

Cold War in the Arabic Press: *Ḥiwār* (Beirut, 1962–67) and the Congress for Cultural Freedom

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Abstract

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This chapter provides a history for *Ḥiwār* (1962–67), edited by Palestinian poet Tawfīq Ṣāyigh from Beirut with broad dissemination in the Arab world, and outlines the CCF's other interventions in the Arab cultural sphere from 1955. Over the course of its nearly five-year run, *Ḥiwār* published both emerging and established authors, serving as a register of some of the most important Arab historians, critics, essayists, short-story writers, novelists and poets of the 1960s, including Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, Ghādah al-Sammān, Albert Hourani, Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā, Walīd al-Khālīdī, Zakariyyā Tāmīr, Laylā Ba‘albakī, Ṣalāḥ ‘Abd al-Ṣubūr, Salmā al-Khaḍrā’ al-Jayyūsī, Ṣabrī Ḥāfīz, Luwīs ‘Awaḍ, Fu‘ād al-Takarlī, al-Ṭayyīb Ṣāliḥ and Yūsuf Idrīs. *Ḥiwār* also published CCF-supplied interviews with major international cultural figures such as T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Arthur Miller, Ernest Hemingway, György Lukács, Aldous Huxley, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Picasso, and letters from CCF representatives and authors across the world.

In late May 1966, the Cairo newspaper *Rūz al-Yūsuf* published an article entitled ‘The Journal *Ḥiwār*¹ Is Part of the American Intelligence Agency!’ That article translated into Arabic sections of the *New York Times* article of 27 April 1966 that broke the story that the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) had, since its first meeting in Berlin in 1950, been a CIA plot to foment cultural cold war. The Arabic press responded to the scandal with indignation and satire, as a tone of suspicion permeated Arabic intellectual and cultural discourse, redoubled after the June 1967 Arab defeat to Israel. This chapter provides a history for *Ḥiwār* (1962–67), edited by Palestinian poet Tawfīq Ṣāyigh from Beirut with broad dissemination in the Arab world, and outlines the CCF's other interventions in the Arab cultural sphere from 1955.

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From its first issue, *Ḥiwār* limned a tension between the content that the CCF imagined for the magazine, and what it meant to publish a first-rate Arabic literary journal in the 1960s, one that could draw the readers of periodicals such as *Shi‘r*, *Adab*, *Al-Ādāb*, *Mulḥaḥaq al-Nahār*, *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, *Al-Muṣawwar*, *Al-Maktabah*, and others. The CCF’s Paris headquarters envisioned an Arabic magazine akin to *Encounter*, their London flagship and, in a letter in January 1962, the CCF director of magazines (and CIA agent) John Hunt, told Ṣāyigh that, ‘We do *not* wish to involve ourselves in the internal politics of the Arab world. We are concerned with universal issues of cultural freedom.’² On the first page of the first issue of *Ḥiwār*, in an opening manifesto of sorts, Ṣāyigh tempered the journal’s intention to ‘observe what was happening in the field of culture in other countries’ with *Ḥiwār*’s dedication to ‘serving’ the Arab nationalist cause;³ *Ḥiwār* was ‘not a foreign journal publishing in an Arab country’. ‘A true dialogue between...one culture and another,’⁴ the manifesto reads, *Ḥiwār*:

has its own style and color, which distinguishes it from its sisters in other languages. What unites it with the other journals published by the International Congress for Cultural Freedom is that it shares the goals that this Congress has taken upon itself: ‘To encourage the spirit of free inquiry and dedication to the truth and the value of creativity, and to defend intellectual freedom against any aggression whatever its source.’⁵

The Congress for Cultural Freedom’s Arabic Operations: Rome, Cairo, Beirut

Just after the 1955 Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, with journals already established throughout Europe, the CCF founded the English-language Indian journal *Quest* in 1955. One month later, in September 1955, the Congress began an Arabic publication called *Al-Munazzamah al-‘Ālamiyyah li-Ḥuriyyat al-Thaqāfah* (The International Organization for Cultural Freedom—the name of the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Arabic), featuring a story on *Encounter* editor Stephen Spender’s trip to Beirut and Egypt. With the exact same format and layout, a publication called *Al-Ḥuriyyah Awwalan* (Freedom First) began publication in 1956.⁶ There would be other CCF Arabic projects under Simon Jargy’s leadership of the CCF’s Near East programme,⁷ including the news bulletin *Aḍwā’*, and another called *Akhbār*; and, in 1961, the Congress for Cultural Freedom held ‘The Arab Writer and the Modern World Conference’ in Rome, a major literary event known in Arabic as *mu’tamar Rūmā* (the Rome Conference).⁸

