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 PUBLIC By DA NARA Date 3/20/88
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FROM : USLO, Khartoum

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Supplement to Khartoum 111, March 31, 1953.
 THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON

August 8, 1953

TO : #136, 4/24/53

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SUBJECT: Communism in the Sudan

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Authority NW25735

By D. J. SICARA, Date 9/29/99

Note: The following despatch summarizes additional data developed by the Liaison Office on Communist activities in the Sudan since the submission of Khartoum 111 on March 31. This data consists both of background information on Communist organization and methods and of current developments.

Summary

Additional data on Communism in the Sudan confirms the preliminary evaluation of its strength made by the Liaison Office in the reference despatch. Communism in the Sudan is well organized and active and draws its leaders from the "intellectuals, labor leaders and students. The movement is still small and draws most of its popular support by identifying itself with the cause of national self-determination. The movement now appears better organized than was reported in the reference despatch, with dissenting elements excluded from participation. By reversing their unpopular policy of opposition to the Anglo-Egyptian accord, the Communists have been able to remove much of the unpopularity which they suffered in February and March. Partly because of this reversal, the Communists have been able to remain in control of the Sudan Workers Trade Union Federation and have found themselves strong enough to call another general strike.

In other "front" organizations the Communists have retained their power and show every evidence of being able to increase their strength. Significant among other front organizations is the new Communist-led Sudanese Women's Union which has become in the minds of most Sudanese the champion of the cause of women's emancipation.

The Solicitor-General is still considering the more stringent anti-Communist laws suggested by the CID. He has added to the list of prohibited organizations three additional Cominform groups (for text of Executive Council Order see Appendix 3, SECRET). There is evidence that the British Government is becoming more concerned with subversion in the Sudan; on the other hand, because of its present policy of wooing the Sudanese, the Egyptian Government has become less cooperative in rooting out Communists among Sudanese in Egypt.

Funds:

The Liaison Office previously reported that funds were believed to enter the Sudan from various outside sources. In conversation with the reporting officer,

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Abdullah Bey KHALLIL, secretary of the Umma Party and member of the Executive Council, stated that approximately two years ago he had conducted a personal investigation into Communist activities, and that his enquiries led him to the conclusion that money enters the Sudan in packing cases with matches. Matches are imported from Czechoslovakia and from the U.S.S.R. Khalil also indicated that he believed that the middlemen in the Sudan were Armenians. Together with the cash, propaganda materials also are often times enclosed with the matches. According to Khalil, the type of Arabic used in the propaganda materials indicates that these leaflets come from Syria.

The Liaison Office finds it difficult to believe that the Sudan Communists should rely upon such a hazardous means of transmitting funds. However, no additional information is available from other sources, including the CID.

Structure of Communism in the Sudan

(1) Labor Organizations

Principal development in the labor movement since March 31 has been a gradual regaining of popularity and strength by Communist elements in the Sudan Workers' Trade Union Federation. However, it does not seem that they have regained the support which they held prior to their unpopular denunciation of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of February 12, 1953. Since approximately May 1 Communists in the trade unions and in the Sudan Workers Trade Union Federation have been following the change in the Communist "line"; they have ceased to attack the agreement and they have made arrangements for some of their men to run for election in labor centers. (Khartoum 186, June 20, 1953.) The strength of the Communists in the labor movement is evidenced by the proposal for a general strike on August 17. The Communist-dominated executive committee of the SWTUF had sufficient support to call the strike, but they were severely limited as to time and duration by feeling among the workers (Khartoum 19, July 28, 1953). The Sudan Government refuses to deal with the Federation and is proceeding on what appears to be a valid conclusion that the strength of the SWTUF is now declining and that any dealings with it now would serve to revive its prestige. Press organs of the Umma and Khatmia have been attacking the Federation and, according to Babiker ED DEEB, Assistant Commissioner of Police, the attacks represent the views of the Umma and Khatmia and have been specifically ordered by both organizations.

Of interest in this latter connection is a recent attempt by Soliman MOUSA, chief pump mechanic on the estates of Sayed Ali MIRGHANI, to establish a workers' party called the "Socialist Labor Party." According to ed Deeb, Mousa has been acting under the instructions of SAM, and SAM's purpose is to draw the workers away from the political policies of the SWTUF toward the Khatmia and its party, the National Unionists. Mousa is a radical labor figure; he was one of the labor leaders responsible for the 1947 railway strike which was probably the ultimate cause of the present liberal labor legislation, and hence he has following among labor. However, all informed sources agree that the new "Socialist Labor Party" is not doing well, and will probably not amount to anything significant.

