



EUROPEAN UNION

DELEGATION TO THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN

Mansour Khaled: Sudan is now in the middle of a state of change



On the occasion of Europe Day 2014, H.E. Dr. Mansour Khaled, Former Assistant and Advisor to the President presented a keynote speech at the reception of Europe Day. The reception was hosted by H.E. Ambassador Tomas Ulicny, Head of Delegation of the European Union to Sudan. The event was attended by more than five hundred Sudanese guests and international diplomats.

Dr. Mansour Khaled is an experienced Sudanese diplomat, thinker and political activist. He was born in Omdurman in 1931 to a famous sufi family. He studied Law at the University of Khartoum, obtained MA from the United States of America and PHD in France.

He started his career as the head of Cabinet of the Prime Minister of Sudan in 1950s. Later he joined a number of UN agencies, worked for UNESCO and as a Law Professor in the United States of America.

During the presidency of Jaffar Nemiriy, Mansour was appointed as Minister of Youth and Sports, Sudanese Ambassador to the United Nations, Minister of Education, Minister of Foreign Affairs and assistant of the President.

Later, Dr. Mansour resumed his career at the UN agencies. In 1990s, he played an important role as an advisor in the Sudanese People Liberation Movement. After the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that was signed in 2005, he was appointed the Advisor to the President. Today, Mansour is described as the engineer behind the Peace Agreements in Sudan and published a number of Arabic and English books which are often described as bold and honest accounts of the political developments in Sudan.

Dr. Mansour Khaled speech on Europe Day is as follows:

Ambassador Tomas Ulicny

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen

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In this Europe's day celebrating the 63rd anniversary of European unity, I am pleased to be called upon to be the guest of honor at the occasion. During four decades in public life, both nationally and internationally, I had been privy to Europe's vital contributions, jointly and severally, to the well-being of my country and Africa. While at UNESCO in the mid 1960's I witnessed the contribution of Europe represented, at the time, by Prince Gustav of Sweden, the British Museum, the Louvres Museum, the Dutch government, the Polish national museum, among others. In the salvage of important treasures of the Nubian civilization from inundation by the waters of the Aswan Dam. In the decade of the 1970's the success of the government in which I was serving in bringing peace to our country in the 1972 Addis Ababa agreement, could not have been sustained without development support from Arab and European countries, mainly Germany, Holland and the UK. At another level we would not have been able to establish three of our illustrious universities: Gezira, Juba and Khartoum Polytechnic without support from the then European Market countries. And, finally, at the beginning of this century my country would not have achieved peace without the intermediation of IGAD countries and that of the troika+1 of which three members came from the European Union: Italy, Norway and the UK.

Having achieved peace in 2005, Europe stood fast behind Sudan – as it then was - in peace building, post-war rehabilitation, building capacity and enhancing democratic transformation. It is a matter of record that the European Commission had mobilized for the development of Sudan as a whole €400million of which 45% was spent in South Sudan while the rest was to be allocated to the Republic of Sudan. Regrettably delays in the Sudan's ratification of the Cotonou agreement hindered the disbursement of that amount. Nevertheless, the EU continued to aid Sudan in the vital areas of peace making, capacity building and humanitarian assistance. For instance, the EU and its member states provided nearly €500 millions in support of the African mission in Darfur (AMIS) from 2004- 2007, while it continued to support the AU High Level Implementation Panel led by President Mbeki and engaged in the resolution of outstanding CPA issues.

Sudan today is entering a new phase in its tumultuous history, a phase of change engendered by both external and internal factors. Among the external factors are mainly upheavals that had engulfed the Arab countries in the Near East and North Africa. Sudan, being closely related to, and affected by, both regions could not have escaped reverberations of those upheavals. The upheavals were not inspired by any ideology, but ignited by the indignation of youth at disregard by their rulers of the youth's human condition. In all countries where youth rebelled people were not horizontally divided into haves and have not but vertically cleaved into have lots and the have nots. This is not a situation in which one would assume that the governments concerned have been bothered with the aggregate happiness of all their citizens.

