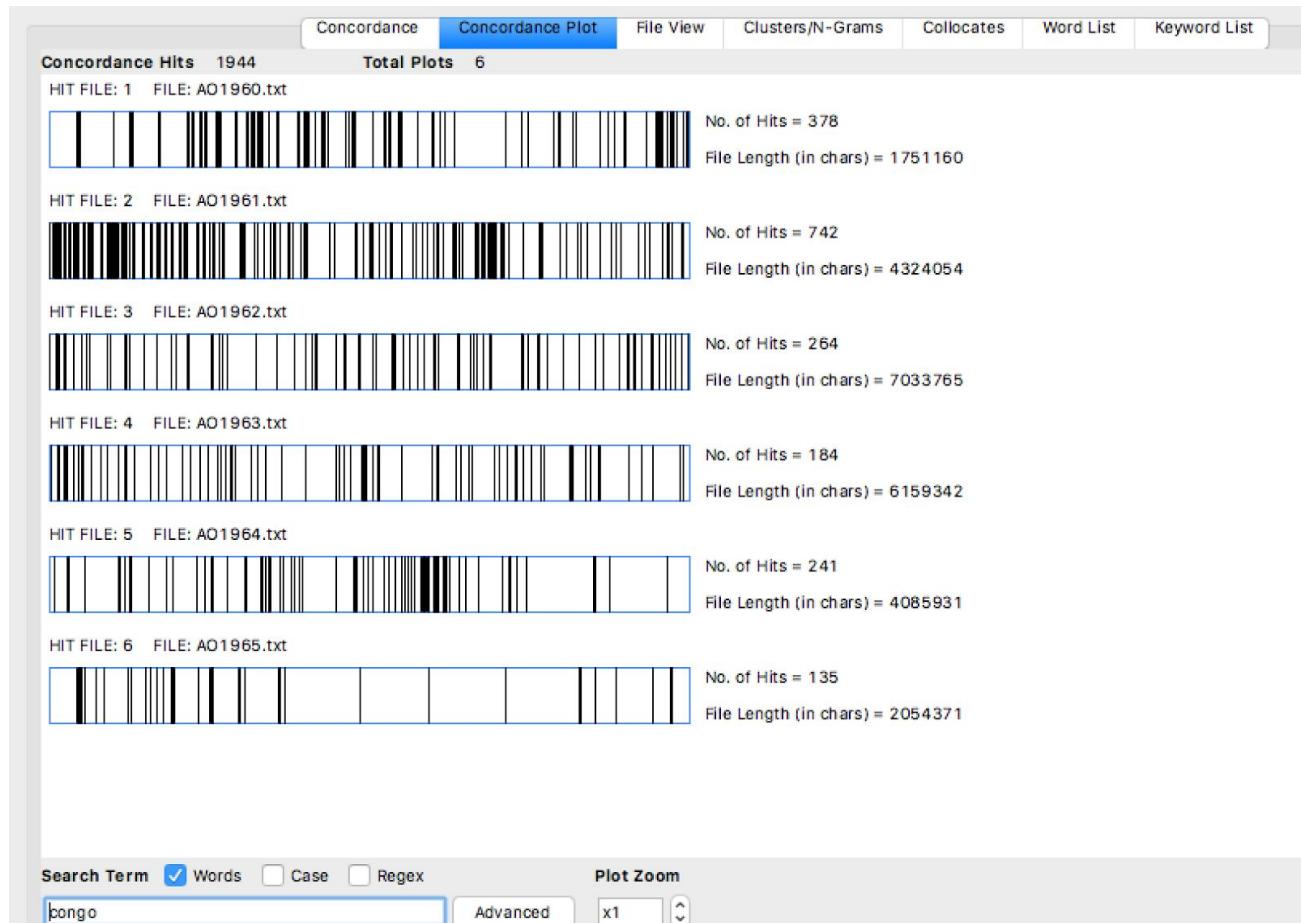
The following table shows the words that are connected to Congo in each year's corpus, and the words are listed by weight of the connection. Textplot uses kernel density estimates on each word to determine its distribution in the corpus, and then compares the geometric overlap

in each distribution, generating a list of words that share most similar density distributions in the corpus.<sup>9</sup> This process allows for a more refined assessment of when a word appears in a corpus than base frequency counts.

