

Original copy authorized to: \_\_\_\_\_

**MINUTES OF JUBA  
CONFERENCE OF  
1947 ON THE  
UNIFICATION OF  
THE SOUTHERN  
SUDAN AND THE  
NORTHERN  
SUDAN, JUBA, 12<sup>th</sup>  
– 13<sup>th</sup> JUNE 1947.**

---

MINUTES KEPT BY: MR. BENJAMIN MADOL DHOK.

COMPUTERIZED BY MAWIIR NYOK LUAL, 2001.

---

*Not to be photocopied, reproduced or reprinted without permission from Mr. Benjamin Madol Dhok*

Strictly confidential

EP/SCR/1.A.5/1  
21<sup>st</sup> June 1947.

Deputy Governor,  
Bahr El Ghazal Area, Wau.

All District Commissioners

Subject: Letter from the Governor of Equatoria Region to the deputy Governor of Bahr El Ghazal Area, Wau and all the District Commissioners in the Southern Sudan.

1. I send you herewith, a record of the conference held at Juba on 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> June 1947, to consider the recommendation of the report of the Sudan Administration Conference (SAC).
2. The nature of this conference is explained by the Civil Secretary at the opening of the second day's discussion. It is no way a continuation of the Administration Conference, but as stated in my remarks in the penultimate paragraph, was called at my request by the Civil Secretary in order that he should gauge Southern reactions to and feelings about the recommendations before the report was considered by the Central Government.
3. The record is not being published nor is it being communicated to the press nor are copies given to all those who were present. It is a confidential document summarizing the discussion primarily a side memoir to the Chairman and not "Agreed Minutes" since members have not been shown records before completion.
4. Full use can, or should, be made of it in discussion with British and Sudanese staff who may read it but it should not be distributed.
5. The reasons are important, the main consideration is that the Sudan, though a vast Country in area, is small in wealth and population, and if the Sudan is very really to become self governing and self dependent it must not be divided up in to small weak units. Those who prepare the report believe that the sooner Southern and Northern Sudanese come together and work together, the sooner they will begin to coalesce and co-operate in the advancement of their Country. This belief is sincerely and genuinely held by many Northern Sudanese and they hope, by including Southern Sudanese in the future assembly, the process of unification will be

hastened. I am confident that their recommendations are based on the very highest motives, and think they do not seek opportunities of exploiting backward tribes in the South.

6. The Conference in Khartoum did not include Southern representatives, but I invited the Governors to attend in order that they should know what was being proposed, and should be able to inform the conference of conditions and feelings in the South. This they did.
7. Now that the report of the conference has been submitted to the Sudan Government and action on it is expected, I have summoned this meeting here of men both from the North and South, in order to consider the unification of the two parts of the Country. I should like to explain to you present government policy in regard to the South. The policy was defined in 1945 as follows: *"It is only economic and educational development that these peoples can be equipped to stand up for themselves in the future, whether their lot be eventually cast with the Northern Sudan or with East Africa, or partially with each other"*. Since, 1945 there have been development both economically and educationally in the South. It has begun to be clear, I think that Southern Sudan by its history and by the accidents of geography, river transport and so on, must turn more to the North rather than to Uganda or the Congo. I believe that our policy regarding these areas should be restated as follow: *"The policy of the Sudan Government regarding the Southern Sudan is to act upon the facts that people of the Southern Sudan are distinctly Africans and Negroid. But that the geography and economic combine (so far as can be fore seen at the present time) to render them in extricable bound for future development to the Middle East and Arabs of the Northern Sudan. And therefore, to ensure that their educational and economic developments be equipped to take their places in the future as socially and economically equal of their partners of the Northern Sudan, in the Sudan of the future"*. If this is to the Government's Policy regarding the Southern Sudan I should like the views of this meeting one or two points of the immediate importance. You have all received copies of memorandum giving the terms of reference of this meeting and I think have already had the opportunity to discuss and form your opinions.

Signed: (.....)

B. V. Marwood  
Governor of Equatoria

## NAMES OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE.

| NAME                                       | TITLE/POSITION                       |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. J. W. Robertson ESQ, M. B. E.           | Civil Secretary Chairman             |
| 2. F. D Kingdon ESQ,                       | Governor Upper Nile                  |
| 3. B. V. Marwood RSQ,                      | Governor Equatoria                   |
| 4. G. H. Barter ESQ,                       | Director of Establishment            |
| 5. M. F. A. Keen ESQ,                      | Assistant Civil Secretary (Councils) |
| 6. T. R. H. Owen ESQ;                      | Deputy Governor Bahr El Ghazal       |
| 7. Mohammed Saleh EFF,<br>Shingeiti,       | Northerner                           |
| 8. Ibrahim EFF, Bedri                      | Northerner                           |
| 9. Kamyangi Ababa                          | Southerner                           |
| 10. Sergeant Major (S/M) Philemon<br>Majok | Southerner                           |
| 11. Clement Mboro                          | Southerner                           |
| 12. Hassan Fertak                          | Southerner                           |
| 13. James Tambura                          | Southerner                           |
| 14. Chief Cier Rehan                       | Southerner                           |
| 15. Chief Giir Kiro (Giir Thiik)           | Southerner                           |
| 16. Pastor Andrea Apaya                    | Southerner                           |
| 17. Chief Ukuma Bazia                      | Southerner                           |
| 18. Edward Adhok                           | Southerner                           |
| 19. Buth Diu                               | Southerner                           |
| 20. Chief Loli k Lado                      | Southerner                           |
| 21. Chief Lapcanya                         | Southerner                           |
| 22. Father Guido Akou                      | Southerner                           |
| 23. Ciricio Iro                            | Southerner                           |
| 24. Chief Tete                             | Southerner                           |
| 25. Chief Lueth Ajak                       | Southerner                           |
| 26. Hassan EFF Ahmed Osman                 | Northerner                           |
| 27. Dr. Habib Abdala                       | Northerner                           |
| 28. Sheik Serur Mohammed Ramii             | Northerner                           |

