

# جامعة السودان للعلوم والتكنولوجيا كلية الدراسات العليا



ترجمة الصفحات من (48 - 83) من كتاب الصحافة السودانية \_ تاريخ وتوثيق سجل كامل للصحافة السودانية في الفترة 1899 \_ 1989 لمؤلفه: صلاح عبد اللطيف

A translation of the pages (48 - 83) of the Book Entitled the Sudanese Press- History and Documentation of Sudanese Press period between 1899 – 1989 by: Dr. Salah Abdulatif

بحث تكميلي لنيل درجة ماجستير الآداب في الترجمة ترجمة الباحث:
محمد صلاح الدين محمود شحاته إشراف:
د. تاج السر بعشوم حسن
2016

# استهلال

# ﴿ بِسدْمِ اللّهِ الرَّدْمَنِ الرَّدِيمِ ﴾

اقْ رَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِكَ النَّذِي خَلَقَخَ لَاقْ الإِ نسنانَ مِنْ عَلَقِ الْوَلْ)أُ وَرَبُكَ الأُ كُر مُ اللَّلْإِ عَلَمَ بِالْقَلْعَلِمَّ مِ الْقَلْعَلِمَّ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمُ ﴿ ٥ ﴾ الأَ كُر مُ اللَّلْإِ فِي عَلَمَ بِالْقَلْعَلِمَّ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمُ ﴿ ٥ ﴾

صدق الله العظيم سورة العلق

# الإهداء

إلى من أرضعتني الحب والحنان الى رمز الحب وبلسم الشفاء الى رمز الحب وبلسم الشفاء )إلى القلب الناصع بالبياض (والدتي الحبيبة \*\*\*\*\*\*\*

إلى من جرع الكأس فارغاً ليسقيني قطرة حب إلى من كلّت أنامله ليقدم لنا لحظة سعادة الى من حصد الأشواك عن دربي ليمهد لي طريق العلم إلى القلب الكبير (والدي العزيز)

\*\*\*\*\*

إلى القلوب الطاهرة الرقيقة والنفوس البريئة إلى رياحين حياتي (إخوتي)

\*\*\*\*\*

الي من لا يكتمل الفرح الا في حضرتهم (اصدقائي)

# Acknowledgments

I am grateful to every teacher who supported me in my different educational stages since I was a child in primary school

Also to Sudan University of sciences and technology for its grate role in upgrading students in our beloved country.

It is also covers my respectable supervisor Dr. Tajelsir Bashoum Hassan and all professors in faculty of graduates for their good guidance to emergence this work to the light.

Finally, I hope that, this work to be useful to all students who interested in political social and cultural roles played by Sudanese press.

#### Introduction

Translator should translate the passage honestly to deliver the full meaning Cleary to the receiver and this will happen after understanding the text and its massage

There is many problems appeared to the translator in the source text, like the (تابلوید) word in which it have not equivalent in English language, so I solved this problem after getting the help from supervisor Also the difference in the culture between the two languages, I treated with by using the dictionaries that shows the using of words (when and how) we

can use the words for example oxford dictionary.

# **Contents**

Title	Page
Verse of Quran	I.
Dedication	II.
Acknowledgements	III.
Translation's introduction	IV.
Table of contents	V.
Alneel newspaper	1
The emergence of the political parties in Sudan	3
The National Unionist party:-	4
The Democratic Peoples' party	5
The Democratic Unionist's party	5
Alumma's party	6
The Sudanese Communist's Party	8
The Southern and Western Parties	8
The Parties' Press:	9
Al Khatmia Sect and the Unionist Newspapers:	9
Suat Al Sudan (Sudan's voice):	9
Al- Alam(the flag) Newspaper:	12
Al Ray Alam Newspaper:	13
Al maidan Newspaper:	15
Alakhwan Alumslimeen (Muslims Brothers) Newspapers:	17
The southern Parties Newspapers:	17
Chapter Four	
The Party's press and the political issues before Independence:	18
The Egyptian Sudanese Relationship:	19
The Origination of the Legislative Assembly 1948:	24
Southern Sudan Crises and the Parties Press:	29
Chapter five	
The Regional Press and the Specialized Press(The Laborers 'Press)	33
Firstly, the regional press.	33
Al-A'amil AL-Sudani (Sudanese Worker newspaper ) Newspaper 1964	35
Al-A'mal (Labor) Magazine 1967	35
Sout AL-haq (The Voice of Truth) 1972	36
Sout AL-Omaal (Workers' Voice) newspaper	36
The original text	-

#### Al-neel newspaper:

The first issuance of *Al-neel* newspaper was on Thursday the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1935, corresponding to the fourth of Second Jumada 1354 AH, as a daily newspaper<sup>1</sup> that was issued by The Printing and Publication Company which was established on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1935 as a capital shareholding company whose shareholders were Alsayed Abdurrahman Almahdi (Imam of Alansar sect) and Mustafa Abualila one of the Sudanese businessmen and a Greek merchant named "Contomichalos"

The late Abdulah Rajab, a Sudanese journalist of the pioneer leading generation <sup>2</sup> ,says about Al-Neel newspaper: "The idea behind the establishment of *AL-neel* newspaper came from "Contomichalos" who was a Greek merchant in Khartoum for the sake of serving his own financial interests between Egypt and Sudan with Alsayed. Abdurrahman Almahdi.

The Idea developed more clearly after the visit of the agricultural economical Egyptian mission to Khartoum at the beginning of 1935. Its targets were commercial only.

An Egyptian national, Hussein Subbhi (a reporter for Alexandria-based magazine *Aljamhour* magazine) was chosen as the first Editor-in-Chief for *Al-neel* newspaper.

Starting from the very first issue and the subsequent ones, the aims of the newspaper were very clear. It focused on the national inclination and the economic in cooperation between Egypt and the Sudan. In the first issue, which appeared on the 1st August 1935it stated that: "The editorial policy of this newspaper is based on the fact that the principles of this newspaper shall

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We did not consider Al-neel newspaper the first daily newspaper as some researchers claimed , that because Al Sudan newspaper was in its last year a daily newspaper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> He was dead in 1987 and his memos was published in his newspaper before his death under title of (A-iesh memos)

be (and forever) the serving of the overall interests of this country in terms of satisfying the needs for intellectual communication". Also in the issue published on the 24<sup>th</sup> January 1937, it was said the front page that: "The Egyptian-Sudanese history will record in its brightest of pages the endeavors of those individuals who strived to realize the idea of the economic mission. Both the Sudanese and Egyptians equally recognized the favor of the man who felt the necessity of communication between them and the efforts of who contributed the most to the success His efforts were crowned with most of the success of the idea. That man was undoubtedly Sir "Contomichalos"

Al-neel newspaper carried on its national and economic policy as it "aims to revive the Sudanese nationalism in the hearts and spirits and to stir it up and glorify it: This is in addition to defending the rights of the peasants and laborers together with caring for the youth and the students in Egypt and Sudan, because they are the awaited hope in the building up and the advisement of the nation<sup>3</sup>

So at the beginning, *Al-neel* was the newspaper of all of the Sudanese people and one that called for cooperation with Egypt. However; afterwards and following to the emergence of the political parties in the Sudanese area, Al-neel turned into the official mouthpiece of Alansar sect. It adopted the policy of the sectarian Umma Party whose policy called for an independence from Egypt. In its issue of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1949, *Al-neel* says: "As from this very day, the mission of *Al-neel* newspaper will be the unification of all the diversified groups and parties and the completion of the independence of the Sudan from any hegemony save that of the Sudanese policies in order to free the country form the yoke of the hateful condominium rule.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Al-neel newspaper, 6/7/1950

That was the something which the Umma Party called for in order to gain independence from Egypt. At the same time, the Party's relationship with Britain was strong. We also see that the newspaper was in its last breath and stopped coming out for many months, which is the period between November 1949 and July 1950). It justified that by the desire to improve its performance. It stated: "It did not stop due to any sort of financial failure and the evidence of this is that it continuously kept on raising the salaries of editors and administrators, but that was due to its constant keenness on improving performance and the preparation of resources necessary for this" 1

From that date *Al-neel* newspaper continued to be issued in its new partisan form and it went on after independence until 24 February 1960 when it stopped during the first military rule.

