

MESSAGE

TO

MR. ATTLEE

PRIME MINISTER OF THE U.K.

FROM

AHMED HUSSEIN

PRESIDENT EGYPTIAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTIC PARTY

[6]

THE YOUNG EGYPT PARTY "THE EGYPTIAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTIC PARTY" HAS SENT DELEGATE TO LONDON TO PLEAD FOR COMPLETE EVACUATION FROM EGYPT AND SUDAN.

ONE OF THE DELEGATE EFFORTS IS THE WRITING OF AN EXPLANATORY NOTE INCLUDING THEIR ASPIRATION AND WAS SENT TO THE ENGLISH PRIME MINISTER IN THE FORM OF A LETTER. IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES IS THE TEXT OF THIS LETTER.

CAIRO, AUGUST, 1949

*The Right Honourable Clement Attlee P.M.
10, Downing Street
London, S. W. 1.*

Dear Sir,

On 11th March, 1949, I sent you a message asking for an appointment, and reminding you of two previous occasions when I met you in 1936 and 1938, as a Leader of the opposition. On the 14th March, 1949, I received your answer apologising for the fact that you were very busy.

Your reply was the first disappointment I had in this Country, because my chief aim of the visit was to have an interview with you, as Prime Minister. I hoped to persuade you that the interests of England can only be promoted by the immediate evacuation of the Suez Canal zone and of the Sudan, after handing the Government duties over to a democratic government, united under the Egyptian Crown; this being the will of the majority of the Sudanese.

In my assumption I forgot altogether that Mr. Attlee has got a dual personality, one as Leader of the Opposition, and the other as Prime Minister. The two men are quite different. The first exemplifies the ideals of humanity and fraternity of mankind, and the other constitutes the Leader of the British Policy which follows a stereotyped routine, automatic course, maintained and carried out for centuries and symbolised in the word 'imperialism'. Mr. Attlee to-day, like Mr. Churchill yesterday, is the Prime Minister of England, and as such maintains the interests of this Country.

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asures have changed fundamentally. Nowadays, the policy of violence and persecution cannot be maintained and the desires of races cannot be ignored or silenced by material force. This is the last resource on which Britain can rely.

EVENTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

When the second world war broke out the British thought that they could force Egypt to stand with them, relying on the 1936 Treaty of Alliance, and on the fact that both countries had a common foe. They were surprised to see some reluctance and hesitation on the part of the Egyptian Government to concede immediately to their desires. Things came to a head in June 1940 when Italy entered the war. The British were furious at the refusal of the Egyptian Government to declare war automatically against the Axis. Egypt decided not to do so except in the case of a direct encroachment on her soil; an attack against the British in Egypt was not considered as one as such. However, the Egyptian Government broke all diplomatic relations with the Axis.

This fair attitude of Egypt was a shock to the representative of Britain in Cairo, and the Egyptian Prime Minister at that time, Aly Maher Pasha, was accused of having a sympathetic attitude towards Italy. But he was, in fact, reflecting the Egyptian public opinion.

The British were not happy about this state of things and used their influence to have the Cabinet changed and replaced by a more moderate one. Hassan Sabry Pasha was called to power, who was at one time the Egyptian Ambassador to England. He was known for his friendly attitude towards this country. Still, however, war was not declared against Italy, and the new Minister proved even less lenient than his predecessor.

When Sabry Pasha died suddenly in Parliament, he was succeeded by Hussein Sirry Pasha who was also known for his friendly feelings towards Britain. Yet the situation

never changed and Egypt never declared war on the Axis.

Then followed what is called the untoward "incident" of the 4th February, whereby the British encircled the Royal Palace with their tanks using material force for the appointing of a new and more lenient Government. Again, the new Cabinet did not change the existing policy.

WHY THE EGYPTIANS REFUSED TO FIGHT.

Does the refusal mean that the Egyptians are not keen about their freedom and independence? or are they incapable of defending themselves? The history of Egypt with England, particularly, confirms the reverse. Since the British set foot in Egypt the Egyptians never stopped their opposition to this unlawful occupation, with the ultimate result that the British had to declare the sovereign independence and integrity of Egypt and had to withdraw from the interior of the Country. Egyptians are still very susceptible to the presence of the British on the shores of the Canal. They maintain that the dispute between them and the British will only end with the departure of the last British soldier; so consequently the patriotism of the Egyptians and their zeal about defending their own country are above all doubts. Then the question arises; why was this negative attitude of Egypt towards the war which was going on a desert part of their homeland?

The answer is straightforward and simple. The Egyptian people know very well that the war between England and Germany was a war of colonisation. Germany complained that England with a population of 50 millions, ruled over a thousand million people and 1/5th of the area of the world, while Germany, with a population of 80 millions, had no colonies at all. These are the facts which were expounded by Hitler in everyone of his speeches. So consequently England declared war in order to avert this danger threatening her colonies here and there.

So the war between England and Germany is one for the domination of the world. Such a war does not interest us directly or indirectly. If the British had taken the wiser step of declaring that the Egyptian claims would be justified as soon as the war was over, Egypt's attitude would have been completely different. But the British consistently refused to make our just claims a topic for any conversations. They maintained, strangely enough, that this was a case of exploitation.

NO PRIORITY BETWEEN THE DEVILS.