## OPENING SPEECH BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE AND THE MEMORANDUM

The meeting opened at 9:30 am on Thursday 12<sup>th</sup> June. The Chairman in his opening speech said:

"Gentlemen, I should first of all like to say how glad I am to see you all here today, and on behalf of us who are visitors, I wish to thank the Governor Mr. Marwood and the residents of Juba, who have welcomed us so hospitably and generously. The origin of this meeting lies in the recent developments of the administration and policy in northern Sudan. Last year, the Governor - General, Sir Hubert Huddleston, set up a conference in North to seek ways and means of associating the Sudanese more closely with the Government of their Country. As you know, there has been the Northern Sudan for the last three years, an advisory council, and one of the recommendations made by the conference is to develop the advisory council into a more authoritative and responsible body, with the power of making laws and to some extent of controlling the work of administration. The advisory council has not had power to concern itself with the two Southern provinces of Equatoria and Upper Nile and there are therefore no Southern Sudanese in the advisory council. The report of the conference however, which has just been published, recommends that the Southern Sudan should send representatives to the new Assembly which it is proposed should be set up, and in paragraph 12 and 13 of this report you will find its recommendations and the reasons for that.

## MEMORANDUM

The Sudan Administration conference in paragraphs 12 and 13 of its report dealing with the further closer association of the Sudanese with the central Government has made certain recommendations about the Southern Sudan. In order to study the implications of these recommendations about which I shall have to advise His Excellency (H.E.) the Governor - General, I have decided to hold a meeting in the Southern Sudan at which I wish to discuss the proposals with Southern Sudanese, and with officials, who have Southern experience, both British and Sudanese. I have therefore, arranged for a meeting to be held at Juba on 11/06/1947 at which I hope the representatives from Equatoria and upper Nile provinces will attend. The terms of reference of the meeting will be:

1. To consider the recommendations of the Sudan Administration Conference (SAC) about the Southern Sudan;
2. To discuss the advisability of the Southern Sudanese being represented in the proposed Assembly and if it is decided to be advisable to decide such representation can best be obtained in the present circumstances, and whether the representation proposed by the SAC is suitable;
3. To discuss whether safeguards can be introduced into the forthcoming Legislation setting up the new Assembly, to ensure that the Southern Sudan with its difference in race, tradition, language, customs and outlook is not hindered in its social and political advancement.
4. To discuss whether or not an advisory council for the Southern Sudan should be set up to deal with affairs from which representatives might be appointed to sit on the assembly as representatives of the Southern Sudan;
5. To consider the recommendations of the Sudan Administration Conference (SAC) in paragraph 13 of their report which deals with matters not strictly relevant to the political development of the Sudan, which the Conference recommended as essential if the unification of the Sudan is to be achieved.

## MINUTES

*Chief Ukuma Bazia:* Then laid before the meeting a set of written answers to the points raised in the Civil Secretary's Memorandum:

1. Minutes of the preliminary meetings of the members referring to Civil Secretary's MEMORANDUM.
2. No, but to send people who will sit and merely study.
3. To leave the matter of race, tradition, language, customs and outlook will die by itself, through education and civilization. More safeguards to be added.
4. We agree to set up our advisory council in the South but in link with the North. Before passing laws for the whole Sudan the legislative council in the North should consult the advisory council here until such time when the South will be capable to send the representatives to voice for itself. Since we consented in Para 2 we also welcome people from the north to attend our meetings and advise us. People to send should be of the legal respect.
5. Permits to trade order 1928 to be cancelled on the following conditions:
  - (a) Only the people with good capitals should be admitted;
  - (b) That these capitalists should build their shops in red bricks and corrugated iron sheets in places permitted by this council;
  - (c) That Southern Sudanese should be encouraged to trade and the only way of doing this is by employing agents from the South:
    - (i) One educational policy to be adopted for North and South. The teaching of language should be in bush schools, English and Arabic in Elementary to higher Schools.
    - (ii) The improvement of communications between the two parts, encouragement of transfers, the unification of the system of establishment should be the same and should be started Now.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Referring to answer number 2 asked if the Southerners could explain why the South should be unable to send the representatives to the Central legislative Assembly just as the other outlying tribes and areas of the North, for instance the Beja and the Kababish etc. if Southerners were going to attend the Assembly why should they not take part in it and speak for their own people? Since the more distant tribes of the North Sudan were to be represented in the proposed Assembly why should not the South?

*Kamnyangi Ababa:* Replied that Southerners were like recruits compared with old soldiers and the Southerners wanted more training before they could take part in an Assembly with Northerners. The other tribes, which the last speaker mentioned, had already had some experience in the Advisory Council, which Southerners had not had. They did not wish to close the door to Southern representation in the Legislative Assembly but the time was not yet ripe.

*The Chairman:* Referred the meeting to the basic question as to whether they consider that the South was essentially to be one with the North?

*James Tambura:* Said that education had not advanced far enough in the South to allow for full representations.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Returned to the point that many of the northern tribes were as backward as any one in the South and has not previously had councils of their own. We

suggested that there should be province Councils in each of the Southern provinces, which should send representatives.