Therefore, *Al-neel* newspaper preceded the establishment of the political parties. At the beginning, its aim was not political, rather it was economic and national. Because Alsayed Abdurrahman Almahdi was one of the founders, it. Later on changed into a newspaper that is loyal to the Umma party and Alansar sect.

Before discuss the politically affiliated newspapers, we should speak about the emergence of the political parties in Sudan.

## The emergence of the political parties in Sudan:

After the First World War, small political, literary societies, and organizations emerged which were the seed for the establishment of the political parties as of late. After these organizations reacted with social and religious factors that later translated into the tribal and sectarian ones.

In 1920 the first political organization in Omdurman was established which is the Sudanese federation society and in 1924 the ALLIWAA ALABYAD SOCIETY was involved in an armed conflict against the

occupation that was established. This conflict was known as the 1924 revolution which was led by Ali Abdullateef and his colleagues. Also, some intellectual and political currents spread between the graduates regardless of their different schools and still called for the national work and the movement of the people to achieve the targets that every school was calling for. As a result of that, the graduates' public conference was formed on the 12<sup>th</sup> February 1938, and that was the aftermath of the 1936 Treaty between Egypt and Britain that didn't mention anything about Sudan. This in turn ignited strong feelings from the Sudanese people and pushed them to organize themselves into political activities that later adopted the parties style which were based on political sectarian and tribal factors.

At the beginning, it was based upon two different groups, the first one being the federation parties based on the leadership of Alsayed Ali Almerghani (Head of Alkhatmia sect) and they called for the federation with Egypt and other parties. The second group was based on the leadership of Alsayed Abdurrahman Almahdi and Alansar Sect called for the independence from Egypt.

# Below we will discuss these parties briefly:

# 1. The National Unionist party:-

The Unionist national party is considered at the front of the basic Unionist parties which played an essential role in the history of the party's life in Sudan (Mr. Ahmed Mustafa) the Sudanese researcher in his research about the political issues in (Sahafat Al-Sudan) said that the Unionist national party is the party which was unified between five former Unionist parties and the signature of the political statement was conducted in the first of November 1952 as a result of an invitation from the Egyptian government at that time. It was thought to be the unification of the word of

the federal parties, since their targets were mutual, Ismael Alazhari was chosen as head of the party<sup>4</sup>.

#### 2. The Democratic Peoples' party:

This party originated on the 27<sup>th</sup> of Jan 1956 with the leadership of Shakh Ali Abdurrahman. It combined the group that split apart from the federal national party when it rejected its principles of federation. It basically relies on the Alkhatmia sect people, (Alsayed Ali Almerghani is considered a spiritual figure of the party and being chief of Alkhatmia sect. It is also he who called for the establishment of this party for seeking out the Sudanese people in general and Alkhatmia people specifically<sup>5</sup>.

## 3. The Democratic Unionist's party:

Many efforts have been made after the independence especially after the October revolution in 1964 that united the former two parties together.

The Unionist national party had united with *Al-Umma* party in forming the government. These efforts continued until the combination of the two parties was achieved. The last name of each of the two parties was taken to become the new combined party, which is now The Democratic Unionist Party that was on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1967. The new party however was under the guidance of Ismael Alazhari who carried on practicing its political activity until "The Coup of25<sup>th</sup> May 1969" which cancelled all parties. Soon after, the uprising of April 1985 erupted and the two parties split apart; and Ali Mahmud Hassanain declared in 1985 the dissolving of the union. The Unionist national union withdrew from the Democratic Unionist party to remain under the leadership of Alsayed Mohammed Osman Almerghani who did not admit this withdrawal. Dr.

5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Al sayyed Ahmed Mustafa, the political Issues in Sudan's press, P.HD research did published . university of Cairo ,faculty of Advertisement 1984 page 91

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Al noor Dafallah , former reference page no 25

Ahmed Alsayed Hamad then established the people's Democratic Party. The federal movement seemed split apart and quite changed and Al-Umma party surpassed the democratic federal party in the 1986 elections. In 1988 much effort was spent on the federal circles so that the federal groups would return to the beginning of the democratic Federal party which was led by Alsayed Mohammed Osman Almerghani.

#### 4- Al-Umma's party:

Al-Umma party is considered one of the most powerful parties which called for the independence of Egypt and does not accept unity within it. This party originated on the 28<sup>th of</sup> January 1945 and was guided by Alsayed Abdurrahman Almahdi which combined all small independent parties (the republican nationalist's party) which was led by Ahmed Yousif Hashim in 1944. The Republican independence party was headed by Mirghani Hamza in 1954; the Republican Socialist Party was headed by Ibrahim Badri in 1951. Thirdly, the Sudanese party was headed by Mohammed Ahmed Omer in 1952, and lastly the National liberation party was headed by Omer Al-Khalifa Abdullahi Al-taishee 1957.

The *Umma* party kept on bearing the logo of Sudan for the Sudanese like the call of the national party in Egypt headed by Mustafa Kamel (Egypt for the Egyptians), in fact both invitations were attributed by historical sources to the British occupation wherein (Kromer) was encouraging like this racial aspects.

When the *Umma* party was established it was welcomed by the government circles with hospitality and encouragement, and accordingly became the only recognized party by the Sudanese government<sup>6</sup>.

6

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>RashedAlbarawi, studies in Sudan, AL-nalda Al-masria, cairo 1950, page 110.

Other Sudanese researchers like Al-nour Dafallah sees that the Umma Party is A section Party because all its Members and supporters was from Al-Imam Al-Mahadi followers who were known later of the extreme fanaticism for Alsayed Abdurrahman Al-Mahadi, those are believes that he was created to be leader and accordingly it is a section party in the first grade <sup>7</sup> .the party called for independence and the establishment of a complete Sudanese government that derives its power from a Sudanese parliament that is elected by the people, it also aims to maintain the good relationship with Egypt and Britain

In 1966 the party was exposed to disagreements between its leaders which led to its split in to two wings which were Al-Imam Alhadi Al-Mahadi as the first wing, and the second wing is Al-sadig Al-Mahadi wing, these derisions continued until it was again united in April 1969. It carried on resuming its political parties in Sudan until its dissolved after May coup 1969, at the aftermath of April upraise 1955 the party reemerged as the strongest political parties under the leadership of Al-sadig Al-Mahadi who played a role in overthrowing the military regime, he entered 1986 elections to win most of the constituent assembly seats, and sounder the presidency of the government by coalition with the other parties, one time with the democratic unionist party, and another time with the Islamic front, then back again To the new coalition with the democratic unionist party, and splits off the unionist party until 30 June 1989 military group occurs under the leadership of lieutenant general Omer Hassan Ahmed Al-basher needed by the country. Who for the third time cancels the Sudanese parties.