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The Liaison Office understands from ed Deeb that there exist "workers' committees" scattered throughout the principal towns of the Sudan. These committees have headquarters in various houses in the workers' districts, and are used by Communist labor leadership to publicize the political "line" and to obtain the workers' support for it. These committees were set up about a year ago when the Federation was criticized for transforming itself into a political organization and neglecting the economic and social interests of the workers. They seem to be an attempt by Communist leadership to transfer some of their political activities away from the Federation proper and thus to avoid labor criticism of the Federation. According to ed Deeb, these committees are the principal means of exerting Communist influence on the workers.

Opposition to the incumbent Communist labor leaders remains ineffective, according to the Labor Branch and the Sudan Police, for a number of reasons: poor leadership, with most of the potential leaders being burdened with full-time jobs, poor organization, lack of the will to pursue an issue to its conclusion, and fear of alienating the support of the workers. The meeting of the SWTUF held on April 26 which was called under pressure from the "moderates" to reconsider the political policies of the Federation amounted to nothing. The opposition group either could not, or would not (probably a combination of both), resist procedural maneuvers by Mohammed Sayed SALAM, president of the Federation, which resulted in the conference's being adjourned after only one day, and in the dismissal of the proposed re-examination of political policy as being a minor issue.

According to most informed sources there is only one really capable anti-Communist labor leader in the Sudan. This is abdulla BESHIR, brother of Fadl Beshir, Khartoum labor journalist. Beshir is employed by the Sudan Railways at Atbara. Paradoxically, Beshir was one of the most important forces behind the formation of the SWTUF and he would probably have been elected its president in 1950 had the Federation headquarters been established at Atbara as was originally intended. For financial reasons Beshir could not afford to give up his job to come to Khartoum when it had been decided to locate Federation offices in Khartoum. According to the Labor Office, it is official Sudan Government policy to keep Beshir in Atbara, for the Government believes that he can be more effective in combatting Communism in the Railway Union than he could be in the SWTUF. In any event, Beshir will soon be lost to the labor movement since he is scheduled for promotion to an administrative post in the Railways in the near future; in this position he will no longer be acceptable as a leader to the workers.

(2) Students

Principal developments among student groups have been Communist activity by secondary and university students who have returned home from Egypt for the summer holidays, and a report of two university students who have been given scholarships to study at the University of Prague.

1. According to Babiker ed Deeb, Assistant Commissioner of Police, half of the Sudanese students who study in Egyptian secondary schools and universities are now engaged in Communist activities during their summer holidays in the Sudan. The vacation period extends from May until October. According to ed Deeb, these

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students are acting in cooperation with the Sudanese Communist organization (the Movement for National Liberation) and are holding committee meetings, distributing Communist literature, and influencing workers. According to ed Deeb, the Egyptian Government, for political reasons, has been dealing very mildly with Sudanese students who are known to be Communists. (See subsequent section on Egyptian Government policy.)

2. The Liaison Office has been informed by Mansour KHALID, law student at the University College of Khartoum, and reporter for the daily newspaper, el Matan, that two students previously expelled from the University for their part in subversive activities have applied through the Czech Embassy in Cairo for admittance to the University of Prague, and that their applications have been accepted. According to Khalid, who recently met one of these students in Rome while en route to Prague, the Czech Government has granted free tuition, board, room, and travel in Czechoslovakia to these two students for the four-year period of their study. The students are Abdel Aziz ABBO and Mohammed Ibrahim NUGUD. (A list of Communists with newly-developed biographic data is attached as Appendix 2, SECRET.)

According to a press report in el Sudan el Gedid (Umma Party organ) issue of June 30, 1953, "The Gala," magazine of the World Youth Congress published in Bucharest, carried an announcement that money would be collected by Swedish youth in order to enable a Sudanese deputation to attend the July World Youth Congress. The Liaison Office has been unable to develop additional data on this matter.

Ed Deeb states that the central body for directing and coordinating Communist activities among students remains the Students' Congress. He says that although the Congress has formerly worked underground, it is now attempting to work on the surface. According to Babiker ed Deeb, the principal student organization explicitly opposed to Communism is the Ikhwan el Muslimin (Moslem Brethren), which has branches in most schools. According to ed Deeb the Brethren's principal stronghold is the University College of Khartoum where they have been organized for several years. They are now the dominant force in the University, but their influence in the secondary school system is strong only at Hantoub Secondary School in Blue Nile Province. (There are two other boys' secondary schools in the Sudan, at Khor Taqqat, Kordofan, and at Wadi Seidna, Khartoum Province.) The Brethren's present aims are 1) to fight Communism, 2) to fight colonization, and 3) to set up a Moslem League in Moslem countries. Ed Deeb estimates the Brethren's strength at about forty per cent of the total number of secondary and university students but, save in the University College of Khartoum and in Hantoub Secondary School, he considers them as generally ineffective against Communist influence. Their organization is poor and their members do more talking than acting, while the Communist students are well-organized and busy in such activities as studying the problems of the workers and making concrete suggestions for their amelioration.