*Chief Ukuma Bazia:* Asked why the South had not been included in the advisory Council?

*Mr. Kingdon:* Said that Sir Douglas Newbold has answered that question at the time when the advisory council was first started. He said Southerners had not reached a standard of education, which would enable them to represent their compatriots in such a council.

*Chief Ukuma Bazia:* Asked if, when Sir Douglas Newbold gave this explanation, the Northern Sudanese were satisfied with it!

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Replied emphatically that the Northern Sudanese were not satisfied.

*Sgt. Major Philemon:* Stated that the Southerners were like children in their relation with the grown up Northerners and that, as children must drink milk before they eat "kisra", so the Southerners must first study Self-government before participating in the Governing.

*Chief Cier Rehan:* Said that the South was distinct from the North. If he went to the North, would the Northerners listen to his words as the representative of the Southern people?

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Said they would.

*Chief Cier Rehan:* Replied that the Southerners should go on learning under their British Administrators and in the due course they would acquire understanding. He could not see that at the present time, Northerners could understand the needs of the Southerners.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Said that he was understanding them now and that if they came to the North then the Northerners and the Southerners would have the opportunity of understanding each other better.

*Chief Cier Rehan:* Was still dissatisfied and said that the Southerners must have training in Councils before they could represent their people.

*Dr. Habib Abdala:* Remarked that in his opinion all the Southerners present were labouring under the misconception that all northerners have great training and experience in matters of government. The difference between Northerners and Southerners was much less than they thought. In fact it was negligible. The Southerners should not be afraid of being at disadvantage vice-versa the Northerners in matters of self-government.

*Sgt. Major Philemon:* Admitted that was in fact what he was afraid of, and could not see why the Northerners should not simply invite them to the north to enable them first of all to observe the procedure. He added that Southerners could not ignore past history.

*Hassan Fertak:* Replying to judge Shingeiti said that everything should have a beginning. The North had its Advisory Council for four years and was now ready for the next steps to a Legislative Assembly. They were like pupils who had been through class 1 and now were going in to class 2. The South had not yet been through class 1 and it would be absurd to put them straight in to class 2.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Explained that members of the Advisory Council had not all been at the same stage, some were advance than others and the less advance has learnt from the more advanced.



*Hassan Fertak:* Pointed out that the less advanced had in any rate many contacts and much in common with the more advanced members.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Drew attention to the fact the Conference in which they were engaged was very similar to a meeting of the Advisory Council, and Southerners could speak for themselves in this Conference, why should they not do so in the Legislative Assembly?

*Mr. Marwood:* Stressed the difference between Advisory Council and a Legislative Assembly, which would have powers to make Laws and would have some control over the Administration. Judge Shingeiti had not yet given any convincing reason why the first step of Advisory Council which had been found necessary in the North should not be equally necessary in the South.

*Sheik Serur Mohammed Ramli:* Wished to return to the basic point of whether the Sudan was to be single unified nation. Before details of representation were discussed, it was necessary to have that point settled.

*Mr. Marwood:* Nominated a speaker to reply but objection was taken to this by Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti who said that if any body wanted to speak they should do so without prompting from the Governor.

*The Chairman:* Asked whether anybody present had any objections to the unity of the Sudan.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Complained that this was outside the meeting's terms of reference but the Civil Secretary refused to admit this. The Civil Secretary again addressed the meeting and said that if nobody spoke on this subject, then they would assume agreement on the principle of the unity of the Sudan.

*Chief Lappanya:* Stated that the principle of unity could only be decided later when the Southerners were grown up, by which time they would be in a position to decide whether to join the North or go to the Belgian Congo or Uganda.

*The Chairman:* Explained that people could not get up and go where they like just like that.

*Mr. Owen:* Addressed the Northern Sudanese and explained that they were still suffering from the sins of Zubeir Basha and the slaves "*The sins of the fathers shall be vested upon their children even unto the third and fourth generation*". He said that the South had not forgotten the days of oppression even if the North had done so, and even today the Southerners view was dominated by fear and suspicion. He concluded that the Southerners would never willingly join the North until the latter should prove by their acts, not merely by their words, that they had undergone a change of heart.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Stressed that Northerners had no desire to dominate the South. They maintained that the Country as one and the policy of this Country was made in Khartoum, so the Northerners wanted the Southerners to join with them in the formation of policy for a whole country.

*Mr. Owen:* Had referred to the Slave Trade, which they would not but be felt bound to point out that the British had in their time been the biggest Slave Traders in History. The West Indies were populated by Africans who had been enslaved in the past by the British but with growth of public opinion the British had come to realize the evils of the Slave Trade. What had happened in England had now happened in the Northern Sudan where it was fully realized that Slavery was barbaric and harmful. It had happened that, under this government, slaves had been introduced into the Sudan from Abyssina. He had himself been a Sub-Mamur in the White Nile by that time and had personally taken part in the freeing of those Slaves. This trade had been discovered by the vigilance of Sudanese officials. Northerners had no evil intentions towards the South. If they had, they would not have been prepared to put up the money for the Zande scheme.

**Chief Lappanya:** Said that when the British and Northerners had first come to their Country in 1914, the Northerners had despised and insulted Southerners, Southerners were also envious of the Northerners because they were paid at higher rates.

**Chief Giir Kiro:** Admitted that the Sudan was a single Country, but said that the first time they had ever taken part in a Conference of this kind, how could they be expected to send representatives to an Assembly in Khartoum? The Northerners were their elder brothers and were inviting them to swim across the river with the Northerners.