Congo 1960	Weight	Congo 1961	Weight	Congo 1962	Weight	Congo 1963	Weight	Congo 1964	Weight	Congo 1965	Weight
lumumba	0.89080752	imperialism	0.82063435	delegation	0.74603179	observer	0.77747899	conference	0.81169069	minister	0.79620466
research	0.83043559	executive	0.78704359	middle	0.74278687	high	0.76309777	solution	0.8084513	security	0.78965975
financial	0.82866483	imperialist	0.78580165	village	0.74171804	including	0.75989183	peace	0.76455492	issue	0.78729308
influence	0.82829191	agents	0.78306652	british	0.73985326	army	0.75864258	existence	0.76455092	african	0.77593971
america	0.82704175	tshombe	0.77217579	area	0.73943955	order	0.75745642	negotiations	0.75903543	council	0.76958105
solidarity	0.82294114	support	0.76679697	set	0.73877566	round	0.75744325	determination	0.75715121	labour	0.76755582
offer	0.81857971	implementation	0.76537729	prepared	0.73723102	top	0.75663551	world	0.75025305	major	0.75300233
social	0.813834	troops	0.76462973	year	0.73697106	cent	0.75499874	situation	0.74794642	elections	0.7508295
july	0.80392093	income	0.75688041	london	0.7360638	led	0.75499485	threat	0.74673105	meeting	0.74859666
belgian	0.80332496	command	0.74875337	complete	0.73440559	british	0.75358832	aligned	0.73991991	projects	0.7478187
accepted	0.78843503	move	0.74675704	international	0.73342829	good	0.75183762	respect	0.73893819	term	0.7477314
law	0.7881752	battle	0.74532865	britain	0.73304492	pounds	0.75092502	international	0.73407465	raise	0.74528014
raised	0.78487623	situation	0.74525159	building	0.73276343	exports	0.74764801	declared	0.73014505	delegation	0.7436827
passed	0.78238863	morocco	0.74426785	development	0.73252016	information	0.74687037	considerable	0.72948996	britain	0.74097335
man	0.77329665	victory	0.74394705	east	0.73164264	main	0.74681185	big	0.72517153	head	0.73986246
contribution	0.77321752	resolution	0.73796605	cent	0.73150407	win	0.74578222	interests	0.72493312	radio	0.7385491
imperialist	0.77284131	charge	0.73644357	attended	0.73132831	half	0.74540025	view	0.72369963	agricultural	0.73854676
withdrawal	0.77222609	security	0.73471397	million	0.73076821	hundred	0.74490611	called	0.72343486	january	0.73739288
belgium	0.77182469	plan	0.73364004	wide	0.7293209	equipment	0.74483189	problem	0.72294188	members	0.73723767
recognised	0.77097813	belgian	0.72820842	story	0.72911834	side	0.74464632	consolidate	0.72227826	case	0.73514369
cuba	0.75263129	lumumba	0.65997473			cotton	0.64009402	blocs	0.6988573	atomic	0.66634643
katanga	0.74404791	liras	0.64138008					uganda	0.63834726	stamps	0.45470481
portuguese	0.66947447	march	0.60633837								
iran	0.61124214										

Nonetheless, understanding frequency is important for interpreting the clusters, and this figure visualizes the frequency of Congo in each corpus. The final figure visualizes the concordance plot for each corpus with each line represents one instance of Congo over the course of the corpus.

<sup>9</sup> I do not go into depth on the math or rationale behind this tool, but if interested David McClure has an informative blog post on how textplot works and the reasoning behind how he built it.  
<http://dclure.org/essays/mental-maps-of-texts/>



**Figure 4: Concordance Plots of Congo in *The Arab Observer* corpus by year**

Returning to Table 1, these clusters are helpful for exploring the shifts in the U.A.R.'s relationship to the Congo. As I mentioned earlier, the U.A.R.'s interest in continental politics was largely a product of its relations with the Sudan, and then Nasser's experience at conferences in New Delhi and Bandung in 1955.<sup>10</sup> By 1960, the U.A.R. was actively involved in promoting African solidarities through government-sponsored publications, organizations and conferences, and establishing diplomatic relations with newly decolonized states. Thus, in June 1960, when the Congo declared its independence, the U.A.R. was among the first to send an ambassador to establish relations with the new country. Almost immediately, Moise Tshombe's announcement