<sup>-</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Al-noor Dafallah, former reference page 28

#### 5- The Sudanese Communist's Party:

The establishment of the Sudanese Communist Party for the first time refers to August 1945 when a number of Sudanese intellectuals in Omdurman and formed the Sudanese front for the national freedom (GESTO) which was a reflection of similar political organizations in Egypt.

Those intellectuals used to raise the motto of getting rid of the colonizer, therefore it bore the motto of "the anti – Colonizer's front", and published its statement in 1954 specifying its policy which is ((request of the immediate withdrawal of the British forces from Sudan, and the election of a National Government to combat the colonizer, and release of subordination shackles from the colonization states and conduct of the social reform that needed by the country)). The Communist Party emerged as a public party in 24<sup>th</sup> February 1956 and not after October 1964 according to some views and the decision of its dissolution decree in the constituent assembly in 9<sup>th</sup> December 1965 which resulted in freezing its activity to rescue activity after 1985 upraise.

#### **6- The Southern and Western Parties:**

When the first elections were run in Sudan at the end of 1953, there was only one party which is the Southern free Party led by "Strean Lahore8", but after 1968 elections the number of the Southern parties became eight parties. The Southern front and Sano party are considered of the biggest political party in the South.

These parties were dissolved after May coup 1969, but it reappeared in different names after April upraise in 1985, some parties were consolidated again and some were dissolved; and some new parties were

^

<sup>8</sup>Alnour Dafallah, former reference, page 11

formed, some of them participated in the government others joined the opposition.

Also new political parties were formed in Western Sudan, such as the Sudanese National party and the General unionist of Al-Nuba Mountains, and other parties in the east like (Al-beja party). They are all racial parties that appeared after 1985 upraise, and it had seats in the constituent Assembly.

Thus the political parties multiplied, but there remains to says that the Strongest Political Parties are the ones that emerged after the Second World War represented in the Democratic Unionist party. And Al-Umma party, they are the ruling wings in Sudan, intermingled with other parties attitudes that have religions or racial tendency like the Islamic Front and the Southern Parties.

The multiplicity of the political parties led to the multiplicity of the newspapers parties.

#### The Parties Press:

We have formerly referred to that, "Alaeel" newspaper was started as an economical National newspaper than changed into a party's newspaper that expresses Al-Umma Party and Alansar Sect policy. On the other hand, there is newspapers emerged, they were expressing about the Khatmia sect like "Sout Al-Sudan".

#### Al- Khatmia Sect and the Unionist Newspapers:

#### 1- Suat Al Sudan (Sudan's voice):

Sout Al Sudan newspaper was issued in May 1940 as a daily newspaper in a (tabloid) size and owned by ((Al Salam Company for Printing and Publication.)) The participants in the newspaper were Sayed Ali Al-Mirghani, head of Al Khatmia sect, Ahmed Suwar Al-dahab who is a

merchant from Omdurman, Al Dirdiri Osman who is a judge, Ahmed Al Sayed Al-feel who was a former mufti, Omer Ishaq and others, with a capital estimated at five thousand pounds divided between the participants at a price per Share as five pounds. Mohammed Ashri Al-siddiq was chosen as Chief editor and he was not belong to Khatmia sect, he was also one of the dictatorial staff of ((Alnnhda)) and ((Al-fajr)) magazines, when he was chosen as chief editor of Sout Al Sudan he was working at the judicial corporation, he resigned in April 1940, He was a higher cultured youth who occupied an outstanding post among the Sudanese Scholars. His culture was influenced by the western culture. The Government agreed to choose him and it doesn't objected against him or his essays that he used to publish where he showed that he doesn't like to make the party which is the Democratic People's party which the newspaper express avoiding the frankness with the Government, that didn't last long.<sup>9</sup>, but Mohamed Asheeri Al-siddig left editing presidency after a year due to the deterioration of the financial circumstances of the newspaper, and was replaced by Hassan Badri who was his assistant for temporary time, until Ismael Al atabani was appointed in the first of January 1942 as chief editor, he continued until February 1945, and because there was no successor, Ali-Hamed was appointed as supervisor of chief editor tasks.

The problems of "Sout Al Sudan "were great, due to the stubborn Government's attitude of it because of its national policy that is sympathized with Egypt ((its chief editor was subjected to trials, and payments exceeded two thousand pounds)). He stooped for the first time in 16 July 1946 for two weeks by the order of the Government due to its publication to an essay entitled((the Tragedies of the English in Sudan)), afterwards it stopped

<sup>9</sup>Matty ONIL AlOALmaliotl .op. ctt. P. 36

again during the period of November 1947 till June 1948, as a kind of protest against the trial of Mohammed A meeno Hussain, one of its chief editors, and its sentencing against him by six months prison for its writing an article entitled "Head of the Serpent" it which he attacked the British and their assistants.<sup>10</sup>

After that ((*Sout* Al Sudan)) was continued in issuance then it stopped in 26 July 1955 for the same reasons that concerns of its National attitude that opposes the English occupation and it retained again on 16 September 1955. Mohjoub Abdulmalik in his research about the press and politics in Sudan says that: "the occupation Government though on the cancellation of the license that a awarded to the newspaper, but it retreated avoiding confirming the conception that it protects the Umma Party and its supporting newspapers, it blocked the Government advertisements of it and resorted to the style of fines and trails instead of cancellation.<sup>11</sup>

In the copy of 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1956 the newspaper showed its partie's policy, it said "Sout Al Sudan is a support to people's democratic party, and the tongue that expresses its broad public, no negligence or hesitation, at the same time it calls for the unity of the National row and it is puts the benefit of people above all consideration".

The newspaper continued on issuance as s newspaper that expresses about the tongue of the people's Democratic Party which is led by Alsayed Ali Al-Mirghani until it stopped for good in the first day of January 1966 after it continued issuance for twenty six years. In spite of the pressures put on the newspaper it continued to be superior in distribution where as its everyday distribution in its last years reached approximately five thousand

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Mr. Ahmed Mustafa, a former reference, page 264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Mahjoub Abdel Malik, opcit . p 39.

copies daily, it was a public newspaper that opposes the Government in vital political issues. It carried on struggling against the English policy alone and against Al-Umma party, and is considered one of the outstanding newspapers in the history of the Sudanese press. 12

#### Al- Alam (the flag) Newspaper:

Al-Alam newspaper was issued in 24th November 1953 as a daily newspaper that speaks on behalf of the National Unionist Party in four pages of the large size, then it changed its size to the half size ((Al-tabloid) until it stopped from issuance on May 1968. Price per copy was limited to ten milliemes, Dr. Ahmed Al Sayed Ahmed was chosen as chief editor, privilege owners and printers is the Unionist National Party, it used to be printed at the Union Prints at Khartoum.

Al-Alam expressed its policy and goals in its first issue when it said that "Al-Alam is a political intellectual and free school that works in the National field with honesty and courage spoken by the Unionist National Party tongue, obligated by its mottoes and service to achieve the free Union with the Egyptian people who was known by its support to Sudan in all stages of its struggle<sup>13</sup>.