(3) The Communist Press

Al-Sarahah

The pro-Communist organ al-Sarahah resumed publication on June 12 (Khartoum 188, June 23, 1953), and has been following editorial policies which indicate

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that it is definitely a Communist paper. Typical of its articles were two appearing in the July 17 issue. The first of these, written by a Mohammed Sayed MA'AROUF, exhorted the students at the University College of Khartoum to correct their present position and to resume their support of the "people's views." This is obviously a reference to the change in policy in the Student Union which resulted from the expulsion of Communist leadership in February 1953. The second article, whose author is not indicated, dealt with the dismissal of Lavrenti BERIA in the Soviet Union, and stated that the Soviets had convincing evidence of Beria's unsuitability and that the dismissal was a certain sign of internal Soviet strength.

A study of articles in al-Sarahah indicates that probably the most important contributor of editorials is Hassan el-Tahir SARROUGH, a known Communist.

Additional evidence serves to confirm the Liaison Office's statement in the reference despatch that the editor of al-Sarahah, Abdulla RAJAB, is not a Communist, but rather a Communist-sympathizer. The reporting officer's impression from a conversation with Rajab, and the unanimous opinion of all informants, agree that Rajab is probably not a Communist but rather a fellow travelling businessman who finds it profitable to operate a newspaper whose radicalism makes it one of the best sellers in the Sudan.

al-Sudani

Contrary to previous information received by the Liaison Office, it now appears that the leaders of the Titoist-type Sudan Democratic Association, Hassan Abu JEBEL and Awad Ali RAZAK, do not contribute to al-Sarahah. At the present time they are contributing to a new newspaper, al-Sudani, which commenced publication about May 20. Al-Sudani claims to be the organ of the Ashigga Party, and opposes cooperation with both Great Britain and Egypt. (Actually all except the extremists in the old Ashigga Party have now been amalgamated into the National Unionist Party.) It apparently does not follow a Communist policy. Editor of al-Sudani is Ahmed Kheir al-MUHAWMI, lawyer from the Gezira area. Muhammi is not locally considered a Communist, but his assistant editor is Abu Jebel. It appears that the somewhat radical policy of al-Sudani coincides with the toned-down Communism of Abu Jebel and Razak.

It is of interest that in Khartoum circles Razak and Abu Jebel are known as "Mensheviks" whereas the members of the Movement for National Liberation are called "Bolsheviks." Ed Deeb states that Abu Jebel, who is a building contractor by profession, is now doing very well in his business and has become much less active as a Communist.

(4) Women's Organizations

The movement for women's emancipation in the Sudan is just beginning. It is still weak and opposed by the majority of both educated and uneducated Sudanese. However, there is general agreement among Sudanese that some privileges must be given to women, and there is a slow but definite tendency to grant greater freedom in education and in social life. The women's organizations, though yet

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new and weak, probably have potential strength since they are the organized representatives of a growing movement.

The Communists are using the new women's movement in the Sudan to their purposes. At the present time there are four Sudanese women's organizations in the Sudan. The largest and most active of these, the Sudanese Women's Union, is Communist-dominated and has recently been used to support Communist policy. Founder and secretary of the Union is Dr. Khaldah Zahir Surur al SADATI, the only Sudanese woman doctor born of Sudanese parents. The CID states categorically that both she and the president of the Union, Fatma TAYYIB, are Communists. Khaldah al Sadati is married to Osman Mahjoub, teacher in the Ahlia schools and brother of Abdel Khalig MAHJOUR, believed by the CID to be the Secretary of the Communist Central Committee in the Three Towns (Khartoum 186, June 20, 1953).

The Women's Union was founded in the past year with headquarters at Omdurman and members in Khartoum, Khartoum North, and Atbara. It numbers about four hundred members, according to Babiker ed Deeb, and includes in its membership between seventy and eighty per cent of the schoolmistresses in the Three Towns and Atbara. The purpose of the organization is to raise the social standard of Sudanese women and to this end the Union conducts classes for women and girls in private homes. Khaldah al Sadati makes various public appearances and has become locally identified as the most important figure in the cause of women's emancipation. Recently the Union applied for permission to open clinics in the Three Towns to care for mothers and babies. However, permission was denied by the Sudan Medical Service. It is generally believed that if this move had been successful, the Union would have been able to extend its influence considerably.