Palestinian political scientist Ibrahim Abu-Lughod was initially approached to edit the CCF’s Arabic counterpart to *Encounter* and *Quest*, but ‘the amount of money on offer and the stipulation concerning the Soviet Union made Abu-Lughod immediately suspicious’.⁹ Morroe Berger, a sociology professor at Princeton with extensive contacts in the region, made the introduction to Abu-Lughod, and would continue to mediate the CCF’s relationships with Arabic literary and intellectual figures. Berger brokered personal discussions with Naḡuib Mahfouz (even acting as stenographer as Mahfouz dictated a letter to CCF headquarters) in Cairo in 1964;¹⁰ provided lists of books for CCF purchase in the region;¹¹ introduced authors to the CCF (for instance, the acclaimed Egyptian novelist Yaḥyā Ḥaqqī);¹² and managed the contract

of Zareh Misketian, who ran the CCF's Cairo office for a few years until it closed in January 1963. After Berger failed to recruit Abu-Lughod, the CCF changed tack. Novelist and painter Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā was mentioned as a 'suggested editor for [the new] Arabic review'¹³ but, ultimately, the CCF worked to recruit instead a modernist poet as editor, as was the case with *Encounter*, edited by Spender (chosen by MI6 and the CIA as editor),¹⁴ and *Quest* (edited by modernist poet Nissim Ezekiel). The CCF had a failed attempt to work with Yūsuf al-Khāl, editor of the extremely influential Beirut Arabic poetry journal *Shi'r*¹⁵ following a series of meetings at the 1961 Rome Conference.¹⁶ In Paris in early 1962, Hunt successfully recruited Palestinian poet Tawfīq Ṣāyigh to edit the CCF's new Arabic journal,¹⁷ who was relocated to Beirut from his post at the School for African and Oriental Studies (SOAS) at the University of London, with the well-known and highly regarded Lebanese publisher Riad al-Rayyes briefly serving as assistant editor.¹⁸

Though print runs of *Hiwār* would hover around 3000 copies throughout its five-year run, exact sales and distribution figures are hard to come by. In early 1963, Ṣāyigh reported to Paris the 'fate' of the first issues of *Hiwār*:

Arab Distributing Co.: Lebanon 500, Syria 400, Jordan 200, Iraq 200, Kuwait 100, Saudi Arabia 10, Libya 20, Morocco 25, Qatar 2, Bahrain, 2, Demam 2, Hadramawt 2. //Al-Ahram: Egypt 500. //Dr. Shoush: Sudan 200. //(In addition to these figures, we send out directly to subscribers and as gifts, press-service, etc., 500 copies of each issue). Other distributors were tried before, but proved to be unsatisfactory. Dr. Jabre tells me, for example, of Farajallah, who sold 27 copies of issue 1 and asked *us* to pay them LL 12; of a confusion that took place in distributing issue 3, when it was given to two different distributors at the same time, with the result that one of them sent out 25 copies to Zahle and when remainders were sent back to him they were 37 in number; of a Tunisian distributor to whom 200 copies were sent of the first issue and another 200 of the second, but who later denied that he had ever received anything; of Dr. Shoush, to whom 200 copies have been sent of each of the four issues, but who, in spite of enquiries, has not given us any information about their fate.

We have only insufficient information about sales. Issue 1 had a limited distribution, and its sales were as follows: Lebanon 92, Jordan and Kuwait 27, Sudan (no figures), Tunisia (no figures). Issue 2 went to Egypt in addition, and the sales were: Lebanon 149, Syria 141, Egypt around 190, no other figures available.¹⁹

While sales would increase, throughout *Hiwār*'s run Ṣāyigh and the CCF were unsure about the extent of its circulation. In early 1966 (before the scandal of the CIA's founding and funding of the CCF hit the international press), *Hiwār* printed 3250 copies, sending 345 copies of Issue 20 to subscribers, selling 1579 at newsstands and bookstores, with 'no figures available for Tunisia and Algeria'; Issue 21 would find no figures available for the 'U.A.R [Egypt], Tunisia and Algeria'; while Issue 22 (after the scandal broke in the *New York Times*, but before the *Rūz al-Yūsuf* piece was published) would be 'banned in [the] U.A.R. [with] no figures available for Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria'.²⁰