<sup>10</sup> For more on Nasser at New Delhi in 1955, see Carolien Stotle, "The Other Bandung" <https://medium.com/afro-asian-visions/the-other-bandung-6b3dcc8e6762#.85iwu8nrp>

of the secession of Katanga antagonized the U.A.R., who viewed Katanga as part of a neocolonial conspiracy to divide Africa. In Table 1, many of the words in the 1960 cluster reference the early months of struggle over the future of the Congo. From the outset, Nasser actively supported Lumumba, and eventually approved the sending of U.A.R. troops as part of the United Nations mission. Nasser also traveled to the UN in September 1960, and behind the scenes tried to mediate a solution among the nonaligned and superpower countries. Many of the words in this first cluster also touch on the issues at stake such as the demands for Belgium's withdrawal, calls for anti-colonial solidarity, and questions over the United States' role in the conflict. In the 1961 cluster, the words underline how the conflict became much more acute from the U.A.R.'s perspective. First, the Casablanca Conference convened in January, bringing together the more radical African states, in part to discuss the issue of the Congo. Then, the U.A.R.'s troops finally returned from the Congo, which was followed by the news on February 14<sup>th</sup> of Lumumba's assassination. The news was front-page in Cairo, and also inspired mass protests and rallies around the city. While none of the words in the 1961 cluster definitively represent this moment, this cluster helps convey the intense political stakes of the crisis from Cairo's perspective, which I had previously identified after for the conference paper.

In my paper, I don't spend much time on how the U.A.R. discussed the Congo from 1962-1963. Part of my rationale was that the U.A.R.'s focus was elsewhere, especially after the breakup of the union with Syria in the fall of 1961. Furthermore, events in the Congo appeared to be resolving with Adoula's selection as Prime Minister under Kasavubu and the reconciliation of the Gizenga and Kasavubu governments. Yet, for this study, I decided to visualize the clusters for 1962 and 1963 to confirm my assumption. Unlike 1960 or 1961, the words in the 1962 cluster emphasize development rather than 'high' politics. In my opinion, this shift was the result of a growing focus in the U.A.R. on development as a means for strengthening both the

domestic revolution and ties with new revolutionary African states. Furthermore, the Congo became even less central in 1963, with the word only appearing when the term depth was increased to include 750 of the top terms, and the terms focused on trade topics. Thus, these findings reinforce my argument that the Congo remained largely sidelined until the resignation of Adoula and the return of Tshombe as Prime Minister in the summer of 1964, which rekindled Cairo's involvement and interest in the Congo.

In the 1964 cluster, the words highlight how the Congo once again became front-and-center in Cairo with Tshombe's attempt to attend the Second Non-Aligned Conference in early October 1964, which resulted in a crisis between the two countries. While the crisis was eventually resolved when Congolese troops allowed the U.A.R staff to return to Cairo and Tshombe was subsequently released from Cairo, on Thanksgiving Day a mob of African students attacked the American embassy in Cairo. Unlike previous demonstrations, this mob was not well publicized in the U.A.R press. This omission was likely due to the fact that this protest was not actively organized by the U.A.R, and the damages further strained US-U.A.R. relations. One of the shortcomings of textplot is that individual events like the protests after Lumumba's death or the Thanksgiving Day riots are difficult to discern from this 30,000-foot perspective. Nonetheless, the cluster hints at how the U.A.R press became increasingly vocal in its condemnations of American involvement in the Congo and its support for the Congolese rebels. These tensions came to a boiling point after the shooting down of an American civilian cargo aircraft by the U.A.R. on December 19<sup>th</sup>, and Nasser's Victory Day speech at Port Said on December 23<sup>rd</sup>. In the speech, Nasser essentially declared his refusal to bend to American demands around the Congo. The speech marked a breaking point in the US tolerance for the U.A.R.'s support of the Congolese rebels, with the US threatening to end all food aid to the U.A.R. The majority of this

activity occurred behind the scenes, and this cluster helps highlight the disconnect between the U.A.R.'s public and private statements.