So the situation was this. The British were in possession of Egypt. We wanted them to go and they refused. And the Germans came to fight the British so the Egyptians had no interest in this fight. The contention that the Egyptians must consider British domination more tolerable than the German one, cannot be taken as an argument for England to stay in Egypt. There is not much discrimination between devils and it does not matter much whether the chains and the shackles are made of gold or silver or any other inferior metal, as long as they are chains and shackles, meant to restrict and jeopardise one's liberty.

Thus Egypt's attitude in the last war showed our patriotism and our political maturity.

THE ATTITUDE OF EGYPT IN CASE OF A FUTURE WAR.

Now the question arises: Does England intend to repeat the same attitude in the case of the expected conflict? It is up to England to decide.

The contention that a future war will be one between the Principals of Democracy and Communism obviously is unfounded. We would be surprised to see among the English people anyone who would believe this. Previously we were the allies of Communism, against Germany who threatened freedom and democracy. Russia was presented as an attractive picture of real democracy dissimilar to that of Germany. We the Egyptians, who were unfortunately rotating round the allies

axis, were overwhelmed by pro-Russian propaganda. Now the picture is different. An Englishman may, or may not, swallow these contradictions but we, the people of Egypt and the East, are not prepared to see ourselves deteriorating into this abyss.

If England irrationally insists on the occupation of the Suez Canal, there is no guarantee that Egypt will be amenable or would keep her friendly neutrality; the potential danger of Egypt's suppressed anger will still exist.

BUT IF BRITAIN WITHDRAWS.

Now the other side of the picture. The British may evacuate the Suez Canal zone immediately leaving the Egyptians entrusted with the duty of its defence.

Egypt shall rise as a dominant wordly power who shall undertake her responsibilities as a modern state with complete integrity and sovereignty. With the help of military and technical experts and the armaments provided to her in a way parallel with the Marshall Plan, she will be able to maintain a strong army of a quarter of a million in peace time, which could be raised to a million or two at a time of emergency. This force will not only defend Egypt and the Sudan as such, but the whole Arab countries. This is what Egypt is offering in return for the evacuation of her land. The British have the option to choose the way they like to secure their interests. If England is keen, as she says, about seeing the Middle East as a compact unity, then this is her only plan.

II.

THE SUDAN.

The British may be ready to accept this view which we maintain. In the Sidky-Bevin draft treaty they almost came to an agreement and the British promised to effect land, sea and air evacuation before September 1st, 1949.

But the negotiations, which were conducted between a strong party and a weak one under duress and coercion, soon broke off on the rock of the Sudan, which the British like to refer to as problematic.

The British Government knows everything about the Sudanese question and as such is not in need of any further explaining. They are well acquainted, better than anybody else, with the connections between Egypt and the Sudan, and they know that they would not have possibly been able to occupy the Sudan for all this period except on the grounds that it is an integral part of Egypt. (1)

They also know that the life of Egypt depends wholly on the Nile Water coming from the Sudan to Egypt, and that the latter's dams, and the irrigation projects on which her future prosperity, not to say her very existence, are in the Sudan. The official British authorities know all that very well

NOTE 1: a) Lord Kitchener said in his report about the Fashada incident: "I asked him whether I was to understand from his declarations that the French Government had instructed him to oppose my raising the Egyptian flag in the Nudiria and our establishing Egyptian sovereignty in the province. After some hesitation he had no objection to the raising of the Egyptian flag, so at 4.0 p.m. I hoisted the Egyptian flag at the junction of the Sobat River with the White Nile, and entrusted its protection to Major Jackson, and returned northwards".

b) Here are the exact words of Lord Cromer's report of the year 1900:- "I observe in the remarks of the Legislative Council on the estimates of the current year that it is stated that the Council approves of the proposed expenditure on the Sudan, and they consider that the country forms an integral part of Egypt. This view is substantially correct. The political regime is, however, governed by the communication between Great Britain and Egypt. Signed on January 19th. 1899". As it is possible that some members of the Legislative Council may not be fully acquainted with the purpose of that instrument, I take this opportunity of explaining that it was not framed with any wish or intention to curtail the legitimate rights of Egypt. The main objects of its introduction were first to ensure good government to the people of the Sudan, and secondly, to avert from the country the special complications to which an international regime has given rise in Egypt.

so in this text we are not going to insert any elaboration of this point, and reference here is made to the appendix which treats this point more fully. I am not going to discuss here the necessity of this unity to both Egypt and the Sudan because I maintain that the making of this question a topic of discussion may reflect doubt and dispute. It is only an artificial unity which needs eloquence to support and material force to achieve. Naturally this is not the case. Although the Young Egypt Party, over whom I have the privilege to preside, maintains that Egypt and the Sudan constitute one inseparable unity, yet it admits the complete right of the Sudanese to choose the Government they like and the regime they sympathise with. At the same time it is confident that the Sudan cannot live except in the economic and political unity of Egypt.

THE CONGRESS OF THE GRADUATES DEMAND UNITY.

The Sudanese Government knows how the Congress of the Graduates was instituted in 1938, and that it was formed by a new generation of younger men whom the British tried to persuade that the Sudanese revolution in 1924 in support of Egypt was a wrong gesture, and whose integrity they tried to pollute by creating and promoting separatist tendencies among them. Notwithstanding this fact, when the Congress started to discuss the political future of the Sudan, they could but pass the following resolution on April 1945:-

"The institution of a democratic Sudanese Government united with Egypt under the sovereignty of the Egyptian crown".