Funded from the Congress for Cultural Freedom's headquarters in Paris, *Hiwār* initially worked out of the CCF offices in the Starco building in Beirut (run by Jamil Jabre (~~Jamīl Jabar~~), who also held the licence from the Lebanese government to publish *Hiwār*).²¹ *Hiwār* soon relocated to its own premises in Hamra, closer to the American University of Beirut and the intellectual centre of the city.²² While financial support from 'respectable foundations or the cautious rich' had not been forthcoming for the little magazines of the American *avant garde*, as CIA agent and *Kenyon Review* editor Robie Macauley pointed out in the pages of Uganda's *Transition*,²³ CCF journals did not face the same material impediments, burdened instead with not giving off a 'chromium plated air of suspicious opulence' lest the CCF 'be criticized as an American cold war

organisation'.²⁴ In its first year, *Hiwār* received a subsidy of \$17,500 from the CCF offices in Paris,²⁵ and *Hiwār*'s opening manifesto spoke directly to the journal's liquidity, assuring the anticipated audience that 'the writer's time is valuable...and for this reason *Hiwār* relies on the principle of financial compensation in everything that it publishes, from articles to translations to stories, as well as drawings and poems: for the poet wants to soil his brow, but he also does not want his feet to be bare'.²⁶

Suspicious of Complicity and Empire

In the 23 April 1962 entry in Ṣāyigh's journal, he records details of a long meeting with Suhayl Idrīs, editor of the esteemed *Al-Ādāb*, a Beirut journal that had done much to circulate Sartre's notion of *littérature engagée*, rendered in Arabic translation as *iltizām*.²⁷ The journal entry almost immediately points to concerns over 'the Congress's reputation'.²⁸ Was the Congress for Cultural Freedom a respectable foundation? Suhayl Idrīs, despite his 'being urged continuously to attack the Congress' by the journal *Al-Hawādith* and others, hesitated to pass judgement, willing neither to attack the Congress, 'nor will he praise it, before its good and evil is made clear to him'.²⁹ Suhayl Idrīs's concerns that April give a sense of the atmosphere surrounding *Hiwār* in 1962—Idrīs expressed a sense of 'great reassurance' in Ṣāyigh's editorial leadership, but he also 'strongly advises [Ṣāyigh] not to attack Communism directly first thing', and not to be naïve in hoping to be able to avoid politics but, rather, to 'place the artistic level [of contributions] above any political consideration'.³⁰ The conversation comes around to the 'issue of our paying writers, and he said that some will say that we plundered his writers, as he does not pay or pays little, while we pay well—and he said that the writer who runs after money is worthless [*lā khayra fīhi*], so he will leave him to us'.³¹ This question of money and culture plagued Arabic culture. In an article published in *Al-Ādāb*, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ṣubḥī reported at length on the 1961 Rome Conference.³² Al-Khāl had given a lecture on 'The Arab Author in the Modern World' (*Al-Adīb al-ʿArabī fī-l-ʿālam al-ḥadīth*) that failed to convince Ṣubḥī, who in turn wrote:

The problem that the modern era presents is: bread or freedom,³³ and it is unfortunate that one of them always usurps the other. As for those peoples who are blessed with freedom, they take their bread from their colonies. And we still don't have colonies, so we have nothing but our compatriots. Would it please the professor to bake his bread [*yakhbaz ṭa ʿāmahu*] with the blood of his compatriots?³⁴

Presaging *Hiwār*'s collapse even before its first issue appeared, the impossibility of simultaneous Arabic cultural freedom and material security was for Ṣubḥī a problem of the persistence of 'colonies' – of empire.

Despite *Hiwār*'s success in attracting to its pages Arab authors who remain canonical today, suspicion was rife in Arabic concerning the journal's connections with the well-heeled CCF. Before its publication, Suhayl Idrīs had been urged to denounce *Hiwār*. Lebanese short-story writer Laylā Baʿalbakī was among the opponents of *Hiwār* in the months leading up to its first issue's publication, though she published her infamous short story 'Safīnat ḥanān ilā al-qamr' (Spaceship of Tenderness to the Moon) in *Hiwār*'s fourth issue for May/June 1963. Baʿalbakī had initially feared that 'the Congress would proselytize antagonism toward Communism', and that 'the Congress is Zionist';³⁵ these sentiments recur frequently in the pages of Ṣāyigh's memoirs, as they would later in the pages of the Arabic press. Meeting at 'Uncle Sam', a coffee shop in Beirut, that April, Ṣāyigh endured Ghassān Kanafānī's 'attack on [*Hiwār*] because it was funded from abroad',³⁶ while less than two weeks later in London, Ṣāyigh jotted down the comment of his friend Aḥmad Abū Ḥākimah: 'how could I be willing to cooperate with these spies'.³⁷