It stopped issuance in 17th of November 1958 when General Ibrahim Abboud military system the party's work in Sudan, then it resumed its issuance in the first January 1964, after the military system defeating and parties' life returned its second issuance was on 1st Jan 1965 when the two parties, the Unionist National party and the people's. Democratic were consolidated under the name of the Democratic Unionist Party, Al-alam

<sup>12</sup> Ihid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Al Alam – issue no 24,11, 1953

stopped it issuance and joined((Aljamaheer<sup>14</sup>)) newspaper which expresses the Democratic People's party, that was in 29 May 1968, and wrote under title "To the party's people" saying" We have decided to write our Journalistic efforts with our free colleagues of "Aljamaheer" members, until the party could prepare for the issuance of "Al Alam" again to associate its colleague "Al Jamaaheer" in the spread of the party's principles and goals<sup>15</sup>. The newspaper wasn't issued after that.

#### Al Ray Alam Newspaper:

Al-ray Alam newspaper emerged in the middle of March 1945 as a neutral independent newspaper in the first, but it quickly rejected its neutrality and changed into a Unionist newspaper opponent to Al-Umma Party and the British policy, its owner and chief editor Ismael AL-atabani who was one of the founders of the Unionist Party, and he was chief editor of "Sout Al Sudan". The newspaper was established with a humble capital in cooperation with his colleagues Mohammed Abdul Haleem, Ahmed Khair and Dr. Ibrahim Anees, they are of the Unionist intellectuals.

At first he used to print his newspaper in "Macorquodale" print and after five years he established his own print. he strived hard to change the name of the newspaper to "Algebrad" in accordance with a suggestion from his colleagues Hassan Najeelah and Abdeen Ismael, but the secretary administrator refused that name and he found in that name what might stir the struggle with Al-Umma Party, he also refused another suggestion to change the name into (*Alakhbar*) the news.

The newspaper kept in issuance until the after month of independence. We have selected a group of copies from the eight years which was

13

 $<sup>^{14}</sup>$ Aljamaheer newspaper was issued 22 January 1965 expressing the people's democratic party's views , and is considered of the party's newspapers that was issued after independence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Al alam the last copy 29, 5, 1963.

issued in January 1953 to know the nature of the journalistic material which it was publishing.

Thru these copies we have that the size of the newspaper is the tabloid size, and was established in 1945, subscriptions 240 piaster for one complete year, 120 piaster for half a year and 60 piaster for three months. License owner and head of editing Ismael Al-atabani, Administration manager Abdeen Mahjoub, a daily political newspaper.

With such words its first page used to be issued daily, it used to assign the first page for the editorial essays, and news. It cared for the publication of a small photo for the Sudanese characters, we find in the first page the main article which is the ideas of Abdullah Mirghani and his remarks about the South: "Southerners do not want the separation". other news that say, yesterday the meeting between the National Unionist party and the Socialist Republican was conducted and other news that say: "the ministry's agency for Sudan officers starts implementing its projects", and its published a small photo for the minister Alderdeiry Ahmed Ismael.

The second page was assigned for the advertisement and social affairs in addition to movies advertisements, post office department and railways. Its movies advertisements and air phone disks for Umkalthum songs, Mohammed Abdulwahab and Asmahan.

In the third page it publishes the South message in half a page, the other half is assigned for the advertisements, the fourth page is for sports and advertisements, the fifth page contain essays for the Sudanese scholars such as Dr. Makki Shebaika, and government advertisements. In the last page we find the other subjects which were published in the first page and advertisements.

It is observed that part of the first page is assigned for Cairo message. Such as "Major General Najeeb statement concerning Sudan discourses", or Egypt news, and a journalistic discourse with the Egyptian Endowments minister and ((Egypt will refuse the British project because it doesn't achieve Sudan independence)). We also find essays from Britain like "the wisdom of the Sudanese has become clear and reached an agreement, so what is the attitude of Britain", that was in 13 January 1933 issue, in the third page of the copy we find an essay entitled "the colonization education in the South". In the same copy it publishes an essay entitled "towards a New Sudan, and another one about the Sudanese women, of its writers is Taha Alreefi who writes a column daily, and Makki Shebaika and others.

It is clear that the newspaper used the modern Journalistic styles; it published the news, the journalistic discourse, the essay, the interview, publishes the photos, illustrations and caricature. It also depends on the alien news agencies like Reuters in spreading the international news, especially from Moscow and London.

If some considers that "AlraiAlam" enters within the independent press, but it was more in politics to the Unionist Party.

## Al- maidan Newspaper:

Al maidan Newspaper, the official spokesman of counter colonization from (Later the Communist Party) was issued in second of September 1954 as half weekly in four pages of the small size. Price of the copy was twenty milliemes. Chief Editor was Hassan Altaher Zarrough<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Graduated from Gordon, teacher department year of 1936, dismissed by body of knowledge from teaching because of he wrote assay incites on it to hatred of the English . He entered the first Parliament in the year 1954 about Graduates Circles, from realistic story pioneers in Sudan

Babiker Mohammed Ali, Al Maidan Newspaper secretary during the period 1954 – 1958 says that "when *AL maidan* was established it didn't have a special print which obligated it to transfer to a variety of print till we could attain a special print at the newspaper in 1957, but it wasn't of that qualify to guarantee the newspaper continuity and its regular issuance.

The newspaper specified its policy and targets in one target which dismissal of the colonization, its essays focused around the independence, later it added another target which is the invitation for Marcisism, In its fourth year in its copy number of 10 November 1958 it declared "that it was born to rise the Marscism flag for the sake of the far and adjacent nations targets". It called for the national unity according to its issue of five of September 1958. "There is nothing in our peoples life that caused it harm mere than the National disagreements, and step through the development stairs unless Unity element was the crucial solution".

The newspaper stopped during the military rule in the first of December 1958 for its issue of an essay criticizing the approval of the military rule for the acceptance of the American Aid to Sudan, and then it resumed issue in 19 December 1964 after return of the new parties' life. In October 1964. In 23 February 1965 it was daily issued and declared about itself that it is issued as the official spokesman communist party, but it stopped in ten of December 1965 after the Communist Party was dissolved according to the decision of the Constituent Assembly.

It is observed that AL maidan Newspaper sympathized with Al-Umma and the Unionist parties it called Al-Umma party to find the way that leads to independence and requested of Alsayed Ali Almerghani head of Alkhatmia to release the country from the military rule. In its statement of 23 November 1968 (in the name of the expectations of the sons of this country, we address your Excellency to save the country from the present condition).

Mohamed Mustafa Al-fakki chief editor of AL maidan in 1965 justifies this situation "The communist Party does not refuse the alliance with circumstances, but refuses alliance with the sects".<sup>17</sup>

#### Al-akhwan Al-mslimeen (Muslims Brothers) Newspapers:

(*Al-akhwan Al-musclemen*) newspaper was issued on behalf of the Muslims brothers' sect in Sudan in 1952, and focused the lights on the Muslim brother's activities in Egypt, circulated Al-sheikh Hassan Albanna thoughts and called for combat of the Marxist thought, in addition to it calling for the establishment of a religious political organization.