The Congress did not pass this decision as a joke or for fun, nor did they pass it under the intimidation or the instigation of Egypt, for the simple reason that the latter has hardly anything to do with the administration in the Sudan. The Sudanese voluntarily, and in pursuance of their interests, adopted this policy.

Let us now argue the British contention that their policy in the Sudan aims at promoting the Sudanese welfare and maintaining their liberties, and that England's hostility to the unity is only based on the pretext of maintaining the present enlightened administration which the Sudanese enjoy now, and which it is alleged will automatically lose through their unity with Egypt.

MARTIAL LAW.

The criterion which determines the standard of civilization of any community is the form of Government and extent to which the individual enjoys his democratic liberty.

When the British entered the Sudan in 1898 with the Egyptian armies they proclaimed the Martial law;

"Until, and save so far as it shall be otherwise determined by proclamation, the Sudan, with the exception of the town of Sawakin, shall be and remain under Martial Law". (1)

After 50 years of the British rule in the Sudan, namely, in 1949, the Sudan is still officially ruled by Martial law, and by means of a Governor who simultaneously represents the executive, legislative and judicial authority, and who does not hold himself responsible to any power. He does not admit Egypt's right to review or reject his decisions. England on her part cannot check him because he is supposed to have received his authority from the joint jurisdiction of Egypt and England. Unless the two parties agree on a certain issue the Governor of the Sudan has complete right to decide whatever and however he likes. We defy anybody to prove that a parallel institution exists in any part of the civilised or uncivilised world. In the British colonies the British Governor is a Civil Servant of the Colonial Office. Anyone in these colonies is entitled to have recourse to any

(1). Article X of 1899 Agreement concerning the administration of the Sudan.

of the British courts of justice, or to the House of Commons, where he can explain his complaints and claim redress for his grievances. The Sudan, not being a British colony, does not come under the direct influence of the Colonial Office.

On one part, the Governor of the Sudan is appointed by a Charter from the King of Egypt, and on the other part he declines to tolerate any interference on behalf of the Egyptian Government. As a consequence of this illogical and paradoxical situation, he enjoys complete authority without any check or restraint.

A BRUTAL MASSACRE.

On the basis of this state of affairs the following untoward events could and did take place and passed unnoticed and were never commented on.

In 1921 a certain Abd Alla Al Sehemí revolted in Nyala district against the Government and managed to kill the District Inspector and all his police and staff. The Government sent a punitive expedition against him which suppressed the revolt. After the man had given himself up, together with all his followers, the formal sound procedure would have been to commit the man to trial and execute him, if necessary, to intimate and suppress the insurgents; instead, a force went to the village where the fugitives had lived and surrounded it with machine guns and shelled the site for three hours. All the village, men, women and children, were annihilated.

AMINIATURE NYRON.

An objection may be raised that this happened a long time ago, namely in 1921.

Now, that about this recent incident which took place in 1945. In Singa district there was a young English Inspector who granted the population a licence to erect a village on a certain site. A few days after he discovered that the new village site was not exactly the same he had chosen before,

so he eventually burnt the whole village and destroyed all the people's property. The population had no alternative but to run away leaving all their chattels. The enlightened civilised Inspector was never asked to give an account of his atrocities to anybody.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

The British consider that the freedom of the press is the ultimate standard deciding the democracy of any country. The chief grievance against Russia these days is that this freedom is restricted in the countries dominated by the Communist regime. I would like to know the opinion of the Socialist democratic government of England about Article IV, of the Sudanese Law of the Press passed in 1930, which runs as follows :-

"Without explaining any reasons, the Administrative Secretary, has the right to refuse to authorise any newspaper. He is also entitled to give this authority with such conditions as he may impose. He also has the right to stop or suppress any paper that does not comply with these restrictions. After the confirmation of the Governor-General he can amend, suppress or stop any licence that has already been given; the pretext being the maintenance of public security and discipline".

Article VIII of that Law gives the Administrative Secretary power to stop any paper, pamphlet or book from entering the Sudan. The penalty for any offence is prison and/or fine. On the authority of this law the Ashigga Party, which is the biggest political Party in the Sudan, was denied by the Administrative Secretary, a licence for a paper to express their views. In spite of the fact that the Party has applied for such licence fourteen times in various forms and ways, the answer was always the same: refusal without explanation.

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

The Sudanese Laws.

The English maintain a fundamental legal principle, viz: "In order that the law may be acceptable, natural, and

just, it must satisfy the conscience of the people, and should not be enforced upon their susceptibilities".

How far, now, is this principle observed in the Sudan?

In the preface to the new edition of the Sudanese Laws, Mr. Korman, the Late Judicial Secretary to the Sudanese Government, says :-

"The three laws: Civil, Criminal and the Code of Criminal Procedure, were a miniature of those in India, but a part of the Criminal Law was taken from the Egyptian Military Law, which was, in turn, taken from the English Military Law. The reason for this is that in the early stages all the judges were chosen from the Army Officers".

These are the laws in force in the Sudan. They are Military ones, taken indirectly from the English Military law.