An example of how the Union has acted as a medium for supporting Communist policy occurred recently. The schoolmistresses' union, which was never known previously to have taken forceful action, recently submitted a long list of demands to the Ministry of Education. According to Babiker ed Deeb and to Abdel Gadir YOUSIF, Acting Commissioner of Labor, these demands originated in the Union and the initiative to present them came ultimately from Khaldah al Sadati. The demands were rejected by the Ministry and the issue subsided without further incidents. No further demands have come from the schoolmistresses' union.

The other three organizations, which are non-political, are the Ladies' Nahda (Renaissance) Society, headed by Ni'amata el ZEIN, the Ladies' Benevolent Society of El Obeid, and the Red Crescent, headed by Siddiqa el MAHDI, daughter of Sayed Abdel Rahman el MAHDI. The latter is concerned principally with functions similar to the Red Cross. Of the two former, both aim to raise women's social status, but only the Nahda has any real strength, and it draws its support largely from girls, not women. It is supported by the well-organized and numerous Girls' Guides. Membership in the Nahda totals about 200 and is limited to the Three Towns. Ni'amata el-Zein is a schoolmistress in a Khartoum intermediate school and also president of the schoolmistresses union. Her cooperation in the recent schoolmistresses' episode is explained locally by citing her intense nationalism, which, as in the cases of so many others, was used for promoting the Communist goals. The Ladies' Benevolent Society of El Obeid numbers about 200 members, but according to ed Deeb, the Society is failing.

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(5) Sudan Defense Force

Communism seems to have made little progress in the Sudan Defense Force (strength: approximately 4500 men). All sources agree that the SDF officers corps has not suffered from Communist infiltration although there are dissatisfied elements among them. During the past two weeks, however, pamphlets have twice been secretly circulated among the SDF officers stating that wage levels in the SDF are unjustly lower than corresponding levels in the Police Force (strength: / 8500 men). According to ed Deeb and other informed sources, these leaflets have been distributed by the Movement for National Liberation. Wage levels are actually higher in the Police Force, and the police are performing functions which the SDF covets. Consequently, there is ill-feeling between the SDF and the Sudan Police Force based upon rivalry and jealousy, and the leaflets appear to be an attempt to exploit this ill-feeling for Communist purposes.

According to ed Deeb, there is a certain amount of potential danger from Communism among privates of the SDF (Khartoum 136 dated April 27, 1953). He makes the apparently valid comparison that the police strike of 1952 was staged by the equivalent class of "privates" in the Sudan Police Force. At this time Mohammed Sayed SALAAM and es-Shafie Ahmed ES SHEIKH, Communist president and secretary of the SWTUF respectively, were imprisoned for their part in fomenting this strike. Ed Deeb complains that the police are not allowed to enquire into SDF security since the SDF has its own independent security organization. Ed Deeb complains that the SDF security organization is ineffective, and hence there is always the danger of undetected subversion. The Liaison Office has not been able to check the accuracy of this observation (which is denied by SDF officers), but it suspects that in such statements ed Deeb may be in part reflecting the feeling of rivalry between the Police and the SDF.

(6) The Communist Movement

According to ed Deeb, the Sudan Police Force has been unable to date to penetrate the Movement for National Liberation, which is the central Communist organization in the Sudan. (There has been a recent tendency for members to refer to the MNL as the "Communist Party.") Hence no table of organization is available. However, the police believe that the leader of the Movement is presently Dr. Izzedine Ali AMIR, Medical Practitioner, who operates a clinic in Khartoum. The police have further uncovered evidence indicating that the secretary of the Central Committee is Abdel Khalig MAHJOUB. Previous leaders in the MNL, since its formation in 1946-47, have been Mohammed Amin HUSSEIN, Hassan Abu JEBEL and Hassan el Tahir SARROUGH.

Ed Deeb states that instructions reach the Sudan Communist movement ultimately from an organization in France. He states that he does not know the name of this organization, but that it is not the French Communist Party. Communications are maintained through a revolving core of Communist Sudanese students in the United Kingdom. According to ed Deeb, there are normally about two hundred Sudanese students in the United Kingdom, and that about ten per cent of this group are Communists. Communications travel from France to the United Kingdom in part by

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hand of the students, for it is customary for Sudanese students in the UK to spend their holidays in France. Ed Deeb states that in all their functions, these Sudanese are helped by the British Communist Party. From the UK to the Sudan, communications are sent via open mail, though under disguised addresses. According to ed Deeb, captured letters have revealed that communications are sent to any one of the friends of the intended addressee, and either inside or outside the envelope, there is an indication "For _____," giving only the first name of the intended addressee.

The police are currently laying plans to conduct covert censorship of the mail. Present plans call for censoring mail in Khartoum only. Letters addressed to specified individuals will be forwarded by the Post Office to the CID for opening and photostating.