Meeting in Beirut with Jargy in April 1962, Ṣāyigh warned Jargy that 'some are saying that the Congress is

foreign and against Communism'. Jargy, director of CCF operations in the Near East and a professor of Arabic music and folk culture in Geneva, where early planning for the CCF took place,³⁸ offered more than one response, rhetorically pointing to Gamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir, and asking, 'doesn't he openly fight Communism?' He continued: 'If we give them a faultless journal [*lā ghubāra 'alayhā*], why would they attack?'³⁹ Tasked with editing a faultless journal for a suspicious Arabic reading public, as Ṣāyigh prepares for a meeting in April 1962 in Beirut, he resolves with regards to 'the issue of mentioning or ignoring the matter of funding', to 'mention untainted cultural organizations in other countries, and indicate that the Congress has no relationship with Zionism or Israel'.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, many remained suspicious of *Hiwār* and, in 1965, the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Jumhuriyyah* printed a scathing attack, only one of many. Ṣāyigh sent Hunt—the CIA agent in the Paris office overseeing the CCF's outreach in Africa and the Middle East—a summary. *Hiwār*:

vilifies socialism; it denies the Africanism of the Arabs of North Africa; it allows all kinds of liberal views in politics, economics, and culture to be aired, thus deliberately trying to create confusion and chaos; it encourages abstract art and absurd literature; it rarely publishes a literary item with social or nationalistic implications. Add to this the fantastic sums it pays its contributors, its odd publicity stunts, its low price, and you will come to the conclusion that there is a complicity between it and the circles of neo-colonialism and world Zionism.⁴¹

Hiwār's relationship to literatures, journals, and institutions outside the Arab world, and to international ideologies and politics, represented a persistent point of negotiation for Ṣāyigh and the CCF. The name *Hiwār* (in Arabic, 'dialogue') worried the CCF; there was 'the difficulty in pronunciation',⁴² Jargy told Ṣāyigh, but also the concern that an English reader might see in *Hiwār* not an invitation to 'dialogue' but rather a bellicose greeting from the Arabs: 'Hiwar'.⁴³ Though Ṣāyigh insisted in early meetings with Jargy that he would 'fight against any interference',⁴⁴ Jargy eventually stipulated that *Hiwār* include pieces from other Congress journals and that 'our journal needed to be open to the world'. Ṣāyigh writes in his memoir that he initially replied, 'I don't want to include any foreign articles', though he would relent, allowing for 'an interview with a world writer, 3 letters from abroad, [and a section on a] journal among the journals' of the Congress.⁴⁵ Later faced with Jargy's 'insistence on increasing the number of foreign writers and foreign topics in the journal', Ṣāyigh recalls:

I resisted, he insisted, a long discussion, in the end I couldn't say anything but: look Simon, *what* do you want! Say it and I will do it even if I am unwilling! I learned today that I am like a country that has welcomed a coup only to find out that the new party is just like the old in every way.⁴⁶

Ṣāyigh agreed to the 'new party's' demands, allowing Jargy to 'arrange all the foreign materials and send them to me—I said fine, but this is only if we can't find Arab authors on these topics'.⁴⁷ Hunt regularly sent Ṣāyigh suggestions from Paris for materials from other CCF publications,⁴⁸ while the special 1965 issue on Africa (which incited some of the ire expressed by *Al-Jumhuriyyah*) drew heavily from the rosters of contributors to the CCF's sub-Saharan African journals, *Black Orpheus* and *Transition*. Hunt also introduced Ṣāyigh to Emir Rodríguez Monegal and Louis Mercier of the highly regarded, if short-lived, Paris-based Latin American CCF journal *Mundo Nuevo* for a proposed special issue of *Hiwār*.⁴⁹ A decade after Bandung's call for non-alignment in the Third World, undercover CIA agents at CCF headquarters could be found curating a third-world solidarity of an entirely different sort.

Scandal and the Collapse of *Hiwār*

In 1965, *Hiwār* selected Yūsuf Idrīs as the winner of its short story prize. Idrīs refused the prize, unwilling to convert his considerable prestige as a committed short-story writer into political and literary capital for an international organisation that was subject to such persistent suspicion in the Arabic press. It was a scandal of considerable magnitude that voiced (come 1966, [proven to be accurate](#)) suspicions that *Hiwār* was part of an American intelligence plot and, while it was not an affair Yūsuf Idrīs liked to discuss,⁵⁰ it eventually made the *New York Times*:

Last fall...Hiwar named Yussef Idriss, one of Cairo's most popular short story and screenwriters, as winner of the magazine's \$2,800 literary prize.

Mr. Idriss at first accepted but after warnings from the Egyptian press he turned the prize down. One Lebanese newspaper charged that Egyptian authorities had put pressure on him to refuse the award in return for a promise of an Egyptian award. Mr. Idriss denied this.