Mr. Korman tried to account for the fact that the Sudanese Laws are derived from the Military Law by saying that the judges were originally chosen from among the officers. He should have told us if at all, the laws have been changed now, as the judges are no more chosen from that group. The question now suggests itself as to the number of judges in the Sudan.

THE NUMBER OF JUDGES IN THE SUDAN.

The total number of British and Sudanese Judges, high and small, is fifteen in all. Four of these are British and preside over superior courts in Khartoum, Gezira, Kordofan and the Northern Province, together with a supplementary one in Khartoum, another in the Court of Assises, and a third in Halfa who works gratuitously. All these judges are British. Up to 1938 the number of native judges was only two, who were subsequently increased to six. So the Sudan with an area of a million square miles and eight million population has only fifteen judges!

Does this necessarily mean that the Sudan is exceptionally a peaceful law-abiding country? No, this is not the right answer. The Mondeirs, the Inspectors, the Mamours and their assistants, as well as the police are all considered as judges, who carry out their legal offices in all stages and give judgments and decisions.

The Code of Criminal Procedure states that every governor of a Province (Moudir) and his deputy and that every inspector of a district (Markaz) is considered a first degree judge by virtue of his office. It also states that the assistant inspectors are second grade judges, and the Mamours their assistants are third grade judges.

The Civil Law states that the Moudirs, their deputies and Inspectors are first grade judges and the assistant Inspectors are second grade and the Mamours and their deputies are third grade ones. By law all these individuals have the right to deal with appeals brought to their notice from the junior judges. If we take into consideration the fact that they are all at one and the same time administrative legal governors and are also simultaneously responsible for police duties, we shall realise at once the extent of confusion in this system and the danger threatening the people's right and liberties.

The simplest principles of the modern administration of justice is the separation of authorities. It is an established principle that the judicial system should be completely independent. It does not reflect much credit on an administration that the legal and administrative authorities are all conferred on one and the same official nor that the executive authority is at one and the same time the legal one.

EDUCATION IN THE SUDAN.

Now let us take the discussion a step further to consider the social conditions of that fortunate country.

The fundamental duties of any enlightened government which is keen about the welfare of its subjects is to help to-

wards improving their cultural status. It has become now an established fact that education is the basis for any progress. It is an obsolete fallacy to maintain discrimination between races. The response of a race to civilization and culture depends on the adequateness or otherwise of his chances for education. This is the only thing that really counts. To help a race towards education means as much as civilizing towards this beneficial end?.....

Fifty years ago when the British entered the Sudan, it had thousands of elementary schools which taught the Koran, the Sacred Book of Islam.

The first thing the British did was to close down the vast majority of these schools. A law was soon passed which forbade the opening of a school before procuring a written licence from the Governor General. No free education was allowed in any stage, and up to now there is no idea at all of introducing free education in the Sudan while in Egypt it is completely free and obligatory in many areas and is about to be universally so in the whole country. In spite of the fact that the education is expensive in the Sudan and the people are poor, yet they flock to the schools. At the beginning of every school year it is usual sight to see a list of about five hundred applicants, of whom only forty are accepted. No arrangement whatsoever is made for those rejected who are consequently left uncared for. The following is a statistical analysis of the number of elementary schools and the children of age for elementary education, with comparative figures from some countries

	Elementary Schools.	No. of Pupils.	Children of age.	Population
Sudan.	186	26,290	2,130,105	8,000,000
Gold Coast (British)	568	91,000	600,000	3,963,000
Kirghis. (Central Asia)	1,500	250,000	250,000	1,500,000

In the Southern section of the Sudan, the glad tidings were recently announced that the first elementary school would be opened shortly in Goba, the capital of the Equatorial Province.

THE PRIMARY (INTERMEDIATE) EDUCATION.

We have now discussed the unfortunate plight of elementary education in the Sudan and it is not surprising that the more advanced stages of education are still more unfortunate. Up to 1946 the number of primary schools did not exceed, in the whole of the Sudan, eleven, accommodating seventeen hundred and sixtythree boys, a percentage of 7% of those of age for this kind of education.

The intentional impotence of the Sudanese Government to cope with this problem can easily be realised if we take into consideration the fact that primary education is not free but has to be paid for, and that the fees paid by the boys almost cover its expenses.

The Sudanese 1946 Budget shows that the revenue of primary education i.e. the fees paid was thirtyone thousand (31000) pounds, and the expenditure incurred thereon was thirtynine thousand (39000) pounds. The statement means in simple English that the Government incurs an expenditure of only eight thousand pounds on primary education, which is poorly provided for.

THE RESTRICTIONS OF PRIVATE EDUCATION.

Not only that but the government issued in 1927 a Private Education Law whose chief aspect is the tremendous difficulties and impediments which have got to be overcome before a private school is established by a citizen.

The Law prohibits a non-Sudanese individual to open a school. This stipulation is imposed to prevent the Egyptians from giving their services for education.

The Law necessitates registration on the part of the teachers.

The Law forbids the non-registered individuals to take up employment.

The Law denies the teachers the right to express their political views, with the penalty of dismissal for offenders.

The Law forbids nomination to any educational employment without the confirmation of the Director of Education.