Conflicting reports have reached the Liaison Office concerning Communist activities in the South Sudan. Ed Deeb admits that Communism is making "slight headway" in Malakal, but not in the rest of the Southern Sudan. However in conversation with the Liaison Officer, C. C. BEATY-POWNALL, Commissioner of Police, stated that he was "very much concerned over Communist activities in Malakal." The Liaison Office has received unconfirmed reports that the Public Works Department Union in Malakal is a center of Communist activity.

Regarding the activities of the Titoist Sudan Democratic Association, the only developments which have come to the attention of the Liaison Office have been the participation of Awad Ali RAZAK and Hassan Abu JEBEL in the new newspaper al-Sudani, and a report from ed Deeb of a decrease in the activities of Abu Jebel due to increased work in his profession as building engineer (see above).

Communist Plans for the Electoral Campaign

The Communists have decided to run candidates in the coming Parliamentary elections, subsequent to their decision not to oppose the February 12 Cairo Agreement (Khartoum 136, June 20, 1953). According to ed Deeb, their electoral strategy has consisted in setting up an "Electoral Front against Imperialism" with branches in all the important towns, and attempting to identify this Front with the now-defunct United Front in which they were previously united with the National Unionists. The Electoral Front opposes cooperation with Great Britain, Egypt, or the United States, and, although agreeing to participate in the Parliamentary elections, states that the road to freedom does not lead through a Parliament and that Parliament should be used only as "a supplementary means." (Al-Sarajah's report of a speech given by Mohammed Sayed MA'AROUF in El Obeid, which appears to summarize the Communist electoral campaign, is attached as Appendix No. 4, UNCLASSIFIED.) The Communists hope to obtain the votes of labor, or negatively, if the laborers will not support their candidates, to persuade them to boycott the other political parties. This strategy was revealed in a recent circular trip of Gassim AMIN, Railway Union Executive and known Communist, to Port Sudan and other towns in the Northeastern Sudan. According to Abdel Gadir Yousif, Acting Commissioner of Labor, during this trip Amin 1) encouraged the workers to support the pending General Strike (Khartoum 19, July 28, 1953), 2) asked for their support in the elections,

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and 3) harangued those who did not agree with Communist policies that in any case they should not betray their beliefs by voting for any of the three major parties.

Communist candidates who have been nominated to date are:

Mohammed el Sayed Salaam
Es Shafie Ahmed es Sheikh
Gassim Amin
Hassan Salama
Mohammed el Mardi Jubara
Hassan el Tahir Sarrough
Abdel Khalig Mahjoub

Khartoum North
Khartoum South
Atbera
Omdurman West
Kassala
Graduates' Constituency
Graduates' Constituency

Ed Deeb now believes that it is probable that no Communists will be elected. However, rather strong unrest exists among the agricultural workers at Kosti and at Shendi and, if the Communists run candidates in these areas as they are expected, their chances in those constituencies will be higher than elsewhere.

Police Organization

There have been no changes in police organization which have materially affected the functioning of the CID. Ed Deeb has supplied the following information concerning Sudan Police cooperation with other security organs. 1) Internally in the Sudan there is another intelligence organ operating under Mr. W. H. T. LUCE, Advisor to the Governor General on External and Constitutional Affairs. According to ed Deeb there is no connection between this organization and the Sudan Police Force. 2) Externally, the Sudan Police cooperate only with MI-5 and with the Egyptian police. Contact with MI-5 is made through SYMES in the Canal Zone, and information is furnished to him from Sudan Police files upon demand. Conversely, MI-5 observes the activities of Sudanese abroad. Ed Deeb stated that cooperation between the Egyptian authorities and the Sudan Police, originally good after his trip to Egypt in January, has now deteriorated. The Egyptians are reluctant to take action against Sudanese Communists because the publicity might affect their political relations with the Sudanese. He also indicates that cooperation is difficult to maintain because of the mutually antagonistic attitudes of the British and Egyptians. In consequence, the Sudan Police Force now depends upon the MI-5 organization at Payid to supply intelligence on Sudanese in Egypt. MI-5 also recommends legislation to the Sudan and, according to Abdulla Bey Khalil, the recent addition of three Cominform organizations, the International Union of Students, the World Federation of Democratic Women, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, to the list of organizations to which affiliation is prohibited, was made by the Executive Council upon the recommendation of MI-5.

According to ed Deeb, there is no cooperation between the Sudan Police Force and those of any other of the neighboring countries.

Ed Deeb's current estimate of the efficacy of the Sudan Police Force in controlling Communism is that control is adequate, and no threat to internal security is presently posed by the Communists. When asked whether he considered

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that there might be a danger of a Communist-inspired Mau Mau type organization in the South Sudan ed Deeb said that the chances of such a development seemed quite remote to him.