Last January, he received a major Egyptian literary award a month after *Al Katab* [sic], a local magazine, whose board of editors includes Mr. Idriss, had charged that Hiwar was secretly working for the American intelligence agency.⁵¹

The next year, following *Rūz al-Yūsuf*'s exposé of the CIA's involvement in the founding and funding of the CCF, and therefore their journal *Hiwār*, Luwīs 'Awad⁵² and others called for the journal to be banned from Egypt. The journal had previously faced censorship in the Gulf and Iraq, and the ban and continued trafficking of *Hiwār* was reported not only in Cairo journals such as *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, but also in Baghdad's *Al-Maktabah*,⁵³ and in the *New York Times*.⁵⁴ Egyptian intellectuals took matters into their own hands, as copies of the banned *Hiwār* September/December 1966 issue—which opened with al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ's highly influential novel *Season of Migration to the North* in its entirety—were smuggled⁵⁵ into the country by various means, including air mail.

Come the summer of 1966, Unsī al-Ḥājj, a former writer for *Hiwār* and friend to Ṣāyigh, saw in all those Arab intellectuals who had been implicated in the scandal of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, himself included, so many traitors, if also 'victims of our innocence'.⁵⁶ The response was similar elsewhere in the world; Jean Franco points to the 'bitterness of the duped', an experience shared by editors of *Encounter* in London, as well as authors throughout Latin America, such as Gabriel García Márquez and Augusto Roa Bastos who had published in the Congress for Cultural Freedom's *Mundo Nuevo*.⁵⁷ Al-Ḥājj's article begins on a note of anger, disillusionment and self-reproach—sentiments so often associated in the Arab world with the post-1967 years—yet soon moves into a satirical mode. Shocked that under Ṣāyigh's watch *Hiwār* 'had dragged the dignity of all those who participated in it in the dirt', al-Ḥājj queried: 'The American intelligence service! Could we, all those who wrote in *Hiwār*, be writing for the CIA?', only to irreverently answer his own question:

And suddenly I felt important! We, writers of Arabic participating in *Hiwār*, more important than spies! We had found the one who realized our importance, we the *udabā'* of Arabic, and who was it? The biggest intelligence apparatus in the world!

Al-Ḥājj begins to imagine, 'the departed Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, who was at the forefront of those who published in *Hiwār*, I imagined him despite physical "appearances" of weakness,⁵⁸ to be the James Bond of Iraq!', going on to envision the roles of others, such as Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣubūr, Nizār Qabbānī, Yūsuf Ghuṣūb,

Luwīs ‘Awaḍ, Muḥammad al-Māghūt, Salmā Khadrā’ al-Jayyūsī, Tawfīq Ṣāyigh, Laylā Ba‘albakī, Ghādah al-Sammān, Walīd Ikhlāṣī, Zakariyyā Tāmir, and ‘Abd al-Salām al-‘Ujaylī. The lampoon closes:

And I asked myself: Was the C.I.A. really endowed with intelligence to this degree?

And I asked myself: Are all of them, and others and still others, American agents, while there is more than one Marxist among them?

And I asked myself: Who sees himself laughing at the other in this game, the Marxists who got the CIA to spread their ideas, or the CIA who made Marxists write in an ‘American’ journal?⁵⁹

The absurdity of it—of imagining al-Sayyāb as James Bond, of freedom being just another word for covert American propaganda—was also part of what made it plausibly deniable, an instrument of covert psychological operations whose very improbability, in turn, leveraged Arabic (and other world) literature(s) and culture(s) as targets in a time of cold war.

The collapse of the Congress for Cultural Freedom meant, too, the end for *Hiwār* as well as a number of other CCF journals, with *Black Orpheus* and *Mundo Nuevo* soon printing their last issue, though *Encounter*, *Quest*, and *Transition* would continue to publish for years. ‘[P]olitical and ideological fragmentation... followed the war of 1967’ in Arabic literary and intellectual circles, as Verena Klemm notes, and ‘many of the proponents of commitment lost their belief in the political role of the writer and the effectiveness of the literary word’.⁶⁰ Yet, what the *Hiwār* scandal revealed, ironically enough, was that Arabic literature and culture, through a worldwide network of periodicals, represented a site of global power contestation so critical it had attracted the attention of an imperially minded American security apparatus. This suspicious, angry, introspective literary-political late 1960s moment in Arabic would last well beyond the end of the decade, as notices began to be printed in the pages of the Arabic press stating that they had received no outside funds in support of publication.⁶¹