In the paper, I describe how Nasser faced with a significant economic stick quickly tried to backtrack but faced difficulties in convincing the US of his policy shift. The largest obstacle was the fact that numerous Congolese rebels were in Cairo, with reports circulating of 3000 rebels in the city. Some of the key Congolese rebel leaders, such as Gaston Soumialot, traveled to Cairo in December 1964, and then again in mid-January 1965 to generate support for the rebels among the Arab Premiers in Cairo for Arab League Conference. With the support of the U.A.R., the rebels were attempting to bring together all the rebel groups for a conference in Cairo in early April. However, many of the main leaders never arrived and the conference was postponed indefinitely. In the 1965 Congo cluster, the words highlight some of these events, especially January, meeting, delegation, and security. In the paper, I describe how by the summer of 1965, the U.A.R. had expelled the remaining rebels from Congo, and ensuring the continuation of US food aid on a temporary basis. For *The Arab Observer* corpus, there are a few issues from the first half of 1966, but Congo only appears 39 times in the corpus, and thus are omitted from this case study. I end the paper with a consideration of how the Congo was increasingly marginalized and eventually omitted from discourses about the U.A.R.'s anti-colonialism, as well as some of the consequences of the Congo crisis for US-U.A.R. relations.

Overall, using the textplot to analyze *The Arab Observer* offers no smoking gun for my paper, but rather reaffirms my initial analysis. Specifically, my argument that the U.A.R. tied the Congo to anti-colonial struggle during its immediate outbreak in 1960 and 1961, and that this identification of Congo with struggle died down in 1962 and 1963, only to remerge in 1964 and early 1965 around the Simba rebellion. This method seems overly complicated for reading a

weekly periodical that had a run of six years. Yet, using distant reading tools offers two advantages to close reading. First, I believe that my interpretation now rests on firmer footing, being a product of both close reading and quantitative analysis. While all interpretation remains subjective, visualizing these connections helps make my analysis more transparent, which I believe only strengthens my argument. Second, while using textplot to validate previous analysis is useful, the method becomes even more valuable when working on larger corpuses, such as the full run of daily Egyptian newspapers from 1952 to 1970. While reading a weekly periodical is possible, reading every issue of *The Egyptian Gazette* or *Al-Ahram* would take years, and even then there's the danger of not seeing the forest from the trees. Distant reading tools like textplot help manage large corpuses, and visualize the connections between topics/clusters in a corpus. Ultimately, I believe that combining both close and distant reading is crucial for uncovering both the patterns and exceptions in my sources.

For the sake of brevity, I will not go into mapping with the case study, but many of the place names that show up in *The Arab Observer* could potentially be the basis for tracing the construction of Cairo's anti-colonialism, similar to Blevins' model of examining the production of space in Houston. Moreover, textplot is one tool for distant reading among many, and other corpus linguistics tools and statistical models will help elucidate additional patterns. To conclude, this case study was designed to illustrate how I plan to use distant reading tools and suggest their utility for my dissertation.

## **Appendix III: Sources, Chapter Outline, and Final Thoughts**

### **Sources**

Over the course of my archival research, I have amassed a number of primary sources, including Egyptian newspapers, magazines, and government publications, as well as dispatches from the American and British embassies in Cairo. In the coming weeks, I plan to finish collecting the full run of the *Egyptian Gazette* and *Egyptian Mail*, as well as a few more issues of *Al-Ahram* and *Ruz al-Yusuf*. I already have a few years of each of these newspapers, but having the full run would enable comparisons over the entire scope of the Nasser era. In addition to collecting these Egyptian newspapers, I am also currently gathering newspapers from other key nonaligned countries, India, Algeria, and Ghana, and from the United States, the United Kingdom, and France.<sup>1</sup> Post-dissertation, I may also try to include newspapers from other nonaligned and Arab countries such as Cuba, Ethiopia, Lebanon, and Morocco. Many of the prominent Egyptian officials from this era have also published autobiographies, which provides some insight into the inner workings of the Nasser government. With a study that leverages ‘big data’ tools there is always the allure of including additional sources. However, at the moment, I am focused on acquiring what I assess to be the requisite amount of source material to complete my dissertation, with the understanding that in the future I can continue to add other newspapers and government documents to my research. Nonetheless, I believe that the sources I’ve outlined here, combined with the rich secondary literatures I am utilizing provide a robust evidentiary basis to explore and, ultimately, to try and answer my research questions.