**Chief Cier Rehan:** Said that he and Chief Giir Kiro were answerable to their peoples and must speak for them. At Gogrial and Tonj Councils their people said they had no objection to live as brothers with the Northerners but they wanted to learn before joining them. That is what he and Chief Giir Kiro were saying now.

**Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:** Said the Southerners could best learn in the course of the work they would do in the province and the District Councils.

**The Chairman:** Summed up at this point and said that so far the discussion boiled down to two facts. Firstly, that most Southerners present (Shingeiti EFF. "Ali of them") were agreed that the Sudan was one Country. Secondly, that the Southerners were not yet advanced enough to take part in the Legislative Assembly but would in their opinion be able to participate after a period of educational training in the Southern Councils.

*The meeting then adjourned for 15 minutes.*

**The Chairman:** Referred to note 2 of the Preliminary meeting. If it was proposed to send people to the legislative assembly as learners, how many would they wish to send and how would they be chosen. The Administration conference had recommended that there should be 13 representatives from the South.

**Chief Ukuma Sazia:** Said that this point had not been discussed as they did not know if the suggestion would be accepted. They would certainly wish to select them by themselves rather than they should be appointed by the Government.

**Ciricio Iro:** Said that they would wish at first send a large number probably more than the 15 suggested.

**Mr Kingdon:** Asked what language or languages would be used in the Legislative Assembly? If there were too many it would cause a serious delay in the proceedings.

**Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:** Said that the proceedings would be in English and Arabic, but there would be no difficulty in having them translated into the language of any member who did not understand either of these.

**Mr Kingdon:** Pointed out that the absence of a large number of the leading personalities for prolonged periods would cause a serious delay in the advance of local government.

**Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:** Said that the government of the people must be represented and the foundation of Representative Government lay in the Town, Rural, District and province Councils. Thus he considered that in South there should be Town Councils in places like Juba and Wau, rural Councils in the Districts and province Council formed from the leaders of the Town and Rural Councils. This he considered could be achieved in one year in the South. Some three or four of the Southern representatives of the legislative Assembly could be chosen from the province Council. The province governor could nominate others, being guided only by the interests of the province. In due course, these nominated members to the legislative Assembly would be replaced by members selected or elected from the province councils, which in the normal course of its deliberations would automatically effect the necessary training and education

of its members. All this had already taken place in the North, and he saw no reason why the same should not happen in the South.

*Clement Mboro:* Asked what would happen if the Legislative Assembly were to meet before these province Councils are set up?

*The Chairman:* Pointed out that it was hoped that the Legislative Assembly would be set up fairly soon, but there might be some delay.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Presumed that the Governors would nominate representatives in that case, but emphasized that the representation was essential or the North would have everything its own way.

*Clement Mboro:* Thought that considerably more than 13 should be sent from the South, even though they did not take part in the debates, in order to study that art of the government.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Pointed out that the places to learn the art of government was in the local government.

*Clement Mboro:* Pleaded for patience till the Southerners were sufficiently advanced to play their part in the Assembly.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Said that the North could not wait until the South caught up. If Southerners could take part in an advisory council they could take part in the legislative Assembly.

*Clement Mboro:* Again stressed the essential difference between an advisory council and a legislative assembly. The number of representatives to be sent to the North should be more than 13. When asked by the Chairman to explain his reasons for this, he said it would form a wider field for selection when the time came to appoint the 13 members to the Legislative Assembly proper.

*Mr Owen:* Asked Clement Mboro if these Southerners would go to the North to study the Legislative Assembly only, or would they have to report back to the Southern Advisory Council?

*Clement Mboro:* Said they would have to report back to the Southern Advisory Council.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Protested that the Conference was useless as long as Southern members present came with fixed ideas which they have conceived before the conference began.

*The Chairman:* Replied that the Conference was quite open and that what was taking place now was an elucidation of the Southerner's reasons for the various decisions they have come to.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Repeated that the Southerner's ideas had already been fixed and that therefore the Conference was fruitless.

*The Chairman:* Summed up the previous discussions as follows: Firstly, that the Southerners were agreed to send the number of representatives to the North in order to observe the process of the Government, to broaden their minds, and to report to the Southern Advisory Council. Secondly, that no fixed number had been agreed upon but more than 13 should go. He went on to ask how these representatives were to be selected.

*Clement Mboro:* Replied that the Government should begin now with local Councils, which in due course would be able to send representatives, but in the meantime the Government should nominate the representatives.

*Dr. Habib Abdalla:* Deprecated the separatist tendency that would be fostered by any proposal to treat the Southern Sudan on a different footing from the North.

*Father Guigo Akou:* Said that the North wanted immediate Southern representation in an Assembly, which would legislate for the whole Sudan. Southerners were afraid of this because they felt that through lack of understanding, their representatives might agree to laws, which would prove harmful.

*Edward Adhok:* Considered that there was no one from upper Nile capable of representing his people in such an Assembly. The Shiiluk Council had not been a success so far owing the lack of experience members. He himself did not feel qualified to represent his own people or take the responsibility of committing them to laws which, owing to lack of understanding on his part, might not be for the benefit of his people.

*Ibrahim EFF Badri:* Said that when a man thinks his backward it is difficult to persuade him that he is not, and that the Northern Sudan must appreciate this difficulty.