Conclusion

In 1966, Egyptian poet and critic Luwīs ‘Awaḍ responded to the scandal of the Congress for Cultural Freedom with a call to make culture truly free, an echo of the Congress’s first meeting in Berlin of 1950 directed against the security agents of the world. ‘Awaḍ asked:

To what extent is it permissible for an intelligence apparatus in any country of the world to take over culture and cultural apparatuses whether domestically or abroad? To each his role in life: the task of the intellectual is to spread culture and the task of the security agent [*rajul al-amn*] is to preserve security, and if the security agent worked to spread culture, or the man of culture for the preservation of security, matters would be mixed up. And there is nothing more dangerous for culture than to become a weapon [*silāh*] of security even inside the country itself, for from the very start culture becomes an active synonym for the colonization of minds if it is taken up as a weapon of foreign defense.⁶²

Calling for the ‘man of culture’ not to get mixed up in ‘preserv[ing] security’ or ‘the colonization of minds’ or ‘foreign defense’, on some level it would seem ‘Awaḍ still believed in the value of preserving ‘cultural freedom’, of a world in which not ‘everything serves a political purpose’.⁶³ Despite ‘Awaḍ’s hopes that culture and the security apparatus could be disambiguated, kept apart, the cold war instead endowed Arab

culture with an enduring taint of doubt and suspicion that it might be serving the political purposes of others. This legacy of the cold war in Arabic persists today, for instance, in official rhetoric in post-2011 Cairo, where spectres of foreign agents, and international meddling in cultural and political affairs, become weapons in an authoritarian arsenal of oppression.

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¹Little has been written in English about *Hiwār*. In addition to Holt, "'Bread or Freedom'", see Michael Vasquez, 'The Bequest of *Quest*,' *Bidoun: Art and Culture from the Middle East* 26 (2012), and Elliott Colla, 'Badr Shākīr al-Sayyāb, Cold War Poet,' *Middle Eastern Literatures* 18:3 (2015): 247–263. Mention is also made of *Hiwār* in studies of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, most recently Andrew N. Rubin, *Archives of Authority: Empire, Culture and the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 59. In *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity*, Timothy Mitchell briefly discusses *Hiwār* and its connections with the CIA, connecting the episode to a far larger edifice of American intelligence that was shaping the region's intellectual production; see Mitchell, *Rule of Experts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 337, fn. 69 and 71. See also the first five pages of Issa J. Boullata, 'The Beleaguered Unicorn: A Study of Tawfīq Ṣāyigh', *Journal of Arabic Literature* 4 (1973), pp. 69–93, and Hala Halim, "Lotus, the Afro-Asian Nexus, and Global South Comparatism," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 32:2 (2012). Cultural memory of the scandal has been reignited in Arabic in recent years with the publication of letters and diary entries kept by *Hiwār*'s editor. See Maḥmūd Shurīḥ (ed.), *Mudhakkirāt Tawfīq Ṣāyigh bi-khaṭṭ yadihi wa-huwa yasta'idd li-aṣḍār majallat Hiwār: 6 Nīsān- 31 Tamūz 1962, Bayrūt – London – Bārīs – Bayrūt* [Memoirs of Tawfīq Ṣāyigh in His Own Handwriting as He Was Preparing to Publish the Journal *Hiwār*] (Beirut: Dār Nelson, 2011); and Shurīḥ (ed.), *Rasā'il Tawfīq Ṣāyigh wa-l-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ* [The Letters of Tawfīq Ṣāyigh and al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ] (Beirut: Dār Nelson, 2010).

²John Hunt to Tawfīq Sayigh, 29 January 1962, International Association for Cultural Freedom Records, Box 507, Folder 21, Series IV: Financial Files, 1951–1968, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago (hereafter IACF).

³Shurīḥ (ed.), *Mudhakkirāt*, p. 42.

⁴*Hiwār* 1/1 (1962), p. 2

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶Issues of *Al-Munazzamah al-Ālamiyyah li-Huriyyat al-Thaqāfah*, *Al-Huriyyah Awwalan*, and *Aḍwā'* are held in Box 521, Folders 1–6, Series V: Documentation and Ephemeral Publications, 1950–1972: Subseries I: Newsletters: Sub-subseries 2: Arabic Language: Miscellaneous, IACF.

⁷Ivan Kats to Z. Misketian, 20 December 1961, Box 127 Folder 6, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files: Subseries I: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–1967: Sub-subseries 5: 'E', IACF.

⁸On the Rome conference, see Muhsin al-Musawi, *Arabic Poetry: Trajectories of Modernity and Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 54–56.