On the recommendation of the Director of Education, the Government General has the right to transfer any school. (Read Articles 6, 7, 8, 11, of that law),

THE EDUCATION DAY.

In spite of these rigid and despotic restrictions and the unfair methods of their execution, the Sudanese, whose thirst for education is insatiable, were not discouraged at all, and have done comparable achievements since 1941. In that year the Congress was called and invited subscriptions on the occasion of "The Education Day". The Sudanese marvellously responded to the call. The Conveants have managed to establish more schools in five years that the enlightened government have done in fifty years. Here are the figures:—

Stage of Education	PRIVATE SCHOOLS		GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS	
	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils
Night classes for adults	38	1900	—	—
Religious Institutions	47	3350	1	1200
Elementary Schools	50	9000	182	26290
Intermediate Schools	19	3230	12	1800
Secondary Schools	2	210	1	555
Total	156	17690	196	29845

An analysis of these figures shows that the Congress have managed to educate in five years about 60% of the total number who were educated by the Sudanese Government in fifty years.

EGYPT IS PREVENTED FROM EDUCATING THE SUDANESE.

After a long period of prohibition and after many difficulties have been overcome, Egypt has managed to get a licence from the Governor General to open a secondary school in the Sudan, which cost her about half a million pounds. Soon after, the Governor, strangely enough, stipulated that only Egyptians could join this school, whose number was 20-30. Realising the impracticability of such a restriction he had to review his decision to the effect that he allowed ten per cent of the boys to be Sudanese, which percentage rose latter to twenty per cent. Naturally, this imposition was intended to be in the supposed interest of the Sudanese!!

THE SUDANESE MIGRATE TO EGYPT FOR EDUCATION

But the Sudanese refused to abide by this unhealthy policy and thousands of them migrated to Egypt for education, which gesture Egypt welcomed and appreciated. In spite of the fact that some Egyptians cannot get access to Egyptian Schools, any Sudanese is given priority in this respect. He has the right to get free education in any school, a privilege which is only partly enjoyed by the common Egyptian. Furthermore, a special institution for the Sudanese students was established where they can get free, decent board and lodging.

At the present moment thousands of Sudanese students enjoy free education in Egypt; Elementary, Primary, Secondary, Technical and even University education in the faculties of medicine, engineering, law, etc. This University education is unconditionally open and free for any Sudanese student, as such.

THE SUDANESE ECONOMY.

It may be ignorantly alleged that it does not matter much whether or not the Sudanese are governed by martial law or whether or not they are educated, as long as their material necessities are satisfied: abundance of food, decent accommodation and high wages.

The simple direct answer to this unfounded allegation is the present deplorable famine at Kordofan where the people had to satisfy their hunger on rotten animal carcasses, and where fresh water is rationed at Boeid. The cry for rescue of the victims could not have reached the ears of the British Government but it was heard in Egypt, and adequately responded to. But the funny part about it is that the Sudanese Government almost objected to the contribution given by the Egyptian Government on the ridiculous grounds that they, the Sudanese Government, were not consulted on the point before hand. It was only when the situation was worsened and they could not face the storm of public fury that they conceded. Furthermore, they started to put certain stipulations with the consequent loss of time and souls.

THE SUDANESE BUDGET

We shall leave aside the question of the famine which is only a recurring phenomenon of the drastic economy of the Sudan, and we shall elaborate on the fundamentals of the Sudanese economy. The budget of any government is the first criterion to decide the economic progress of a country. On this basis we can at once realise the financial and economic situation of the Sudan. In 1946, the budget reached its maximum figure of £7,519,086. The population of the Sudan is 8,000,000 so the share per head is less than one pound per year. In 1947, the budget figure fell to £6,748,760 owing to the fact that the post-war boom was over and the economic situation was getting worse.

In order to refute the British allegations it is not out of place here, to mention that in recent years the budget of Egypt was about £200,000,000, which gives a share per head of £10 to each of the 20,000,000 population of our Country.

THE MONEY IN CIRCULATION.

Another basis for comparison may be mentioned. In 1943 money in circulation in the Sudan was £4,165,029 and

in 1944, the figure fell to £3,263,154, which gives a share per head of less than 10/-. The comparative figures for Egypt are: £128,000,000 in 1945, and £144,000,000 in 1946 and the share per head was £7. We know it is not much and we are doing our best to raise the figure enormously, but the fact remains that £7 is much more than 10/-.

We are well aware of the objection that may be raised by the economists to the effect that neither the total figure of the budget nor the currency in circulation are correct methods of judging the budget of the individuals. So we shall now approach the problem more closely.

THE FORTUNATE CLASSES.

The most fortunate classes of the Sudanese community are the farmers who cultivate a million acres in Ghezira and who exported during the war seven million kantars* of cotton. According to the estimates of the Ghezira Advisory Council, the average income of a farmer is £40 a year. This figure is generous and does not represent the facts, but, in order to avert a charge of prejudice, we shall take it as a basis for our discussion. The average number of the household of a peasant family is five persons which means £3 a month for the whole family, and average of, as our previous figure, 10/-. The plight of a farmer elsewhere than in Ghezira is still more deplorable. His annual income is 85 bushels of maize a year which the Government seizes at a price of 60 piastres (12/6d) an Ardab (equals 4 1/4 bushels). So his annual income is £12 a year for himself and his family.