This newspaper was an introduction to another newspaper that appeared after independence in the name of "Almeethagh Alislami" Newspaper in 1964

#### The southern Parties Newspapers:

The issue of Southern Sudan newspapers was delayed "Mastafa Biwnj" one of the Southern Journalists (\*) says that" the first newspapers issued in Southern Sudan was in 1947 by the Dinka Language entitled "Almutarjim" and it was a missionary newspaper issued by the church. This was followed by school newspapers, like "Altabl magazine which was issued by the governmental Atared school, and supervised by Mr. Wadoul, the principal. Concerning the first Southern parties newspaper was the" Vigilant" which was issued April 1965 in English. It was weekly issued in a small size "tabloid", its chief editor was "Bona Malwal". Although it declared itself to be independent, but there are many evidences pointing to the fact that it was expressing the Southern front Party's thoughts.

\_

 $<sup>^{17}\</sup>mbox{Al-nour Dafallah}\,$  , a former reference, page 49.

#### **Chapter Four**

#### The Party's press and the political issues before Independence:

The party's press in Sudan originated as an informative party's result, every party strives to influence the public opinion and gain new rules, depends the party's thoughts and its leaders, and faces the challenges of the other party which competes it, the political circumstances in Sudan at that era and after the Second World War was being conflicted by two factors, the first one was inclination towards Britain, its policies and raising the banner of independence of Egypt and Britain with access to a friendship with Britain after independence, this claim was adopted and defended by Al-Umma party and its leadership and expressed by the party's newspapers whether "Al-neel" or "Al-Umma newspaper. Pertaining to the other factor it was unity with Egypt and defense of its National policy, this attitude was considered a union National attitude that disagrees with the British policy and agrees with all Nationalist stand of the politicians in Egypt, this attitude was adopted by the unionist parties in spite of the grading of unity degrees with Egypt between unity and independence, and the establishment of private relations semi unionist with Egypt after independence, this was expressed by the unionist newspapers like "Sout Al Sudan" and "Alalam" and "AlrayAlam" which some researchers considers an independent newspaper that sympathizes with the unionist movement, some others it to be a unionist that wears an independent uniform.

Between this basic attitudes there appeared other parties attitudes with ideological tendencies, either religious or Marxist, and every newspaper calls for what the party calls for.

#### The Egyptian Sudanese Relationship:

But the conflict in the pre independence era between the party's newspapers focused on the unionist newspapers and Al-Umma party newspapers "Sout Al Sudan articles focused on the defense of unity between Egypt and Sudan, assault of Britain and response to "Al-neel and Al-Umma" newspapers campaigns which used to describe unity with Egypt that it harms the country "Sout al Sudan" responded by saying that" Egypt and Sudan are one body, and one physical body that all its parts will be affected if one part suffered pain. This phenomenon which was born with the down of history up to this date didn't disappear ever at the worst of conflict and hatred because we find the reality of unity is clearer than the reality of separation<sup>18</sup>

It carried on assaulting the news the parties newspapers that one loyal to Al-Umma party in critical essays, assault campaigns between the two sides grew on. For example Al Neel newspaper would advise Sayed Ali Al-Mirghani to isolate himself from politics and participation in Al Sudan newspaper as protection for the religion sacredness which he enjoys, using the same style "Sout Al Sudan" criticized the involvement of Sayed Abdurrahman Almahdi in politics, it said: "He, as a religions man should keep away in his esteemed location surrounded by the sacredness of religions leadership" Al Neel newspaper responded by saying: "whoever tries to separate religion from policy he just like who tries to interpret Islam on interpretation that does not come with its nature, and is not based on historical facts nothing is more striking as an example than the stand of Prophet Mohammed peace and prayers upon him and his blissful Caliphs

<sup>-</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Sout Al-Sudan, Copy of date 14/12/1946

<sup>19 ((</sup> Sout Al-Sudan, copy of date 10/4/1947

after him in administering the Islamic state in which they combined between political command and religious honesty"<sup>20</sup>.

The parties' press was busy enough with the Egyptian Sudanese relationship, and according to our reference Al-Umma newspaper adopted the idea of separation from Egypt; in its issue of 7th February 1946 it said, "the Sudanese should think of the benefit of the country separated from Egypt and the other countries except within the limits of the positive neighborhood relationship and the mutual relationship. This comment was due to the occasion of the approach of the travelling of the Sudanese delegation to Cairo for negotiations in March 1946, and that was when the Egyptian government declared that it intends to negotiate in Britain to restudy 1936 treaty. Al Neel newspaper said: "the agreement which we care for, and we would always care for it, is summed up firstly in independence, then federation, and not unity with Egypt, this target doesn't mean the goal towards which the Sudanese parties were directed, which is having on abusing Egypt, but it means from play work through our own style to encounter our great responsibility in our country's future.<sup>21</sup> Then Sout Al Sudan' newspaper which is opponent to the policies and thoughts of Al-Umma party newspaper, encounters by saying that "the Egyptian people offered the world on unforgotten and hard lesson which has to be adopted by the other nations to attain its independence, so do not be unfair to it, the two respectable people would specify the category of elationship between their often the elimination of the colonization through the method which they would express them on"22.

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Alneel newspaper, copy of date 22/4/1947

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Al Neel, 6/3/1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Sout Al Sudan, Copy no 17/6/1946.

"Sout Al Sudan" carries on – according to what Al Nour Dafallah mentions in his study of the Sudanese parties' press and its stand of the National Unity, its defense of the Nile Valley Unity in its response to an article in Al-Umma newspaper article eintitled "other flowers' bundles we present to Mr. Mohammed Al-Khalifa Shareef" Sout Al Sudan says "this strange is that the Shikh describes the brothers that they all called for the unity of the Nile Valley, they had formerly accepted slavery for Egypt, the sheikh had forgotten, or acted as forgetting at the same time his acceptance to the British colonization which was authenticated by the Sudanese government for the coming twenty years.<sup>23</sup>

Sout Al Sudan continued on its response to the campaigns of Al-Umma party newspaper about the unity of Nile Valley when one of Al-Umma party prominent figures, who is Yagoub Osman, mentioned in an article in Al-Umma newspaper that he was not guided to an era of be it old or new of history eras in which a Nile Valley state was established, we say to him that unity of the Nile is a scientific, historical and political reality, and not an individual one innovated by politics some months ago as expressed by Yagoub Osman. <sup>24</sup>, the unionist newspaper continues on its replying in its next copies by saying ((the union as essential thought in solving the political case is the principle that chosen by the Sudanese whom are representing in their political parties and in Graduates conference, only one party deviated from that, since Ustaz Yagoub Uthman, of the men of law, he is the most knowledgeable of all that the union in all its forms means the unity of the state's headquarters between the two united states<sup>25</sup>))

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Sout Al Sudan issue no 19/6/1946

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Sout Al Sudan, Copy no 1/7/1946.

 $<sup>^{25}</sup>$ SoutAlsudan , copy of date 8/7/1946

The severity of the press combats sky rocketed in the parties newspapers, especially among those who called for independence the followers of Al-Umma party, and those calling for unity with Egypt the followers of the unionists. ((These battles focused after the declaration of Sidghi – Befin<sup>26</sup> protocol in October 1946.

The parties press dealt with this agreement thru comment, it said in issue dated 20<sup>th</sup> October 1946 " it is the calamity of time and cheating that such a well experienced man like Sidghi Pasha would come when Sudan is enjoying its current vigilance to expose to us the mastery of his people", it accused him of playing by Sudan. In another article in issue dated 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1946 "Egypt seeks mastery for Sudan, it seeks it through London, this is a frank word because the circumstances requires frankness, whoever surrenders now would be like one who, through his own hands, writes slavery record against him and against all the next future generations).