Police knowledge about the movements of Communists is maintained by direct observation and by passport control. Ed Deeb states that it would not be possible for a major known Communist to disappear from sight without this disappearance being immediately known to the police. Police officers are stationed in all airports and railway terminals with instructions to report the movements of subversives. All applications for passports pass through Police Headquarters for a security check. Although a passport cannot be denied on the grounds of previous police record, the CID can take measures to follow the activities of a Sudanese travelling abroad through the assistance of MI-5.

No effective control is exercised by the Sudan Police over Sudanese who travel to the Iron Curtain countries. Visas for entrance into these countries are normally granted in Rome, according to ed Deeb, and hence the visa, if attached at all, is attached after the traveller has left the Sudan. Although the Sudan passport does not grant permission for the bearer to travel behind the Iron Curtain, according to ed Deeb, no criminal action can be taken by the police against a traveller who does travel in those countries.

Laws and Policy of the Sudan Government

There has been no change in Sudan Government policy toward Communism in the Sudan. The Labor Branch policy of not dealing with the SWTUF is based upon the conclusion that the Communist leadership are gradually losing their power, and that any type of formal recognition by the Government would only serve to strengthen them. The Labor Branch is convinced that in the near future the prestige of the Communists will decline to the point where the weak moderate elements in the SWTUF and in other trade unions can take over the leadership. At this point the Sudan Government is prepared to grant formal recognition to the SWTUF.

The legislation to outlaw Communism which was submitted by the CID in November, 1952, is still pending, but official policy is to pass this legislation, according to ed Deeb. The Solicitor-General, according to ed Deeb, is holding up this legislation pending a satisfactory definition of "Communism" by the CID. At the present time the Solicitor-General has just left for three-months home leave, and no action of any type on this legislation will be possible until he returns to the Sudan.

On the recommendation of MI-5, according to Abdulla Khalil, the Executive Council has passed an order adding the International Union of Students, the World Federation of Democratic Women, and the World Federation of Democratic Youth to the list of organizations to which affiliation by any Sudanese group is forbidden. (The texts of the Executive Council's order and the text of the CID's definition of Communism which is currently being submitted to the Solicitor General, are attached as Appendix 3, SECRET.)

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Co-Domini Attitude to Communism in the Sudan:

Recent evidence which has come to the attention of the Liaison Office indicates that the United Kingdom is becoming more interested in the question of Communist activity in the Sudan. The reporting officer was informed in confidence by Babiker ed Deeb that in early July a Mr. G. I. ELLIOT, MI-5 agent stationed in Aden, came to the Sudan and arranged with the Sudan Government to maintain an office in the Sudan Police establishment. His plans were to come to the Sudan from Aden at periodic intervals, and to acquaint himself with the information obtained by the Sudan Police. According to ed Deeb, Elliot was to have replaced Symes as the MI-5 contact. At the time, ed Deeb reports that Elliot gave him strict instruction not to reveal his identity to the Liaison Office. Subsequently, however, the Executive Council of the Sudan has raised objection to Elliot's presence. According to ed Deeb, in a recent session of the Council, Abdulla Bey Khalil, secretary of the Umma Party, led the Council in opposition to the Government's policy vis-a-vis Elliot. The Sudan Government was forced to acquiesce, and ed Deeb states that Elliot will not come to the Sudan as previously planned.

The newly-established United Kingdom Trade Commissioner's Office in Khartoum contains an information section and has recently been distributing to the local press articles critical of Communist governments and their policies. Because of the general scarcity of news in the English and Arabic Sudan press, the Trade Commissioner's Office appears to have no difficulty in obtaining publication for its releases. The Liaison Office has no data on the presence of an MI-5 agent in the Trade Commissioner's Office. Ed Deeb has indicated that he has no information on this matter.

As reported above, ed Deeb states that cooperation between the Egyptian and Sudanese Governments on the question of Communism has declined. He states that the Egyptian Government is afraid to act against Sudanese Communists in Egypt except the very worst since they feel that any crackdown at this point might affect the overriding political question of Egyptian prestige in the Sudan. As indicated above, cooperation is further hampered by the prevailing antipathy between the Egyptians and British officials in the Sudan Government.