THE WAGES.

In the Western Sudan the wages of a Sudanese working man varies from two to three piastres (5/7 1/2d) a day. In other parts of the Sudan the figure rises to 1/- (except in the Southern Sudan which will be dealt with separately). This means that the best paid working man gets £17 a year.

*A Kantar is 100 lbs. of lint cotton.

It may not be inappropriate in this connection to mention that an ordinary policeman's salary is £1.15.0d a month or 8/- per week. We can conclude this survey by a reference to a talk published in December 1945, in the Alrai Elam (Public Opinion) Sudanese paper, with the Director of the Medical Department, who is naturally an Englishman. The Gadaraf correspondent of the paper who asked him the reason why penicillin was not popularised as a treatment. He answered that they could not do so because the drug was so expensive and that the people were so poor. He added that the earnings of an individual was only 2 1/2d per day.

THE SHARE OF THE BRITISH OFFICIALS IN THE SUDANESE BUDGET.

Referring to Government officials we may here show the shares of both British and Sudanese Government staffs, proportionately to the budget. The fact which the figures will show, prove beyond dispute, that the remuneration which the Government Native Staff gets is not enough to afford a decent standard of living. The British staff get threefold or fourfold as much as the natives.

Nationality of Employee	Number of Employees	Total Salaries	Percentages of Total Salaries
British	771	819,000	61.3%
Sudanese	5330	672,000	38.7%

PUBLIC HYGIENE.

This cultural and economic picture of the Sudan which cannot be described as attractive, looks still more deplorable when the sanitary conditions are considered. Following the official classification of the Government Doctors Crouch and Lorenzen, (the present Director), we shall survey the sanitary conditions under three main sub-divisions. a) Provisions. b) Treatment. c) Protection. Those medical authorities maintain the bold view that the budget allowances for the sanitary units would serve their purpose better if spent directly on

food stuffs for the bodily sustenance of the masses. The reason they rightly give is that the basic food stuffs of the people lack in the essential nutritious elements necessary for the human body. We are not talking here about the insignificant minority of the middle class government employees and the trading classes, who can well afford to live on Western luxuries. But we mean the taxpayers who grow cotton in the Gezira and the highlands of Nuba, the livestock rearing population and the gum collectors of Cordofan. These rural folks live on their dairy products or on their scanty meals of millets and maize, boiled with wild grasses.

As for starch, sugar and bromide and the other vitamins, Doctor Crouch and Doctor Lorenzen, in their official report in 1942, state that the food stuffs consumed locally are completely deficient in vitamins, with the unfortunate result of the spread of the askarot disease.

FRESH WATER.

The already black picture resulting from the shortage and deficiency of native foodstuffs, looks still blacker when the problem of fresh water is taken into consideration. The Sudan, as is well known, is drained by the Nile and its numerous tributaries, providing abundant water for the large country which is sparsely populated. Yet in such a country and in the twentieth century the water supply for general purposes, not to say drinking water, is appallingly insufficient.

In various areas of the Sudan the problem is very serious indeed. It is a common sight for a railway passenger from Kosti to Obeid to see wretched women carrying their empty vessels and begging travellers for a drink of water or risking their lives among the engine wheels for a pint of the boiling water, released from the engine.

This is the high standard of sanitation of which the British are proud as one of the achievements of their enlightened Administration of the Sudan.

TREATMENT UNITS.

The official figures of the Medical Department in 1942 state the following:-

Out Patients.	8,072,080
Patients in Hospitals.	114,837
Number of beds in Hospitals.	5,919. Still the same.
Number of Hospitals in the Sudan.	41. " " "
Number of Sanitary Units.	340. People provide buildings and wages.
Number of Native Doctors.	79. Rose to 88.
Assistant Doctors.	265.
British Doctors.	11.

The outstanding fact in these statistics is the large number of out-patients which represents nearly the whole population which is 8,000,000.

The number of doctors who have to cope with this big problem is only a hundred, an average of one doctor for 80,000 of the population and one bed for every 13,000 people.

This shocking state of affairs is only comparable with two other countries who are, accidentally, if we may say, under British influence. As well.

In the Gold Coast there is one doctor to every 52,290 persons. In Rhodesia it is one to every 68,900 persons.

A closer comparison with Egypt will mean still more. In Egypt there is one doctor to every 4,000 population. A plan is now in progress in our country to provide one doctor for every 2,000 people. To achieve this end we have now three medical colleges in addition to a great number of scholars who study medicine abroad.

This is the story of ignorance, superstition, poverty and disease in the Sudan which is directly attributed to the enlightened Administration which has been there for 50 years.

IS THE SUDAN A POOR COUNTRY.

The question that arises now is. Is the Sudan a poor country with such scanty resources as reflected by this low standard of income?

The Sudanese Government says yes, but the facts show that the Sudan is a rich country, with vast resources of wealth, which, if developed by a concientious government, would support a thriving prosperous population.

THE AGRICULTURAL WEALTH.

The Sudan is divided into three Agricultural Regions: Northern, Central and Southern.

The Northern Region is semi-desert in general.

The Southern Region comprises the Equatorial Provinces, and we shall deal with it separately.