⁹Ibrahim Abu-Lughod informed Mitchell on 3 August 2000 that Congress representative '[Morroe] Berger had attempted to recruit [him] to edit the magazine. Berger did not reveal the source of the funds, but the amount of money on offer and the stipulation concerning the Soviet Union made Abu-Lughod immediately suspicious.' See Mitchell, *Rule of Experts*, p. 337, fn. 69 and 71; and Mitchell, 'The Middle East in the Past and Future of Social Science', in David L. Szanton (ed.), *The Politics of Knowledge: Area Studies and the Disciplines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). Zareh Misketian (a.k.a. Toto), director of the CCF Cairo office in the late 1950s and early 1960s, encouraged Abu-Lughod's candidacy: 'I really think that Ibrahim would do a good job and is acceptable all around.' The CCF considered having the Arabic-English translator Denys Johnson-Davies make the initial contact with Abu-Lughod, see Z. Misketian to John Hunt, 20 August 1959, Box 127 File 5, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files: Subseries I: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–1967: Sub-subseries 5: 'E', IACF.

¹⁰Naguib Mahfouz to Ivan Kats, 16 January 1964, Box 127 File 8, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files: Subseries I:

Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–1967: Sub-subseries 5: ‘E’, IACF.

¹¹ John Hunt to Z. Misketian, 6 September 1965, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files: Subseries I: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–1967: Sub-subseries 5: ‘E’, IACF.

¹² John Hunt to Yehia Haqqi, 6 September 1965, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files: Subseries I: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–1967: Sub-subseries 5: ‘E’, IACF. Hunt begins this and other letters, ‘Dr. Morroe Berger has informed me of your interest in the work of this organization.’

¹³ No author, ‘People Whom I Consulted in Lebanon’, n.d. (between 1959 and 1961), Box 228 File 8, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files: Subseries I: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–1967: Sub-subseries 12: ‘L’, IACF.

¹⁴ Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta, 1999), third page of photo insert. The caption reads, ‘Stephen Spender, chosen by the CIA and MI6 to co-edit *Encounter* magazine. “Stephen had all the right credentials to be chosen as a front,” said Natasha Spender. “He was eminently bamboozable, because he was so innocent.”’

¹⁵ See the opening pages of his *Mudhakkirāt*. On modernism and the CCF, see Greg Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2015).

¹⁶ John Hunt to Yusuf al-Khal, 19 September 1961, Box 432 File 4, Series III: Seminars, 1950–1977: Subseries 46: Rome 1961: The Arab Writer and the Modern World, October 16–20, IACF.

¹⁷ John Hunt to Tawfiq Sayigh, 29 January 1962, Box 507, Folder 21, Series IV: Financial Files, 1951–1968, IACF.

¹⁸ Tawfiq Sayigh to John Hunt, 9 May 1963, Box 507, Folder 21, Series IV: Financial Files, 1951–1968, IACF.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ ‘Journal: Hiwar—Circulation Figures for Period: 1966’, Box 231, Folder 3, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files: Subseries I: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–1967: Sub-subseries 12: “L”, IACF.

²¹ ‘Decision # 632’, 21 July 1962, Box 507, Folder 21, Series IV: Financial Files, 1951–1968, IACF. ‘Mr. Jamil Jabar [Jamil Jabre] [is granted] a permit to publish a monthly literary, scientific, artistic, non-political publication in Arabic with the title *Hiwār* for which al-Amīr/Prince Nadīm Āl Nāṣir al-Dīn assumes [all] responsibility.’

²² Scott Charles to Tawfiq Sayigh, 19 June 1963, Box 507, Folder 21, Series IV: Financial Files, 1951–1968, IACF.

²³ Robie Macauley, ‘The “Little Magazines”’, *Transition* 9 (June 1963), p. 24.

²⁴ Roger A. Farrand to John Hunt, 14 January 1963, Box 507, Folder 21, Series IV: Financial Files, 1951–1968, IACF.

²⁵ Scott Charles to Tawfiq Sayigh, June 19, 1963, Box 507, Folder 21, Series IV: Financial Files, 1951–1968, IACF.

²⁶ *Hiwār* 1/1 (November 1962), p. 2.

²⁷ See Verena Klemm, ‘Different Notions of Commitment (*Iltizām*) and Committed Literature (*al-adab al-multazim*) in the Literary Circles of the Mashriq’, *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 3 (2000), p. 54.