### **Chapter Outline**

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<sup>1</sup> From Ghana, I am collecting *The Ghanian Times* and *Voice of Africa*, from India, *The Times of India*, and from Algeria, *L'echo d'Alger* and *el Moudjahid*. These countries are the most obvious choices because of their global prominence in the nonaligned movement, and direct engagement with Nasser and the U.A.R.

My current dissertation organizational structure includes an introduction and 5 chapters, organized around temporal periods and conceptual threads. My introduction, "Revolutionary Cairo: The Free Officers', The Press, and The Search for a New World", explores the period from the Free Officers' Revolution in summer 1952 up to preparations for the Bandung Conference in April, 1955. In this introduction, I plan to lay out the central questions of my study: how did the idea of anti-colonialism change over this period, how was anti-colonialism produced in Egyptian media, how was media a space where international events and internal politics were intertwined, and how did the relationship between the state and media in Egypt mediate these other questions. This earlier period has already received significant scholarly attention, but I plan to include some discussion of this history since this moment was crucial for the Free Officers, who were experimenting with different policies and approaches to the press. The first chapter, "The Rise of Cairo: Nationalization and Internationalism in Anti-Colonialism", explores the impact of the Bandung conference, the nationalization of the Suez Canal, and the beginning of global decolonization on Cairo's conception of anti-colonialism, beginning in 1954 up until early 1960. In this chapter, I explore emerging discourses around anti-colonialism and the uses of the media to legitimize the Nasser regime. I also explore how ideas of transnational political unions as the basis of anti-colonial solidarity started to take shape around the United Nations and in the form of the United Arab Republic. The main narrative in this chapter is centered around the question of how and when did the U.A.R. start promoting anti-colonialism in their media, and the connections between anti-colonial politics, international events, and internal politics. The second chapter, "All Roads Lead to Cairo: An Anti-Colonial Capital for the Third World", focuses on the U.A.R.'s efforts to promote Cairo as a hub for various anti-colonial movements and explores how the city became ascendant in international politics from early 1960 to the end of 1964. I trace how the growing media infrastructure around radio and print, as

well as the quasi-nationalization of the press, were part and parcel of this anti-colonial political agenda. I also explore how Cairo hosted numerous conferences and exhibitions, as well as national liberation movements and revolutionary intellectuals. The main question at the heart of this chapter was what was Cairo's vision for global anti-colonialism and how was this vision propagated and received beyond the U.A.R.

The third chapter, "City Under Siege: Cairo and The Struggles of Anti-Colonialism", describes the U.A.R.'s struggle to hold the anti-colonial internationalist coalition together with coups in other anti-colonial states, the war in Yemen, and internal economic setbacks all combining to place strain on this coalition. From the breakdown of the Afro-Asian conference in 1964 to the Six Days War, this chapter explores the limits of anti-colonial solidarities and how discourses around anti-colonialism were shifting towards a more militant and radical message. In the face of a neocolonial resurgence across the globe, the U.A.R. utilized the press and media infrastructure to circulate their alternative narrative of global events. However, this radical rhetoric and co-optation of the press came to a head with the Six Days War, when radio and newspapers reported victory in the face of a crushing defeat. This chapter focuses on how Cairo responded to the breakdown of this anti-colonial coalition and how discourses of anti-colonialism transformed in this political climate. The fourth chapter, "Cairo at Crossroads: Shifting Internal and International Politics", takes up this history until Nasser's death in 1970. The chapter explores how the aftermath of the Six Days War forced an evaluation of anti-colonial politics, Arab socialism, and the relationship of the government with the press. This chapter also traces the emergence of new leadership of the Third World away from Nasser and the U.A.R. towards figures like Muammar Gaddafi in Libya and Julius Nyerere in Tanzania. This chapter centers on the question of how were narratives about the U.A.R. and anti-colonialism shifting as the political community of anti-colonialism and the Third World became increasingly