Concerning Al-Umma newspaper, it described Sidghi Befeen agreement as the new Egyptian thought, whereas the Egyptians adopted a new style, inferior to what they hide, they relied on the honeyed speech and romantic writings with which they attract the Sudanese to their traps which are already set, through which they would influence those who are mentally retarded, then they turn against there since they are the masters and the others are the slaves exercising torment and humiliation on them.

Due to this assault upon Egypt, Sout Al Sudan newspapers encountered "Al-neel" and "Al-Umma" newspapers and responded to what was mentioned by Al-Umma newspaper through some essays entitled (

preparing them to self Rolling

22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> It was a agreement between Ismael Sedghi prime minster of Egypt and Arnest Befeen the secretary of England, this agreement known as (bortokool Al-Sudan) and the two parties agreed according to it to following a policy the rounding in the unity frame between Egypt and Sudan under the Egyptian leadership, and it purposes is to achievement the Sudanese entertainment, developing their benefits and

Documents speech) and (the season's Bomb). In all they were essays of criticism directed towards Alsayed Abdurrahman Almahdi for his involvement in politics.

The invitation from unification with Egypt cared on as an obsession to the Egyptians represented in their newspapers "Sout Al Sudan" and "Alalam" but after 23 July 1952 revolution, and after the declarations of Alsayed Ali Almerghani to the (daily telegraph) newspaper which was published by the independent Al ayyam newspaper in 14/15/ October 1954, Sout Al Sudan softened its defense to the idea of unity with Egypt.

Alsayed Almerghani had formerly mentioned through his statements that "Unity with Egypt deprives Sudan from the supremacy of its sons, and it is not our purpose to dissolve our characters in Egypt's character, or handle it our affairs.<sup>27</sup>

This resulted into a severe assault by Al-Umma party newspapers against the unionist characters after they quit Al Sayed Al-Mirghani from its campaign, and described members of the Unionist National Party headed by Ismael Al Azhari as hired out. Al-Umma newspaper wrote in its issue dated 22 October 1954 entitled "from when did you get this?" it says "there is a question that we direct to leads of Egypt's party in Sudan, and its rented press which was grown up by Egypt train money since 1946 and up to date. From where did you get these big salaries which are paid to you monthly, and from where do you get the price of the prints and papers, and how does your leader Azhari live after he quit service since 1945, and from where could he cover his accounts expenses in the Continental and shepherd.

Some historical sources say that the campaign which was led by Al-Umma party newspapers against the unionists, in addition to other

23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The former reference / page 69.

political factors which we don't need to mention was a reason for Ismael Alazhari to agree with Alsayed Abdurrahman Almahdi and Alsayed Ali Al-Mirghani to declare the independence of Sudan from inside the parliament in 19 December 1955 away from Egypt and England, this is not an accurate conception because Egypt under the leadership of president Jamal Abdul Nasser offered the Sudanese the right of self-determination arising from the principles of 23 July revolution in freedom, national independence for all people.

#### The Origination of the Legislative Assembly 1948:

Dr. Al-nour Dafallah mentions in his study that one of the issues around which the party's debate and conflict is stirred is the constitutional grading represented the approval or disapproval of the origination of a legislative assembly that shoulders the political issues of the country as a step tankards self-autonomy<sup>28</sup> Mohammed Omar Basher explains this issue by saying," when agreement between Egypt and Britain impossible, whether through negotiations or security council, the Sudanese government started implementing the plans it set for the development of the constitution, it is true that those plans were negotiated since April 1946 after the travel of Sudan delegation to Cairo"<sup>29</sup>

The parties newspaper had different points of view towards this issue in accordance with the party's policy pursued by the newspaper, disagreement between the party's newspapers ran high "and the discussions and serious dialogue degraded to the standard of quarrels, and exchange of curses, and through a journalistic style that resulted, later, to the intrusion of the government authorities to reveal those disputes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The former reference / page 71

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Mohammed Omer Basher History of the National Unity the Sudanese Homey Khartoum 1986. Page 227.

The parties journalistic conflicts continued even after the origination of the legislative assembly, Al-Umma party newspaper welcomed the origination of the assembly and considered that "step forward that opens a news blooming era to the country" and distributed the project of the assembly's law wholly in consecutive copies concerning Al-neel Newspaper. It said we accept the legislative assembly and the executive council because that achieves for the Sudanese some training which we wish for them, it also works to avoid the clear shortage of the constitution of this institution<sup>30</sup>". It published in its copy issued 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1948 the complete text for the speech of the general governor "Rupert How" in the presence of the advisory council in which he requests the approval of the council to the legislation of the executive council and the legislative assembly.

Concerning (Sout Al Sudan) it opposed the origination of the legislative assembly and it said: "the origination of a legislative assembly and an executive council in this country didn't achieve the desire of the majority of the Sudanese people, but according to our conception could have been considered a step forward to qualify the Sudanese to shoulder their country saffairs. but it is sorrowful that the conditions set for this assembly, and this council don't make them proper representative for the conceptions and will of the people, and does not afford them the power and authority which make them a positive influential tools in the development of the country to establish democratic foundations that suit the current people's circumstances(3).

This unit newspapers do not stop its assault upon the legislative assembly, and assigned essays entitled "a non-new era" and ((freedom first and constitutions next)) which they were written by Mohammed Ameen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Al-Umma , copy of 8<sup>th</sup> September 1948

Hussain expressing its objection to the legislative assembly and its subsidiary the executive council in issues of 29/6/, 1/7/, 2/7/1948, it carried its attack Al-Umma party entitled "To *Al-Umma* Mercenaries" and bravely face facts" in which it criticized the acceptance of *Al-Umma* party to the participation in the legislative assembly, it said "*Alkhatmia* is the people even *Umma* people did accepted that", their target is all that benefits the people, and the welfare of the country, the minimum that satisfies an ambitious people is to work for the establishment of a better future from its deteriorating present, is to enjoy a proper representative in corporations and the councils which the government tries to make it speak on behalf of itself, a word that never surrenders to terrorist or oppression or the desire of those with feudal power who seeks to maintain their full power even if it is against the welfare of the country and its future<sup>31</sup>.

Also ((Al Ashigha newspaper)) the unionist stood against the origination of the legislative assembly, it described it as a toy brought by the colonizer until it diverts the attention of the people in these critical circumstances of the development of the issue whereas negotiations parts of the British started gathering, and the early signs of a fierce revolution began to gather in the horizon<sup>32</sup>.

Naturally, the stand of the unionist newspapers toward the establishment of the legislative assembly is a reflection of refusal of leadership of Ismael Al Azhari to the Unionist National Party for the establishment of the assembly which issued a statement in which it specified the stand of the unionists of the assembly legislation project law, with the following "the unionists refuse this project even if it come perfect, void of

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Sout Al-Sudan, copies 9,11,13/8/1948

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Alashiga, copies 13,16,/3/1948

every error, because it disagrees with the national goals. Which is symbolized in the withdrawal of the British forces and elimination of the current administration, and the establishment of the Nile Valley state under the Egyptian crown<sup>33</sup>.

Al-Umma party newspapers didn't stop attacking the unionist's newspapers and responding to them; the Nile newspaper in its issue of 30 October 1948 said, "Those who are calling for boycotting of the elections lack the sufficient courage. Al-Umma newspaper in one of its articles entitled "the comedy of the boycotting" described the legislative assembly as an efficient tool, and a decisive in the history of the political, economic and social history for the people of this country which can be used as a lifting apparatus which adds a new heavy weight to the national struggle movement for the sake of freedom and independence<sup>34</sup>.