*Chief Lolik Lado:* Regretted that he was not ready for these discussions as he had not been able to consult his people before coming to Juba. He said however, that a girl who has been asked to marry a young man usually wants time to hear reports of that young man from other people before consenting likewise before coming to any fixed decisions about their relationship with the northerners. The ancestors of the northern Sudanese were not peace-loving and domesticated like cows. The younger generation claimed that they mean no harm, but time would show what they would in fact do. He agreed to unification with north but insisted on the Southerner's need for protection and for further time to consider the matter in conference with the elders of the people. An immediate decision could not be taken now.

*Sheik Serur Mohammed Ramli:* Thought that Southerners need have not feared laws, which interfered with their customs for they could be administered with discretion. He quoted the Law against pharaanic circumcision, which had been passed by the Sudan Government at the request of the Advisory Council. This Law was only enforced on the express direction of the Governor who took into account all the circumstances. Any laws passed by the Legislative Assembly, which ran counter to Southern customs, could doubtless make similar provision.

*Chief Tete:* Said that Northerners still despised and frequent insulted Southerners. A child must be brought up gradually and Southerners must learn to walk before they try to run.

*The Chairman:* Then referred to Para 3 of the memorandum and the minutes of preliminary meeting, and asked what safeguards the Southerners had in mind.

*Chief Ukuma Bazia:* Instanced the customs of his people to draw their teeth and fear that Northerners who think this barbarous custom might try to stop it by law.

*Dr. Habib Abdalla:* Said that the best safeguards that Southerners wanted should be members of the Legislative Assembly.

*Chief Buth Diu:* Said that Northerners claim to have no desire to dominate the South, but this was not enough and there must be safeguards. There should be no settlement by the northerners on land in the South without permission. Secondly, there must be no interference from the north in local Government in the South. Thirdly, there should be a Law to prevent a Northern calling a Southerner a Slave.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Pointed out that such an insult was in fact punishable under the penal code.

*James Tambura:* Said, on the subject of the safeguards, they must ensure that Northerners who have children with Southern Women must not desert them when they go back to the North.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Replied that this was to the Government's fault since the government forbids these wives and children to go to the North.

*James Tambura:* In reply to a question by the Chairman asserted that he was referring to cases where Northerners were properly married to Southern Women by local custom and by Muslim law.

*Dr. Habib Abdala:* Thought that the reasons for these cases of desertion were to be found in the variety of laws governing marriage in the Sudan, and that this could be rectified by the further legislation.

*The Chairman:* Thought that, further discussion on this point would not be profitable as it had little to do with the safeguards they were at present discussing.

*Mr. Marwood:* Said that one thought of safeguards he had in mind was that laws affecting local customs could only be enforced at the discretion of the Governor.

*The Chairman:* Then referred to suggestion to set up an Advisory Council for the Southern Sudan, and the minutes from the preliminary meeting upon this point in particular he asked what was meant by the expression "People of legal Respect".

*Clement Mboro:* Said that they had intended by this phrase men who had experience of local Government and of the working of Councils and people who know and sympathizes with Southerners.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Asked how long such Advisory Council would last?

*Clement Mboro:* Thought that it would be like the Advisory Council for the Northern Sudan and last a few years only, but that it might possibly be necessary to keep it in existence after Southern representatives had taken their places in the legislative Assembly.

*Hassan EFF. Ahmed Osman:* Felt that this would mean separation of North and South.

*The Chairman:* Deplored the tendency to regard any suggestion that Southern problem should be treated in a different manner from those in the North as a conspiracy to divide North from South.

*Hassan Ferial:* Thought that a southern Advisory Council would have the merit of providing a reserve of potential representatives to the legislative Assembly.

*The Chairman:* Pointed out in reply that this could equally, well be done by Province Councils once they are started.

*Sheik Serur Mohammed Ramli:* Considered that the differences between North and South would no longer present any difficulty once local Governments developed in the South.

*The meeting then adjourned until 9:30am on 13<sup>th</sup> June 1947.*

*The Conference reopened at 9:30am on Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> June 1947.*

*The Chairman:* Explained that the nature of the conference was exploratory and that no decisions were being taken. They were all to learn each other's ideas. The decisions, if any would be taken latter by the Central Government. He explored the mutual suspicion, which, was acknowledged to exist between Northerners and Southerners. The Northerners on the one hand were suspecting the Southerners of wanting to separate from the North (and the Government of

to the higher standard of housing enjoyed by Northern officials, and concluded it that although they were the sons of one father it seemed to him that Father was treating his brother better than himself.

**Clement Mboro:** Stated that since the conference of the day before he had fundamentally changed his mind and now considered that the best way in which the Southerners could protect themselves would be to go to Khartoum now to Legislative together with the Northerners. Any Council formed in the South would be defenseless before the legislative Assembly. Advisory Council was Advisory only and its advice could easily be rejected by the Legislative Assembly or similar body. It was best for the Southerners to go and legislate now in spite of their backwardness, since the Southerners could speak for themselves in the present conference, there was no reason why they should not speak for themselves in a legislative Assembly. If any Law was proposed which was not agreeable to the South they could stand up and object. The Southerners must defend themselves and speak and think for themselves.

**Mr Owen:** Asked Clement Mboro what his safeguard would be if in spite of the Southern objection in the Legislative Assembly a Law was passed which was against the interests of the Southerners?

**Clement Mboro:** Replied that the Government would protect them.

**Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeili:** Protested against Mr. Owen's question. His protest was over-ruled.

**Clement Mboro:** Went on to say that if the Government could not protect them there must be rules and legislation in the Legislative Assembly, which would do so. Meantime, the Government must press on without delay with the establishment of province, District and Town Councils in the South.