Internal factors, on the other hand, were inbuilt in an exclusive system of rule. Such systems, by their very nature, breed resentment which may ultimately lead to uprisings. This structural dysfunction was aggravated by two factors continual armed resistance in several parts of the country and the separation of South Sudan. One of the consequential effects of the latter was the contraction of financial resources provided by South Sudan to the national treasury and the impact of the shrinkage of those resources. on the macro-economy of the country. This situation did not only impact negatively on the government's spending on administration and development, but also on the ruling party's costly patronage politics.

For this combination of reasons Sudan is now in the middle of a state of change and only with change shall things find purpose. Sudan owes it to President Bashir for calling for change in his address to the nation and all Sudan's political forces, armed and non-armed, on 27th January of this year. That address was followed by another one on 6th April. But let us be aware of two things; the first is that change is a process, not an event; the second is that change, has enemies from within and without. According to Machiavelli "it ought to be remembered there is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things. It causes the innovators take for enemies all those who have done well under the old condition and lukewarm defenders by those who may do well under the new". Nonetheless, there is no way for Sudan, but to stay the course of dialogue and reconciliation.

Let me now make three observations, one concerning Sudan's national reconciliation process, the other about the role of the EU in that process and the third about the pan-Sudanic situation. As regards the first it is unnerving to note that the concerns of Sudanese political stakeholders, on both

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sides of the trench, continue to revolve around the architecture of government: constitution, division of power, nature of interim government. All those are important issues but they shall never address the concerns of ordinary citizens. The ordinary citizen, including youth who defiantly rebelled against the authorities in September 2013, are not directly perturbed by the issues of governance, as they are anxious about their education, health and employment opportunities. Those are matters that need not fall off the screen of any politician worth his salt.

As regards the EU, which has never been absent from supporting Sudan in its different transitions, continuation in its efforts to help Sudan in yet this transition shall be crucial. Issues like sustaining peace-making efforts, building capacity in different fields of government, rehabilitation of citizens in conflict-affected areas shall remain important areas for cooperation. However, alongside that contribution Sudan is in dire need for the inculcation into its body politic of some core values in Europe's political culture such as management of diversity, good governance, upholding the rule of law and human rights.

It is indeed in the best interest of both parties that the EU, despite the suspension of formal political talks with Sudan, find ways and means for politically engaging each other on the resolution of these issues and others. Sudan is not an isolated country; it is part of a region that has been enmeshed in senseless bloody conflicts in the last two decades. Those conflicts rage from the Centre African Republic in the west to Somalia in the east and from Libya in the north to South Sudan and the Congo Democratic Republic in the south. Europe's concern with conflict in these areas need not be emphasized, so it behoves it to ensure that Sudan becomes part of the solution, not part of the problem in those countries.

My last observation relates to the situation in South Sudan. I shall be very remiss not to touch on the matter; first because in my minds construction the two parts are still one in many ways; and second because what South Sudan is suffering today is directly affecting Sudan. There is no stronger impetus in the history of nations and peoples than the desire to be free from external domination, real or perceived. But having attained their liberation, the liberated cannot ignore the fact that they live in a world governed by normative values without which the world shall become a jungle. A great European statesman whom many of you hold in great esteem, Dag Hammarskjöld once said at the commencement of Stanford University "I would not regard the wide-spread (rejection) of anything which might be construed as tendency to limit national sovereignty as a new upsurge of nationalism. It should rather be regarded as a symptom of how faith in national self-determination weights heavily in the scales in every effort to reconcile the nation and the world. Such expression of national feelings may turn into a liability when it blinds eyes to the necessity of that degree of international organization which has become necessary to national life." That basic fact should not escape the eyes of leaders of the youngest country of the world which is already suffering from many disadvantages. And while the AU and UN are at it, the EU, a union that had brought together twenty eight member countries with twenty four official languages who were able to unite after two world wars, has eminently something to bring into the cumulative African effort regarding South Sudan.

Thank you for listening