✓ Enclosures: *1*

Joseph Sweeney
Joseph Sweeney,
United States Liaison Officer

1. Principal Sources of Information for this Report
2. Individuals Associated with Communism in the Sudan and Information About Them
3. Sudan Government Documents Defining and Outlawing Communist Movement
4. Report of Speech Delivered in El Obeid by Mohammed Sayed Ma'arouf

cc: London
Cairo

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Appendix 1

Principal Sources of Information for this Report

1. Abdulla Bey KHALIL: secretary of the Umma Party and member of the Executive Council, Sudan Government. Information on sources of Communist funds and literature.
2. Abdel Gadi YOUSIF: Assistant Commissioner of Labor. Information on labor, on Communism in the labor movement, and on Sudan Government policy toward labor.
3. Yousif Mustafa EL TIMAY: Industrial Relations Officer, Labor Branch. Information on labor, on Communism in the labor movement, and on Sudan Government policy toward labor.
4. Sa'ad el Din FAWZI: professor of economics, University College of Khartoum. Information on labor.
5. Fadl BESHIR: labor journalist, Khartoum. Information on labor.
6. Mohammed Kheir EL BEDAWI: editor of Khartoum daily newspaper, El Watan. Information on al Sudani.
7. Mohammed Kahlil JUBARA, Headmaster, Beit el Mal Ahlia School, Omdurman. Information on individual Communists.
8. Osman Hussein OSMAN: Superintendent of Explosives, Stores and Ordnance Dept., retired Sudan Defense Force officer. Information on the SDF.
9. Mansour KHALID: law student at the University College of Khartoum, and reporter for el Watan. Information on students.
10. Ibrahim Hassan KHALIL, Superintendent of Intelligence Branch, Sudan Police. Information on current Communist activities.
11. Babiker Mohammed ED DEEB: Assistant Commissioner of Police, Sudan Police. Information on all aspects of Communism and security activities in the Sudan.

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Appendix 2

Individuals Associated with Communism in the Sudan
and Information About Them

1. Mohammed Seyed MA'AROUF: contributor to al-Sarahah. Recently wrote editorial urging University College of Khartoum students to take up again the "viewpoint of the people." Recently dismissed from his position as schoolmaster in El Obeid. He is now resident in Khartoum and is one of the editors of al-Sarahah. He appears to have influence in El Obeid and he occasionally returns there to make speeches and to renew his contacts.
2. Fath al Rahman Mohammed KHALAFALLA: recently the recipient of sympathy in an al-Sarahah article. Al-Sarahah reported that Khalafalla was arrested and fined YE25 in Sinkat after having given a speech at the Sinkat Workers' Club. Khalafalla is reported to be a secondary school student.
3. Taha BASHER: Khartoum doctor, reported to be a Communist.
4. Hassan el Tahir SARROUGH: known Communist, who has been contributing a great number of editorials to al-Sarahah. Ed Deeb reports that he was at one time the leader of the Communist organization in the Sudan. Sarrough has recently been working with Anba es Sudan, Nationalist Party organ, as a reporter. Dismissed from his post as headmaster of the Omdurman Girls' School about 1950 for his Communist activities. He next obtained employment as headmaster in the Ahlia schools in Omdurman, but was soon dismissed for the same reason. He is currently seeking election to the House of Representatives in the Graduates' Constituency.
5. Ahmed SULEIMAN: lawyer's assistant in Khartoum. Reported to be a Communist.
6. Abdel Aziz ABBO: formerly a student in Khartoum University College; was on the committee of the University Union. Expelled for leading a demonstration. Presently en route to study in the University of Prague, where he is being given internal transport, free tuition, board and housing for the full university course by the Czech Government. According to Mansour Khalid, Abbo took the initiative in applying to the Czech Embassy in Cairo. Khalid says that Abbo is definitely a Communist.
7. Mohammed Ibrahim NUGUD: formerly a student in Khartoum University College, and secretary of the student Union. He was expelled from the University for his Communist activities. He is presently en route to the University of Prague. He is being given free internal transport, free tuition, board and housing by the Czech Government. According to Mansour Khalid, he took the initiative in applying to the Czech Embassy in Cairo. Nugud is a relative of Dardiri Nugud of the Socialist Republican Party.