**Chief Cier Rehan:** In their Country they had originally been given courts, and when they had learnt to use them the Government had set up a council of about 40 men with three for the chest. They had found this very different from the court work and had it not been for the help of the DC they could not have made it work at all. They had found this conference different again. When they discussed amongst themselves the first day they took five hours to reach their decisions. He was certain that Northerners would have completed their business in one hour (Laughter). What they had said yesterday was not their own opinion only but that of their people. They agree to join the North in a Government for the whole Sudan only if they were given time. Was he to go back and tell his people that the Northerners insisted on their coming in at once or not at all? He did not feel that he is showed a brotherly feeling to try and force them.

**James Tambura:** Said that he agreed emphatically with what Clement Mboro had said with regard to immediate representation in the Legislative Assembly.

**The Chairman:** Asked him why he changed his mind since the previous day.

**James Tambura:** Replied that Judge Shingeili had said that if they did so they would have no say in the future Government of the Sudan, and he had thought this over very carefully the previous night after considering what had been said during the day.

**Chief Tete:** Said he wanted to study in the South until he was clever enough to go to the North. One could not begin to do work which one did not understand.

**S/M. Philemon Majok:** Said that they were speaking on behalf of their people and that they, as spokesmen, could see more clearly than the people. He thought that if the Southerners adopted a "go slow" policy now they would never reach the required level. The Southerners could speak their mind in a Legislative Assembly just as a Chief could speak to Chief's court or as a major

court member could speak to a DC presiding. In a Legislative Assembly there would be somebody to defend them and guide them.

In spite of his statement the day before he now thought that there was no danger in sending Southerners to the North to join in the legislative Assembly as soon as it was formed.

*Chief Loliik Lado:* Said that the day before they had spoken for their people and could not change their words today. The Southerners wanted to send representatives to the North but so far they had found nobody to send. The Government would later select the right people to go to speak on their behalf.

*Chief Lappanya:* Thought that if representatives were to be sent to Legislative Assembly should have had previous experience in the councils of their own. It was impossible to send untrained recruits into the battle. When the Government thought they were sufficiently trained he would send them into the firing line.

*Hassan Fertak:* Said that they were all or nearly all, agreed that the Sudan was one country and that was the most important decision that had to be made. They were also agreed that province Councils should be formed. He wanted to know when the Legislative Assembly was likely to be set up.

*The Chairman:* Said they hoped it could be very soon, but he could not say exactly when.

*Hassan Fertak:* Could see no reason why their representatives should not, for the time being, watch the proceedings in order to learn, without being full voting members.

*The Chairman:* Said that there seemed to have been a change of mind among some of the Southern members, but the discussion had been a useful one. He would now like to return to the question he asked at the beginning of the discussion. Did they wish to have one Advisory Council for the South or a Province Council for each province? From what had been said, it appeared that they favoured Province Councils, and that these councils should send the representatives to the Legislative Assembly. There were some differences of opinion whether these representatives should be full voting members from the start, or whether they should at first watch the proceedings until they had some experience of the procedure.

*Buth Diu:* Thought that the Southerners should send the representatives to the north not only to study, but to participate in legislation, Finance and Administration. He referred to Para 2 of the Civil Secretary's memorandum, and thought that the best way of representing the South would be to send people who had been attached to outstations for three or four years, and also those who had served a long time with the Government. The Government should appoint the best representatives, four representatives from upper Nile province were enough of the 10 members to be nominated by the Governor General, 2 could be from Upper Nile Province. An Advisory Council for the South would be the first step towards separation. It was much better to have province Councils. Laws made by the Legislative Assembly should not be enforced without the consent of the Governor or the Governor General.

*The Chairman:* Explained that in any case according to the report of the Administration Conference all laws made by the Legislative Assembly would be referred to the Governor General for his comments.

*Chief Lueth Ajak:* Agreed with Buth Diu.  
*The meeting adjourned for 15 minutes.*

When the conference re-opened, the chairman referred the members to Para 5 of his memorandum, and said that some of the subjects therein had already been discussed by the Southerners at their own meeting held prior to the opening of the present conference.

With regard to permits to trade, the Southerners had expressed their opinion in their Para 5, sub-Para 1, 2 and 3. The council referred to in Para 5 and sub-Para 2 was presumably for a Local Council, District or province.

*Sheikh Serur Mohammed Ramli:* Said that if the conditions stipulated by the Southerners were necessary it would be a matter for the Local Council to decide.

*The Chairman:* Asked whether the conditions lay down by the Southerners had reference to northern traders only or to all Non-Southern traders.

*Chief Ukuma Eazia:* And others explained that they referred to all non-Southern traders.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingelti:* Explained that the licensing authority would probably be the Local Council who would have to attach what conditions they like to the License. It was not necessary to define these conditions now. If the Local Councils were given adequate power the conditions attached to the traders Licenses could safely be left to them.

*The Chairman:* Asked Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingelti if he was speaking on behalf of the Local Secretary or for himself only.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingelti:* Said that he was speaking for himself only.

*The Chairman:* Explained that his reason of asking that question was that the Legal Secretary adhered firmly to the view that Licenses should be bought over the Merkaz counter and that there should be no restrictions.