²⁸ *Mudhakkirāt*, p. 68.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² The Congress for Cultural Freedom also coordinated with ‘many Arab institutions—among them the National Planning Commission of the U.A.R., the Egyptian Society of Engineers, the Institute of Public Administration in Cairo, and the University of Khartoum.’ ‘Arab Magazine Banned by Cairo’, *New York Times*, 24 July 1966, p. 3. A similar conference was held ~~in~~ at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda in June 1962 on African literature. Postcolonial theorist, playwright, and novelist Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o of Kenya mentions this conference in a footnote to his essay ‘The Language of African Literature’ in Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1992), p. 30 fn. 2. Thiong’o comments, ‘The conference was organized by the anti-Communist Paris-based but American-inspired and financed Society for Cultural Freedom which was later discovered actually to have been financed by CIA. It shows how certain directions in our cultural, political, and economic choices can be masterminded from the metropolitan centres of imperialism.’

³³ See “‘Bread or Freedom’”.

³⁴ *Al-Ādāb* 10 (July 1962), p. 59.

³⁵ *Mudhakkirāt*, p. 17.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 64.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

³⁸ See the photo of ‘John Hunt, Robie Macauley and Michael Josselson mapping things out in the hills above Geneva’ in Saunders, p. 6 of photo section.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 45.

⁴¹ Tawfiq Sayigh to John Hunt, 15 November 1965, Box 231 Folder 1, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files: Subseries I: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–1967: Sub-subseries 12: ‘L’, IACF.

⁴² *Mudhakkirāt*, p. 85.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 103.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 29–30.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 100.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Consider the letter from John Hunt to Tawfiq Sayigh (11 February 1963), Box 507, Folder 21, Series IV: Financial Files, 1951–1968, IACF, in which Hunt mentions a plan for pieces from an Algerian issue of *Preuves* to appear in *Hiwār*.

⁴⁹John Hunt to Tawfiq Sayigh, 10 December 10, 1965, Box 231 Folder 1, Series II: Correspondence and Subject Files: Subseries I: Correspondence and Subject Files, 1948–1967: Sub-subseries 12: ‘L’, IACF.

⁵⁰*Al-Usbū‘ al-‘Arabī* hoped to elicit Idrīs’s ‘opinion on the issue of *Hiwār* being banned from Egypt’ in 1966 due to its connections with the CIA; Idrīs responded that it was an affair ‘of which I like to speak neither good nor evil’, *Al-Usbū‘ al-‘Arabī* (31 October 1966), p. 44.

⁵¹‘Arab Magazine Banned’, *New York Times*.

⁵²*Rūz al-Yūsuf* 1980 (23 May 1966), p. 42.

⁵³*Al-Maktabah* 45 (October 1966), p. 57. ‘The journal *Hiwār*, whose entry to Egypt was banned has started to arrive by air mail to a number of personalities in Cairo and Alexandria.’

⁵⁴‘Arab Magazine Banned’.

⁵⁵Rajā’ al-Naqqāsh, ‘Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ: “‘Abqariyyah riwā’iyyah jadīdah”’, *Al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ: ‘Abqarī al-riwāyah al-‘Arabiyyah* (Beirut: Dār al-‘Awdah, 1976), p. 78.

⁵⁶Unsī al-Ḥājj, ‘The Issue of the Journal *Hiwār*’, *Mulḥaq al-Nahār* (12 June 1966), p. 19.

⁵⁷Jean Franco, *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City: Latin America in the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2002), p. 32.

⁵⁸A slight man hounded by health problems throughout his life, Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb was also one of the most renowned and celebrated Arabic poets of the twentieth century, credited especially with being a pioneer of the new free verse poetry and its innovations in Arabic poetic form. See also Elliott Colla, ‘Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, Cold War Poet’, *Middle Eastern Literatures* 18:3 (2015), pp. 247–263.

⁵⁹Al-Ḥājj, p. 19. The CIA seemed pretty sure they were the ones laughing. As Stonor Saunders notes, when Nicolas Nabokov published his memoirs in 1975, he included a section on the 1960 CCF conference “‘commemorating the 50th anniversary of the death of Tolstoy” on the Venetian island of San Giorgio. Two Russians had attended, including “an odious SOB called Yermilov, a nasty little party hack. They were standing in line, both of them, to receive their *per diem* and travel allowance from my secretary, or rather the administrative secretary of the Congress for Cultural Freedom.” Saunders relates: ‘Nabokov closed the recollection on a jubilant note: “Mr. Yermilov, turn in your grave: *you have just taken CIA money!*”’ Saunders, p. 332.

⁶⁰Klemm, p. 58.

⁶¹Consider, *Al-Mawāqif*. Thanks to Anne-Marie McManus for noting this.

⁶²Included in Luwīs ‘Awaḍ’s collection of essays entitled *al-Thawrah wa-l-adab* (Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-‘Arabī li-l-Ṭibā‘ah wa-l-Nashr, 1967), pp. 433–434.

⁶³As quoted in Stonor Saunders, p. 312.