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8. Abdel Khalig MAHJOUR: believed by Sudan Police to be secretary of Communist Central Committee. Graduated from secondary school with great distinction. Refused to attend Khartoum University College. Instead, he went to Fouad University, Cairo. He was expelled from Fouad U. for his Communist activities, and he was imprisoned in Egypt for these activities. He currently lives in Omdurman with his brothers. He has no known employment, but dresses well and leads a comfortable life. Report has it that he receives money from Communist sources outside the Sudan. He is currently running for election in the Graduates' Constituency.
9. Dr. Mustafa SAID: Formerly President of the Khartoum University College Student Union. He was dismissed from the Kitchner School of Medicine (KUC) in 1948 for leading a student demonstration in protest against the formation of the Sudan Government Executive Council. He subsequently went to Egypt to continue his studies.
10. Ahmed Mohammed KHEIR: Previously schoolmaster in the Ahlia schools in Khartoum. He was dismissed at the request of the Ministry of Education which objected to his Communist activities. Kheir was formerly secretary of the schoolmasters' union.
11. Abdel Rahman al Rahim AL WASILA: an editor of al-Sarahah. Previously a student at Fouad University, Cairo. Dismissed from the University by the Egyptian Government for his Communist activities and imprisoned at et Tur.
12. Khaldah Zahir Surur AL SADATI: the only Sudanese woman born of Sudanese parents. Employed in Sudan Medical Service. She is the organizer of the Sudan Women's Union in Omdurman. She is said to be the liaison between the Communist organization and the SWA, and it is she who introduces Communist slogans, etc. into the SWA. Married to Osman Mahjoub, the brother of Abdel Khalig Mahjoub. Daughter of Tahir Surur, officer formerly of the SDF, who is now stationed with the Egyptian Army in the Sudan.
13. Dr. Abdel Gadir HASSAN: Worked jointly with Khaldah Zahir Surur al Sadati in effort to set up clinics under the sponsorship of the Girls' Union. Employed by Sudan Medical Service. Said to be a Communist.
14. James Teddy LARKIN: Employee of International Aeradio Co. in Juba. Believed by the Sudan Police to be a native of Wau. Previously employed in SDF Signals, Khartoum. Travelled to Egypt in 1949 where he was taken into custody by the police for his Communist activities. He was then returned forcibly to the Sudan. Sudan Police have requested International Aeradio Co. to report all movements of Larkin. Larkin frequently speaks at the Juba Officials' Club. However, police have no evidence that other members of the club share Larkin's views.

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15. Fatma TAYYIB: Schoolmistress and President of the Sudan Women's Union in Omdurman. Police consider her a Communist.
16. Dr. Izzedine Ali AMIR: reported by Sudan Police to be the key figure in the Communist Movement for National Liberation. Dr. Amir runs a private clinic in Khartoum.
17. Mohammed Amin HUSSEIN: first leader of the Movement for National Liberation after its formation in 1946-47.
18. Cassim AMIN: railway union executive and known Communist. Running for election in Atbara. Incorrectly listed in Appendix No. 2 of Khartoum 111 dated March 31, 1953, as being a member of Mumarridat and Mumarridat union.
19. Hassan SALAMA: reported by police to be a Communist. Running for election to Parliament in Omdurman West.
20. Mohammed el Mardi JUBARA: reported by Babiker ed Deeb to be a Communist. Running for election in Kassala.

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Sudan Government Documents
 Defining and Outlawing Communist Movements

Appendix 3

Executive Council Order of July, 1953.

"In the exercise of the powers conferred on it by Section 6 of the Unlawful Associations Ordinance 1924, the Executive Council hereby makes the following order:

(ADDITION)

In the Unlawful Associations Ordinance 1924, the Schedule Part II, the following associations are added:

The World Federation of Democratic Youth
 The World Federation of Democratic Women
 The International Union of Students."

Definition of "Communism" Submitted to Solicitor General by CID for Use in Proposed Legislation to Outlaw Communism in the Sudan

"Advocating, practising or promoting Leninist theories and principles with the object of by force, intimidation and other illegal means seeking to subvert or overthrow the Government and constitution of the Sudan, and includes participation in or propagandizing for all organisations of international character which serve these objects and which for the timebeing include:

The World Peace Council
 The World Federation of Trade Unions
 The World Federation of Democratic Youth
 The World Federation of Democratic Women
 The Cominform
 The International Union of Students."

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Report of Speech Delivered in El Obeid
by Mohammed Sayed Ma'arouf
(as reported in Al-Sarabah on June 19, 1953)

" An Electoral Front against Imperialism

"Mohammed Sayed Ma'arouf gave a lecture, "The World Situation," at the Free Traders' Club in El Obeid. It was attended by many people and the prominent figures of the NUP. He analysed the world situation and the confusion of the powers of the imperialistic camp owing to the contradictions which are found in it and which began to be grave - i.e. the breakdown of the internal economics of the capitalistic countries, the competition between America and her allies and the revolt of the people of the colonies.

"He mentioned that the key of the situation is the establishment of world peace. He talked about the situation in the Middle East and showed the dangers of the schemes of Common Defense and Point Four. At last, he talked about the situation in the Sudan. He invited all the honest people, whether they supported or opposed the Agreement, to an electoral front against imperialism in order to isolate the helpers of imperialism who want to pull the patriots to them and to put an end to the patriotic struggle. He said, 'As parliament is not the way to freedom, the front that stands against imperialism ought in the first place to take care of the mob struggle outside the parliament or to make of the parliament a supplementary means.'

"Those who took part in the discussion attacked Point Four and the schemes of Common Defense and they strongly supported the rise of a national electoral front against imperialism based on political and economical program that resembles the people's interests.

"The subject of the program was met with strong and continuous cheers."

Translated by MKJubara
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