In another site, *Al-Umma* newspaper launched an attack against "Sout Al Sudan "entitled "those Scared of the mate of people are the spoiled child of the condominium role in which it said "The owner of Sout al Sudan are the spoilt child of the two states of the condominium whom we were blessed with when we grew old, and after her despair to find craftsmanship in Africa.

Pertaining to the "Nile Newspaper it carried on its campaign against" Sout Al Sudan, it wrote a series of articles entitled "The Lappet Speech" in which it described the owners of Sout Al Sudan newspaper as the animal that killed its owner while it trying to protect him. It said "The small narrator who described the independents as those who seize the opportunities are the slave of the packets and are mercenaries dummies, we say to the small

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Al-Umma: copies , 23/8/1948

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Al-Umma copies 23/8/1948

clerks that those who seize the opportunities are those who see a profit in one side, or a specific issue or time to hurry to the profit site regardless of any consideration, when the Umma party appeared there was no chance in the nation to be grasped except the chance of the country's future, but the sleeves of pockets are those who guide the armies of foreigners to conquer their country and kill their race, country and religion brothers, for noting except to fill their pockets with gold fertilizing to the decorated dummies speech, could it be that they moved the British from Sudan to Egypt when the Sudanese rebelled against the colonizer, or moved the British at the lead of their armies from Egypt to guide them along the road to act as of the column to eliminate Sudan or did we find the British of the leadership site without our faith in a heritage or leadership.<sup>35</sup>

Al-Neel Newspaper carried on saying, "concerning the dummies that the British can move them as they like, they are the idols made by the British themselves, but we are a piece of the history of this country which is clearly visible to any eye, and does not move except by the revelation of our conscious".

Al Neel concluded its series of essays by the title. ((Al Khatmia in their past and their present) in which it accused Al Khatmia by cooperation with (Kitchener) army the conqueror of Sudan in 1898 in eliminating the people of Sudan headed by Alsayed Ali Almerghani. Its proof was in his assignment as an officer in the British army" then a spiritual leader after they paved the way to him by power and money. Thus the present of Alkhatmia was born, and came to them those seeking needs of the new rule and the opportunists of every group found refuge, they worked to combat Al-mahadia ideology. Al Neel described the opposition of Sout Al Sudan for

<sup>35</sup> Al Neel 20 August 1948.

the origination of the legislative assembly as a drama play with the target of assaulting the country, and its original leader instead of Sudan government.

Mr. Ahmed Mustafa says in his research about the political issues in the Sudan press that as response to this style which was adopted by the sectional party's press in processing the legislative assembly issue, the authorities found no way except to interference to prevent those newspapers from adopting that performance, which completely stopped after Mr. Henderson calling, assistant admin. Secretary for political affairs summoned each of Sout Al Sudan and Al-Neel editors ((and requested them to stop those disputes which started threatening the public security; otherwise he will be obliged to withdraw the license of both newspaper<sup>36</sup>.))

#### Southern Sudan Crises and the Parties Press:

The British policy was keen during the era of Sudan occupation to separate Southern Sudan from its North. To implement that Britain took practical steps like encouragement of the missionary mission to the South, and the formation of a military forces in 1917 known as "the equatorial battalion to replace the Northern battalion which lead the rebellion movement in august 1955, and in 1918 Britain took two steps to achieve its target by separation of the South from the North, the first one was considering Sunday on official Holiday al through the South, and recommendation of the English language as an official language to the people of the South instead of the Arabic Language<sup>37</sup>.

In 1922 the law of the closed areas was issued, which provided Sothern Sudan area as restricted for the Northerners whether for the purpose of travel on business or for trade unless they obtain a license from the ministry of interior or the concerned commissioner of the province, also in 1925 commerce legislation was issued which stipulated the restriction of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Alsayed Ahmed Mustafa, former reference page 74

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Read Mohammed Basheer, South Sudan, the Egyptian Authority for written and publishing, Cairo 1971

anyone who is not from the region from practicing business without obtaining a license that legalizes him to practice business in Southern Sudan provinces.

In 1930 Britain took other steps to confirm its goals; it transfer the Northern traders from the South and obstacle contact of the Southern tribes with the Arab tribes that were adjacent to them in Darfur and Kurdofan, cancelled the Arabian names and costumes, restricted the educational system only to the missionary delegations and isolated the northern administration and technicians from working in the South replacing them by Southerners.

In spite of the danger of these steps, the Sudanese press didn't pay attention to it except later, it could be said that it was governed by the British occupation legislations, didn't have sufficient information until the time when paid attention of the danger of these procedures then it started writing obtain the Southern issued. The informative studies register<sup>38</sup>. That the first newspaper that started writing about the Southern issue was (AL-Neel) newspaper in 1942, which called for the elimination of the barriers which were set between the divisions of the country.

It wrote in 16 June 1947 copy saying that. ((the South as part of our country the duty of patriotism obligates us to adhere to it and not to ignore it, because the motive of patriotism obligates us to depend it with all power and take care of it so that it would cope with the modern city)), another time it wrote in copy of 19 March 1747 an article entitled Sudan is a unity unlivable to be split, it said, "The government had worked for the development of Sudan, but it's a development with conditions whereas its care for the North without the South has formed a great gap between the two parts of the country.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>AlnoorDafaa Allah, former reference page 92

Al-neel newspaper focused through its essays about the South on the significance of spreading the Arabic language, and setting it in the educational curricula considering it the way that leads to the achievement of Sudan National Unity, it also requested the establishment of a charity society that participates in the spread of Islam in all parts of the South.

The parties press weren't in disagreement in spite of its intellectual and political about the South, not only that but all newspapers united against the attitude of the secretary administer against the journalists when he used to treat in appropriately.

Mr. Ahmed Mustafa says in his research about the political issues that Juba conference resolutions resulted in the creation of a kind of disaffection and tension between the secretary administrator, Mr. Robertson and the Sudanese press representatives, which he requested the journalists not to publish his answers to their questions in a press conference, and to be satisfied with the statement he delivered, he threatened the journalists that he will refuse concluding any press conference in the future if they insist on publishing his answers, but "Sout Al Sudan newspaper asked about the reason behind that. The Sudanese researcher, Mr. Ahmed Mustafa, said that:" This question has reflected the first knowledge of the Sudanese newspaper. The independent and the parties' ones, later to the danger of the colonizers policy in the South, because it coped with the incidents of that year when the graduates conference submitted its famous memorandum which included in one of the items the request to stop the aid to the missionaries schools, unification of the curricula and education programs in the North and South<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ahmed Al mustafa, the political issues in Sudan press. former reference page 131

After five years, Juba conference was convened in 12 and 13 of June 1947\* the conference issued resolutions of the establishment of a political unity between the North and South, and that the South can't remain independent of the North, , in the conference Southern Sudan intellectuals declared their opposition of separation from the North.

The parties and independent press cared for the conference resolutions, Al Neel newspaper commented about it that all administrative and financial laws and legislations which will be issued by the legislative assembly will be opposed on all the country's regions without segregation between them)).

Next day which was 17 July 1947 the newspaper carried on through its articles entitled "the South conference" it said "Southern Sudan conference is the host significant incident that draw the situation of the citizens these days so it wasn't strange that it was death with by all newspapers through research and exploration, because the policy of Sudan government towards the relationship of the South with the North was not, by hook or crook, that could bring tranquility.