*Mr. Marwood:* Pointed out that the Local Government Authorities were not, in Law, the issuing authority for trader's Licenses. If Judge Shingelti's proposal to hand over this authority to Local Government's and to enable them to impose what conditions they like were adopted, it would presumably apply in north as well as in the South.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingelti:* Said that in the North there were no restrictions (apart from certain temporary restrictions resulting from the war) attached to the issue of traders Licenses. It was open to the conference, however, to recommend that Local Authorities be empowered to make such restrictions.

*The Chairman:* Explained that in the South there were two Licenses, which a non-Southern trader had to take out. One was the ordinary trader's license without restrictions, and the other was a special license without restrictions, and the other was a special license under the permit to trade order. The reason for this was that in the past many Gallaba with little capital and tendency to exploit the unsophisticated came to the South and the permit order was brought in to protect the tribesmen from this type of traders. If the permit to trade order was concealed, how was the South to be protected from a possible influx of such people?

*Chief Butth Diu:* Said that at the preliminary meeting they had decided to recommend that the permits to trade order be concealed under certain conditions. The reason for this was that the Sudan Administration Conference (SAC) had left strongly that the permits to trade order was a hindrance to the unification of the South. The majorities at the meeting were against the cancellation of this order, but the minority had persuaded the majority to agree, provided that certain conditions were laid down.



*Chief Lueth Ajak:* Emphasis the fear of the Southerners that a crowd of hungry Gallaba would invade the South, swamp them and cheat the people.

*James Tambura:* Said that the feeling at the preliminary meeting was that rich traders from the North and elsewhere should be restricted to the big Towns, leaving the bush shops for the Southerners who wished to learn shop-keeping.

*Mr. Owen:* Asked James Tambura if he thought there were enough Southerners to open bush shops, as in his experience there were disappointingly few who wished to do so.

*James Tambura:* Replied that he thought there were enough.

*Chief Lolik Jado:* Was sure that many Southerners wanted to open shops.

*Chief Tete:* Agree and added that many ex-soldiers wanted to open shops with their gratuities.

*The Chairman:* Thought that what the Southerners wanted was a safeguard that Northerners should not come and open shops in the villages, but that village shops should be reserved for Southerners. He asked Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti if the Legal Secretary would agree to that.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Thought he would.

*The Chairman:* Thought there was little difference between this and permits to trade order.

*Hassan EFF. Ahmed Osman:* Thought that the difference lay in this; that although Local Authorities should have a power to refuse a License, disappointed applicants would have still the right of appeal against their decision.

*Mr. Marwood:* Thought that the present legislation in the Sudan was deficient. A permit to trade was merely a piece of financial machinery, but there was no ordinance governing the proper conduct of trade in the Sudan. Some legislation was necessary to ensure the proper conduct of trade, and this legislation should apply to the whole of the Sudan. The proposed Legislative Assembly might consider this in due course.

*Clement Mboro:* Explained that what the Southerners had intended was that adequate opportunity should be left to the Southerner to become a trader.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Explained Mr. Marwood's point that before conditions could be attached to the issue of a trader's License a Law must be enacted to that effect.

*The Chairman:* Said this seemed to imply a permit trade order for the whole Sudan in fact (Laughter).

*Chief Ukuma Bazia:* Thought that 1928 order should stand until they heard that the Legislative Assembly had to say about it.

*Hassan EFF. Ahmed Osman:* Thought that there was no basic difference of opinion between Northerners and Southerners with regard to the need for protecting villagers against adventures of whatever nationality.

*The Chairman:* Considered that was what the permits to trade order was, in effect, doing at present. There was a good deal of muddled thinking about this order in the North.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Agreed that this may be so, but explained that the Northerners considered that the permit to trade order was being applied in such a way as to

hinder economic development in the South. The best remedy lay in ensuring that disappointed applicants have right of appeal to the court of justice.

*Mr. Marwood:* Thought there was a common misconception that his office was full of the rejected applications from the people outside the Province. In the past three or four months one or two had come in. In one of these cases, he had asked the trader where he wanted to trade, and what capital he wanted to build shops and buy lorries or transport etc. he awaited his reply. The permits to trade of which he had been interpreted exactly and this meeting would like it to be interpreted. Small traders with a capital of only Ls 10 or so were not wanted. Responsible traders with capital were wanted. The last thing he wanted to do was to hinder economic development.

*The Chairman:* Summed up and thought they were all agreed that it was necessary to impose trade and that merchants with capital were wanted to impose and developed the country, and that people should be protected against adventures and exploiters. He thought that the Southerners wanted to stress that there should be enough places left in the villages to give Southerners the opportunity to set up their traders and in due course build up bigger businesses of their own. When they returned to Kibondo from they would consider the recommendation of this meeting.

*The next point for discussion was the question of unification of educational policy in the South and North and the teaching of Arabic:*

*Mr. Owen:* Asked for a clarification of the phrase "One Educational Policy".

*Mr. Kingdon:* Thought that the reply to his question by the preliminary meeting of the Southerners in the minute 5(a) was self-contradictory.

*Nassan EFF. Ahmed Osman:* Thought that this meant merely that the CURRICULA in Northern and Southern Schools should be the same. He did not find any contradiction in the recommendation that education in bush schools should be in VERNACULAR and that English and Arabic should be taught in Elementary and in the higher Schools.

*James Tambura:* Said that the Southerners felt strongly that a boy should first learn to read and write in his own language and could later go on to other languages.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Felt that it should be left to the educationalists to say if a boy could learn two foreign languages in the elementary stage.

*The Chairman:* Pointed out that the essential difference in practice between North and South was that in the North a boy learnt in Arabic to the end of the elementary and did not start to learn a foreign language before then. The meeting felt that Arabic should be taught as soon as the boy was able to learn that should be left to educationalist to say when this stage was reached.