The Central Region, which lies between the latitudes 10° and 16° N, comprises the provinces of Khartoum, Blue Nile, Kasla, Kordofan and Darfour. This is the Savanna country of short grass. The soil is fertile, the climate is mild and the precipitation is enoguh for agriculture with a rainy season of three months in the north and five in the south. It is drained by five rivers, namely:- white Nile, Blue Nile, and their tributaries, Atbara, Eldend, El Rhad, together with numerous other rivulets. This country is covered with vast stretches of rich pastureland and forests. The population is 4 1/2 millions.

The cultivable area in the Central Region of the Sudan is about 300,000,000 acres. How many of these are actually cultivated? The official statistics say that:-

Acreage of agriculture (by rain)	2,266,147
Acreage of artificial irrigation	442,221
Acreage of irrigation by flood	193,687
Total :	2,902,055

This is the total cultivated land in the hole of the Sudan. The figures mean that the cultivated is only 1% of the cultivable area in the Central Region. It is needless to point out that this small area is far from being intensively developed. Fertilisers and mechanised agriculture are practically unknown in this region.

It is often alleged by the Anglo-Sudanese Government that they would not encroach on Egypt's right for irrigation water. If we allow this inadequate argument some weight in relation to the land which is artificially irrigated, the argument is inexistent when we consider the vast areas which rely on the semi-equatorial rains for their water supply. We do not see any point why the British Government should object to the natural solution whereby the whole valley would form one unity and consequently the unnatural discrimination between Egyptian and Sudanese rights of irrigation would disappear; the whole basin of the great waterway becoming one agricultural unit. But again the Enlightened Administration objects on the grounds of the prosperity and welfare of the Sudanese ! !

THE ANIMAL WEALTH.

The Animal resources of the Sudan is potentially very great because of its illimitable savanna rich grasses and pastures. If intensively developed, the country could provide great supplies of food stuffs, not only for the Sudan but for the whole world as well.

On one occasion Sheikh Mussa Madbo, Chief of the Sherifat tribe of Darfour, and a member of the Advisory Council said, that the livestock, on their long journey to the market places in the North, suffer from thirst because of the desert nature of the country and asked the Government to supply Aitisian wells for the beasts. The Administrative Secretary answered that a plan for the supply of wells for the whole Darfour province was made, but was not put into execution owing to the shortage of necessary implements and equipment and the scarcity of human labour?

*Record of the Advisory Council, third session page 14.

THE MINERAL WEALTH.

The extensive geolical survey carried out in every part of the Sudan in the last thirty years has discovered that vast reserves of minerals and ores exist in the Sudan. Details of these discoveries are not revealed neither to the Egyptians for fear they would otherwise be more keen about the unit, nor to the Sudanese, who must be kept in the dark about the resources of their own country.

However, we shall refer to these resources briefly.

In Bahr Algazal Province ferrous ores exist in thick deposits of from one to five yards thick, in an area of eighty thousand square kilometres. Lead is also found in Darfour, limestone and alabaster in Sherik.

Cold is also found over large areas and is developed in Jibit, on the Red Sea Coast, by a British concern. Coal is found in Dongola on the surface of the ground. Uranium has also been recently discovered.

In addition to these mineral resources, the Southern Sudan is rich in equatorial forests with their timber reserves, fruit, furs, skins etc.

It looks ridiculous that a country with so much agricultural and mineral wealth should at present suffer famine in one of its provinces, namely Kordofan.

LACK OF MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

AND TRANSPORT.

This deplorable fact can be accounted for by another still more deplorable one that in the whole of the Sudan, with an area of a million square miles, there are only two thousand kilometres of railways.

How can the enlightened Administration defend itself? I would like to ask it the following straightforward questions.

1. Is it not a fact that the principal railway line linking Halfa and Khartoum was constructed fifty years ago by Egypt.
2. Did not the Enlightened Administration obstruct the work of connecting the Egyptian network with the Sudanese by deliberately choosing for their railways a gauge narrower than that of Egypt?

An amusing development of this story is that the Egyptian Government have recently decided to connect the two railway systems but the Enlightened Administration protested on the ridiculous grounds that the Egyptian Government have not got a licence from the Sudanese.

Even unfriendly neighbouring countries will not object to the linking up of their railways systems because railways are always associated with progress and prosperity.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE SOUTH.

All the information hitherto mentioned chiefly relates to the Northern Sudan. Some reference has been made to the South, but we have mainly deferred the discussion of its affairs to the end of the paper for the reason that, although the picture in the Northern Sudan is a black one, yet it looks rosy compared with that of the South.

And now the South.

The British Administration realises very well that the unity between the two brotherly countries is a natural one, and their mutual interests depend principally on each other. The unity will eventually, sooner or later, be effected and its attempts of alienation will soon be defeated because of the simple fact that from time immemorial, the unity was a reality between the two nations who speak the same language and embrace the same religious faith and who both come from a mixture of Nubian and Arab bloods.

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In their futile efforts to retard this unity the British administration are following a policy of alienating the North of the Sudan from the South, and keeping them as two separate foreign regions. The aim of this policy is that, in case the Northern Sudan is united with Egypt, the British would still keep the South as a different country from the North.

In pursuance of this separate policy, the South is now what they call a "closed area", closed to the Northern Sudanese The area of these closed regions is about two-thirds of the Sudan constituting a vast region forbidden for the Sudanese in their own country.