fractured. The final chapter and conclusion, “Cairo First: A New Discourse of Independence and Internationalism”, ends on the early years of the Sadat regime until the Yom Kippur war of 1973. In this chapter, I connect Sadat’s efforts to create political unions with Egypt’s neighbors to this earlier anti-colonial moment, while also exploring how the rhetoric of anti-colonialism was repurposed to legitimize the Sadat regime. In particular, I highlight how discourses about Egypt and Cairo’s place in the world now privileged economic liberalization as the basis of the international order, which was a break from the earlier Nasserist emphasis on political unions. Ultimately, this final chapter tries to contextualize the end of anti-colonial Cairo as both a product of global circumstances and local choices, weaving these final threads to understand the legacy of anti-colonialism on Cairo and the legacy of Cairo’s media on anti-colonialism.

### **Final Thoughts: Plans, Challenges, and Opportunities**

My estimated dissertation defense date is early 2018. I plan to continue collecting archival materials over the course of the next few weeks, and begin writing immediately following the defense. In this prospectus, I have outlined my central research questions, their relevance and significance, the pertinent literatures, how my project fills an existing gap in our knowledge, and my intellectual and methodology frameworks. One area I have yet to broach is the challenges and opportunities for completing my dissertation. In this final section, I want to briefly sketch some of my concerns and ways I plan to address them.

The first hurdle for my dissertation is that in using primarily government funded print sources and government publications I may unintentionally reify the prescriptive history of the U.A.R.’s government. If this project was looking at the longer legacies of the Nasser era, two of the most obvious ones would be the reliance on authoritarianism and the strength of the military in Egypt. While scholars continue to debate over whether Nasser and his compatriots ever intended to create a functioning democracy, the reality remains that many of the laws and

policies pursued in this era undermined the independence of the press and the judiciary, which to this day is an on-going barrier to reform in Egypt. While my dissertation is largely about the construction of anti-colonialism in Cairo, the politics, projects, and laws that underpinned this anti-colonial ethos were also often aimed at marginalizing dissent and imprisoning political enemies. Similar to many historians of anti-colonialism, I have struggled with how to incorporate these realities within my narrative. My current solution is to rely on the observations of contemporary foreign observers in diplomatic cables and newspapers from other anti-colonial states with the secondary literature on this period, and highlight when possible the wider historical impact of this anti-colonial vision, which similar to many development schemes was well intentioned but, more often than not, destructive for many Egyptians.

Tied to this challenge of addressing the full impact of the U.A.R.'s anti-colonial vision is also the question of whether this project should focus principally on Cairo. When I originally conceived of this project, the emphasis on the city was based on the assumption of spending time in Cairo and finding more traditional archival sources like personal papers. While Cairo still helps root my study, using these new digital methods does provide the opportunity of studying these questions from a more global scale, rather than local one. However, relying on these new digital tools also pushes my study towards a more cultural analytics approach, than a historical one. While this method opens up new research avenues, this approach also raises questions about the framing of my project, and even more broadly what constitutes historical analysis. Ultimately, I believe that centering this project on Cairo remains useful since this method is still relatively experimental, and a more constrained hypothesis will help demonstrate the utility of these tools to historical analysis.

While acknowledging these challenges to my dissertation is crucial, I also want to briefly discuss the advantages and merit of this project. Though the choice of this particular

dissertation topic was the product of many incremental decisions, I remain committed and excited for this project for two reasons. The first reason is my shift towards focusing my project on Cairo's press and media infrastructure as a window into these larger phenomenon. I believe this history is critical for understanding the longer legacy of this anti-colonial moment in Cairo, and for exploring the relationship between revolutionary movements and government censorship. I also believe that diplomatic and international historians have not engaged fully with media as an analytical category for their research, instead treating it solely as a source of archival material. I see my project as a counterpoint, placing media front and center in my study, and tracing how the media was a bellwether for much larger political debates and changes. Furthermore, for some time, my general scholarly interests have been moving towards the intersection of media history and international history, and now my project will contribute to those fields. The second reason is that this project allows me to experiment with a novel methodology that I believe helps contribute to debates about managing historical sources and writing historical narratives in the digital age. Though this method could hypothetically work for any project, I believe studying anti-colonial Cairo is well suited to these tools, and I am looking forward to uncovering new connections and insights that will hopefully further our understanding of this moment.