<sup>\*</sup>attend the south province governors conference and 17 of south leaders and education men also 6 from north , the moto was increase of federation unity

#### Chapter five

# The Regional Press and the Specialized Press (The Laborers' Press)

#### Firstly, the regional press:

Sudan come to know the regional press at an early time concerning the origination and development of the newspaper, ((Aljazeera)) and development of the newspapers, "Aljazeera" Newspaper at the central region appeared in 1942 to be synonyms to Aljazeera agricultural project. It was published in four pages of the medium size in English and Arabic, and is still being published. (The Vigilant) newspaper was also issued in the Southern region in 1953 to express the region's activities, the cultures tribes and the conceptions of the political leaders in it, it was issued in a medium size, and was distributed in Juba, capital of the equatorial region, and in Khartoum where there are many of the Sudanese intellectuals and political leaders.

(Kurdofan) newspaper is considered of the important regional newspaper in the history and development of the Sudanese Press. It was established in 1945 and stopped in 1986.

(Al Goat Almusallaha) newspaper was also issued in 1971.

## Kurdofan Newspaper:

The first copy of Kurdofan newspaper was issued in the first day of November 1945 in 24 pages in the size of a monthly magazine, then after two years it was changed into a weekly magazine issued in 8 pages in 1965 it was issued half weekly at Friday morning and Monday evening. In 1960 its chief editor and fonder Alfateh Al Nour attained a license to issue it daily, and when press Nationalization resolution was issued in 1972 it started issue

from the press home and carried on that way until 1978, and in 1980 its property was shifted to the regional government until it stopped in 1986.

Kurdofan newspaper chose( the Tabaldi) tree as a sample for it .where this kind of tree grows in Kurdofan region, and adopted the phrase (Repair from the pyramid base hot from its peak) as a slogan. Its chief editor was Alfateh Al-nour since its establishment in 1945 until its nationalization in 1972 it is he who established it as an independent regional newspaper, then after its nationalization, the editorial chiefs were Musa Almubarak, Dr. Jaafer M. Bakheit, Jaafer Abuhaj, Mohammed Uthman Abbas, Abdulghder Hajez, Ahmed Ismael Al-amrais and Hassan Nael who was the last chief editor of it before it stopped issuance in 1987.

Kurdofan newspaper significant role in projection of the regional incidents. Or its achievements it called for the establishment of a regional rule, and cared for forestation of the region and care for agriculture which the province council responded to, a high forestation committee was found and the tree festival in July of every year has become one of the well-known Kurdofan festivities. It also adopted the establishment of the regional rule since 1956 when it requested in one of its articles dated 13 November 1956 the importance of the establishment of a regional rule. It said, "we in the region don't care much for the control rule and its command as such as the direct rule and its command which sees our troubles and lives among us, and accordingly can diagnosis the disease and attain the medicine, therefore the host way for coordination of the work in the provinces and the capital and, accordingly, tightly connecting Sudan for production, which is dividing Sudan into four states with a ruler for every state who shoulders the state's affairs, and is supported by a specialized council in condition that it will be responsible in front of the central cabinet of ministers, thus Southern Sudan is a state, and so is the east, west and North, and enough of the capital to be national at the appeal of the pyramid that adheres to the main lines of Sudan republic under the guard of a national legislative power "The parliament" so that no power would dominate the other power.

The invitation of the regional newspaper was achieved in 1980 when the regional rule legislation and decentralization system in Sudan were issued. Sudan is divided into six regions so that they are governed un central rule, Khartoum was considered a national capital, then it is divided into nine states in the government of Omer Albasheer after the 30 June 1989 movement, and the receipt of the military to the power from the parties.

Some of the Sudanese journalists participated in the editing Kurdofan newspaper like Basher Mohammed Saeed, Mohammed Ahmed Almahjoub, Abdullah Ryah, Mohammed Mukhtar Alasan, Ugail Ahmed Ugail, Ahmed Mutawalli Al-atabani, Ali Al-berair, Dr. Bakni Al-nahass, Dr. Yahya Mohammed, Abdulghder, Tawfeegh Saleh, Gibreer and others, either journalists or politicians who participated in the national or political life in Sudan.

# Al-A'amil AL-Sudani (Sudanese Worker newspaper) Newspaper 1964:

It was issued by The Ministry of Culture and Information after the October Revolution in 1964 and it took the same former name of the Labor magazine. It was an official newspaper intended to encourage labor thought within the framework of the state's policy, but it stopped after a few weeks.

## Al-A'mal (Labor) Magazine 1967:

It was issued by The Ministry of Information and Labor in 1967. Its policy was limited to the spread of knowledge about the laws of trade unions and carrying out studies in that field. It offered opportunity to the labor and trade unions writers and effectively contributed to the designation of the

activities of trade unions and encouraged the cultural creativity. Also it was published outside the country. Although it stopped in 1970, but it had played an undeniable role in linking the workers to the reality of their country and increasing their awareness and public culture.

#### Sout AL-haq (The Voice of Truth) 1972:

After the October Revolution in 1964, the Trade Union of the workers in the Government Printing Press issued *Almuarib* "The Trainer" magazine and in 1972 the same body issued the magazine in under another name *Soout Al-haq* "the Voice of Truth". The magazine focused on whatever related to the cultural and administrative events in the Printing Press and it conducted investigations related to laborers and with officials. It also focused on literature, sports and arts and gave considerable attention to presenting and showing the activities of other unions.

#### Sout AL-Omaal (Workers' Voice) newspaper:

Labor Press era had been disrupted for several years until the attempt by the General Association of Sudanese Trade Unions to issue its own newspaper took place after 1970. But the attempt did not succeed. So, there had been no progress since 1967, as no any labor newspaper had been issued until the uprising of the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1985. Then, the General Association began its quest again to issue a labor newspaper. It was able to release the first issue of "The Voice of Workers" on the fifteenth of November 1985. It was temporarily issued twice a month. Its Chairman of Board of Directors was Mr. Mohamed Osman Jammaa' and the Edito-in-Chiefr was Bashir Abdel Ghani (the information and culture secretary in the Association) assisted by Ali Abu Zeid Ali, Khalid Altyb Fathelrahman , Farah Ahmed Saeed, Abdurrahman Gasm El-seid, Abdurrahman Abbas, Mohamed Al-said Salam and UmhaniYousuf Ahmed.

In its first publication's editorial, the Voice of Workers called to adhere the objective and scientific word and called upon the workers to actively participate by highlighting the effort and work in the different fields and make all possible efforts to achieve prosperity. The newspaper issued only eight publications and then stopped as it lasted for only four months. During this short period, it had focused on the unity of the trade union movement and adopted the call for establishing the Union of Productive Forces. Its publication issued on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1985 indicated to the importance of the Union and its goals which are finding fair production relations, independence of trade union movement and the integration of the national unity and full fusion in the loyalty to the country.

The newspaper contributed to the labor culture as it held a seminar on trade union law amended in 1977 in which a number of specialists and legal experts participated. It also published the discussions of the seminar in its publications of the 15<sup>th</sup> of November and the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1985. Most important points discussed in the seminar was the abolition of the law as it was abolition of the legitimacy of the trade unions themselves. It also addressed with analysis and explanation and officials' statements the laws of government pension and social insurance. It also focused on the issue of salary structure of the workers and women issues.