The following figures are taken from the official Almanac of the Sudanese Government.

Province.	Closed Area in Square Miles.	Total Area of the Province.
Darfour	138,150	138,150
Equatorial	159,025	159,025
Upper Nile	92,270	92,270
Kordofan	146,580	146,930
Northern	166,200	362,200
Blue Nile	15,000	54,775
	717,225	

The excuse given by the Government for this drastic policy of prohibition within an area of seven hundred thousand square miles is amusing and tragic at the same time. It is a repetition of the same comic contention.

The Egyptians are stopped from associating with the Sudanese for fear that the former might exploit the latter. In the same way the Southerners are protected from the supposed exploitation of the Northerners. !!

It is a very clever policy is'nt it? But its only snag is that for its proper working it needs a race of idiots and imbeciles to operate upon.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN THE SOUTH.

The foundation of this system is based on the British Inspectors who are usually young and enthusiastic. An inspector is sent over there to rule a country twice as big as the whole British Isles. His word is law and he enjoys unlimited powers and gives his orders to the chieftans and the Heads of the Tribes. He has the right to sentence anybody to death. He is aided by tribal courts which enforce primitive, superstitious unwritten laws.

In 1924 the Islamic courts were abolished. At present a Moslem subject has to appear before a British Inspector to get married or divorced. Islam is thus humiliated and its laws and practices, which are revered by all civilized countries, are violated openly and shamelessly by Britain in the Sudan.

Another instrument is adopted for further alienation of the North and the South. Christian Missionaries are sent in large numbers to distant outposts in isolated remote villages in the South to preach christianity. These religious bodies are protected by official British influence and are provided with ample funds by the Sudanese Moslem Taxpayer. As we said before the allocation in the Budget in support of private education in the North is the nominal figure of £2,200 in 1946 while the the subsidies paid in support of those religious missionaries were 29,036 pounds. These organizations are given complete freedom in educational and religious matters. The English language is the only official language taught in schools and the telegrams from the North to the South are not accepted unless they are written in English.

WAGES.

Do you know how much the lucky working man who enjoys christianity and speaks English gets for his daily wages? Only from 2 to 3 pennies a day.

The following remarks give the final touches to the picture of the unfortunate Southerners.

1. Primitive nudism is the universal practice. Able bodied natives are forbidden by the Administrative Authorities to wear clothes with a penalty of imprisonment for the offenders.

An interesting incident happened then some Southerners Sudanese were released from the forces after the second world war. They refused to abide by these despotic measures and insisted on keeping their civilian clothes. Disputes followed and a revolt was imminent. The Government had to give way.

This planned nudism (if we call it so) may be visualized by the fact that the allocation of material for the whole Waw district, for instance, is only 20 bales, which comes to quarter of a yard per person, enough only for a head-dress and would not cover any other part of the body.

2. The maximum wages of a working man in the South is 4d. which is not enough to buy a handful of millet for himself and his children.

Scholarships are granted to some of the Southern young men to join the Missionary Schools of Makriry, Uganda, for secondary education. When they re back home they are given 24/- a month. It happened lately that some of them protested against this misery. They were dismissed from the Government service and consequently fled to the North where they asked the Congress to interfere on their behalf.

3. The Government employs some Southerners in its offices in the North for clerical work but they have their

own lower scale of salaries, lower than the Northerners. According to this scale the maximum salary of a Southerner would not be more than £4 a month after a service of 20 years.

4. In Katm district, Darfour Province, a certain Inspector, by the name of Moore, made of himself a despotic ruler for over a quarter of a century, during which time he managed to isolate the district from all parts of the world.

At present the district is still without a telegraph, a telephone or a post office.

This strange specimen used to support his policy openly and maintained that civilization was evil and wicked and we had better keep away from it". There is something in that is'nt there?

The Right Honourable Mr. Atlee P.M.

These are the facts about the British Enlightened Administration in the Sudan. As you see it cannot be described as glorious and does not reflect any credit on a second or third class power, let alone England, who is supposed to be ahead of all nations in democracy and to promote the welfare and the prosperity of the human race.

The development of events in the Sudan last year was the last thing that the British Sudanese Government expected. It had recourse to tear gas to disperse the rallies. Whether you agree or not the Sudanese will eventually get their natural right of freedom in their homeland. They will then look forward to the help, support, guidance and advice of Egypt in financial and spiritual affairs.

The union of the two countries will before long be a fact. The general tendency of international thought is towards co-operation, mutual help and joint action.

If Britain insists on her illiberal out-of-date policy,

the time is not far off when other stronger races would deal with her in the same way. England cannot deny the principles of the UNO which give all races, strong or weak, the right to live independent and free from all foreign exploitation and domination. This is England's best plan and she must carry it out sincerely and conscientiously. Then and only then she can raise her voice loud to defend world socialism and democracy. She would then be supported by the conscience of the whole world. At present her words and her actions are inconsistent and she is losing her traditional leadership, simultaneously with her material and diplomatic influence. If she goes on like this before long she will find herself an insignificant third grade power in the world.

Mr. Atlee.

I have given you a word of advice. I will soon be on my way home with a clear conscience as I have done my duty towards you, towards our country and towards humanity.

President, young Egypt Party.

AHMED HUSSEIN.

President Young Egypt, Cairo.