*Pastor Andrea Appia:* Asked if the introduction of Arabic would be applied to the Mission Schools.

*The Chairman:* Thought that this was the general opinion of the meeting.

*Dr. Habib Abdalla:* Thought that Southerners were still thinking of education in terms of preparation for government services, an idea still held by many northerners and he thought that the reasons Southerners were so anxious for the same education as the Northerners was to strengthen their claim to receive the same rate of pay as the Northerners.

*The Chairman:* Referred to the great shortage of teachers in the North and doubted if Northerners would be prepared to restrict their educational expansion to send Arabic teachers to the South.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Felt that the available teachers should be equally distributed between North and the South and even more generously to the South to help them catch up. If the Northerners were not willing to this they should not claim that the Sudan was a single Country.

*Bath Diu:* Thought that there must be no delay in introduction of Arabic Schools to enable them catch up with the North.

*Chief Lolik Iado:* Thought that there might be some difficulties caused by introduction of Arabic. He had found that Catholics and Protestants did not readily co-operate, and he feared that this would be a new complication.

*Pastor Andrea Apaya:* Said that both English and Arabic were difficult languages and doubted if a boy at the elementary stage could assimilate both. He was not against the introduction of Arabic, and in fact welcomed it, but doubted if it was feasible at that stage.

*The Chairman:* Felt that it must be left to the Director of Education to say what stage a pupil could start learning a second foreign language.

*Father Guido Akau:* Asked for an explanation of the phrase "*Single Education Policy*".

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Thought that it meant firstly that the standards of equivalent schools would be roughly equal, and secondly that a boy leaving Southern intermediate school should be able to go straight to a northern Secondary School. In addition pupils of both parts of the Country should have similarity of outlook.

*Father Guido Akau:* Asked if this unification of policy was to be implemented at once.

*The Chairman:* Thought that there was misunderstanding in the use of this phrase. In that, the bush schools corresponded to sub-grade schools in the north. Elementary schools in both are as were in the same footing and so were intermediate schools and from this point of view, education policy was in fact the same from north and South.

*Mr. Marwood:* Said that for the last ten years, the education department had been exercising more and more supervision in the Mission Schools. The Inspector had devoted much time and energy to working with the Mission Schools authorities to ensure that Curricula and standards should approach those of the North as closely as quickly as possible.

*Hassan EFF. Ahmed Osman:* Was grateful to Mr. Marwood for dispelling much of misunderstanding, which existed on the question of unified education. He thought it not irrelevant to request that the sending of Southerners boys to Uganda should be discontinued.

The medium of instruction in the North is English in higher and Secondary education, and Arabic was studied as a subject. Southern boys should therefore go to north for Higher and Secondary education.

*The Chairman:* Said that the sending of boys to Uganda had been a temporary expedient since the schools in the north were too full to take them. In due course there would be a secondary school for the South and Southerners would go to Gordon College of Higher Education.

*The Chairman:* Then raised the question of improvement of communication. The meeting was generally in favour of an improvement of communication between North-South.

*The Chairman:* Went to consider the question of transfers of officials, and thought that this could be best discussed in a small committee with the Director of Establishment as it did not concern all the members present.

*Mr. Marwood:* Thought that the Chiefs were concerned in so far as the proposed Local Council would require the educated staff and must find money to pay this staff. In the north, he believed that at present most Local Councils employed seconded government officials on government rates of pay, but that the time will come the Council would employ staff independently of the government. In the South the Local Councils would have to decide how much they could afford to pay for their staff, and choose between a highly paid government official and local boy requiring lesser remuneration.

*The Chairman:* Wanted to know what the Southerners meant by the term "encouragement of the transfers". A transfer was a transfer and brooked no discussion. He referred to instances where some Northerners attempted to evade service in the South on medical ground.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Admitted that many instances occurred, but said that most Northerners who came South wanted to stay in there.

*Buth Diu:* Thought that Northerners were willing to come South not only because they were afraid of losing their children through malaria, but also because they were afraid of Lions. He suggested that better housing would remove this unwillingness. The Southerners on the other hand were unwilling to go to North because of the extensive use of Arabic in offices.

*Clement Amaro:* Referred to Para 5, sub Para (b) of the minutes of the Southerners preliminary meeting and he said he wished to stress how strongly they adhered to the unification of the system of establishment. This must be decided in this conference and not in separate committee. Refusal to unify establishment was in his opinion the greatest obstacle in the way of a unified Sudan.

*The Chairman:* Considered that it was not easy to discuss such an intricate matter at his conference, he noted the Southerners view. But thought a small committee was best fitted to consider the matter in detail.

*Mohammed Saleh EFF. Shingeiti:* Asked if they could not agree on the broad lines.

*The Chairman:* Replied that the Southern members present were already agreed on the broad lines.

*The Chairman:* In the closing the conference thanked the members for coming and felt the deliberations had been of considerable value to Southerners, or northerners and the Government. He could not promise that every suggestion would be carried out nor when it would be carried out, but he thanked for their advises and recommendations which were of definite value.

*Mr. Marwood:* Said that this was the first opportunity that Southerners had had to come together from all over the Southern provinces to discuss these things. He himself had felt, after the report of the Sudan Administration Conference (SAC), that it was essential that Northern Sudanese and members of the central Government should hear from their lips what Southerners felt about these proposals. He was very grateful to the Civil Secretary and the other members who had come from the North for affording them this opportunity.