

AN-NUMAYRI ADDRESSES RALLY ON AGREEMENT WITH SOUTH

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[Speech by President Ja'far an-Numayri at Omdurman rally--live]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the Compassionate and the Merciful, free and revolutionary compatriots, women, men, youths and vanguards of Wad Nubawi, brothers and kinsmen: I meet with you today in this blessed spot thanks to the invitation which you, the people of Wad Nubawi, extended to me through your popular committee and the revolutionary mass organizations in your quarter. Many thanks and my sincerest appreciation to you all.

This invitation came at an opportune time. Our people have scored a unique historic victory which will preserve the unity of our people and soil.

Free compatriots, the problem of the south remained a deep wound in our country and an insurmountable obstacle in the path of our progress. Its solution remained a precious national dream and hope entertained by the sons of our patient people.

Hardly a month after the eruption of the revolution the 9 June declaration granted regional autonomy to the people in the south within a unitary national framework. We followed this declaration with a defined program of action based on the continuation and the extension of the period of general amnesty law, on the formulation of an economic, social, and cultural development program for the south, on the appointment of a minister for southern affairs, and on the formation of an experienced cadre to assume the responsibility for that region of the country.

After this wise historic declaration, the revolution continued to work strenuously on two lines. The first of these is establishing security and stability, without which no objective work could be carried out. The second of these is pushing political action to its natural conclusion.

Free and revolutionary compatriots, this is what the revolution charted and proceeded to carry out, but the plotting of those who--like their colleagues in the north--were entrusted with carrying out the revolutionary policy in the south prevented earnest work to fulfill this policy in accordance with the programme drawn up. Those individuals took advantage of their official positions to serve narrow-minded party objectives which prevented the policies of the revolution from achieving their aims. The policy stumbled and hopes were dashed. Our brothers in the south began entertaining doubts about the 9 June declaration and considered it another proof to be added to the heavy legacy of unfulfilled promises they had become accustomed to hearing. But the new revolutionary impetus, which gained momentum after the blessed day of [An-Numayri's] return after the treacherous communist plot and during the campaign of popular referendum, opened a new door for the country to achieve its unity and preserve its structure and to provide the people of the south with a certain measure of political power to administer the affairs of their region, satisfy their aspirations, and secure their distinct culture within the Sudanese structure. Thus the Ministry of State for Southern Affairs renewed its efforts under the leadership of brother and Vice President Abel Alier. [applause] I have observed him at close quarters for about 3 years and found him diplomatic, tolerant and truly patriotic. These qualities qualify him to be my right hand in everything pertaining to the south [applause]--that dear part of the country.

Brothers, in the efforts we exerted during these past 4 months, we were racing with time to catch up with what we had failed to achieve during more than 2 years as a result of hindrance or intentional stumbling. The Sudanese Socialist Union preparatory committee and the other committees I formed drafted the detailed rules for regional autonomous government. The general structure for this had been outlined in the 9 June declaration but without the legal concepts to interpret and explain it.

Free brothers, at the same time we launched an intensive campaign abroad aimed at building bridges to our neighbors--the bridges which had been demolished because of foolish policy or premeditated sabotage. The campaign aims at projecting the new features of Sudanese policy concerning the south in every place where our picture became blurred because of tendentious propaganda, our absence, or because of shortcomings in our performance.

I have declared that foreign policy is not an end in itself but is one of the weapons of domestic policy. Foreign policy which does not primarily serve national aims is an empty, diversionary and destructive policy. The result of all our efforts is that Sudan has recovered all positions which it had lost and has gained sympathetic interest in its new policies--the climax of which was the international conference for the rehabilitation of the southern refugees.

Free compatriots. No doubt, all of you know that a group of southerners working outside Sudan against the existing conditions in Sudan, and benefitting from the condition of those refugees outside [the country], has created a military organization working in southern Sudan. Many of these are victims of the policies of deception exercised by previous governments. We have found indications that many of those citizens seriously desire the return of peace to the south and believe that this could be achieved by giving the south a special position within the framework of one Sudan. There was no reason not to contact them other than adherence to formalities and interest in appearance. We decided to give these a little of our attention and consideration. During the preliminary contacts, it became clear to us that this group of southerners is serious in its desire to reach an agreement based on the recognition of the unity of the country. For this, citizens, I entrusted a ministerial delegation led by Abel Alier to continue contacts with these citizens and to talk to them on my behalf in light of my defined instructions--instructions based on the 9 June declaration, my electoral program for which the people have given their confidence, and the demands and aspirations of the people in the north and the south.

The delegation's talks began in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. It gives me pleasure to greet from here its great sovereign, Emperor Haile Selassie I, and to thank him for the fine hospitality he gave my representatives and his sympathetic interest in the matter during the period of negotiations with our southern brothers. These talks began--and their beginning heralded the return of confidence among the sons of the one country--and ended in a complete agreement contained in six documents:

Document No. 1 is a basic law for organizing regional autonomy in the southern provinces.

Document No. 2 is an amnesty bill for those who participated in the rebellion and worked against the authority.

Document No. 3 deals with special administrative measures organizing the transitional period until the regional autonomy institutions outlined in the proposed law are established.

Document No. 4 deals with measures for a cease-fire.

Document No. 5 deals with temporary measures concerning the armed forces.

Document No. 6 deals with organizing the rehabilitation of the refugees and repatriation of people of rural areas who are gathered in towns in the south.

The cornerstone in all these agreements is the basic law organizing regional autonomy in southern Sudan. Free compatriots, this law,--for which I issued today a Republican decree--is a law issued by the president of the republic in accordance with Republican Decree No. 5. It defines the regional autonomy as cited in the 9 June declaration, and regulates the organizational balance and jurisdictions of the authorities by which a special position for the south will be maintained within the framework of one Sudan. In part and in whole, it is based on the memorandum we prepared here after consulting with all of our southern brothers at home. This law is based ideologically on two principles of the revolution: 1) decentralization in the administrative organization of the state organs, and 2) the people's participation in exercising political authority. The regional autonomy law for southern Sudan consists of nine chapters which stress the unity of the homeland in a simple, not complex, state--a state in which the central government is responsible for supervision, legislation and organization in everything that concerns matters of national defense, foreign policy, citizenship, passports and immigration, economic and social planning, foreign trade, currency and finance, telecommunications, air and river transport across the country, public audit, and educational planning, including preparing curriculum and higher education.

The region will be responsible for all other matters which we here in the north, within the philosophy of local popular law, believe that regions are more capable of supervising and handling. The basic law for the southern region provides for a legislative body called the regional people's assembly responsible for legislation in all these areas and an executive body called the higher executive council responsible for executing the policies of the region as adopted by its legislative body in addition to central duties and authorities transferred or granted to it. The chairman of this council will swear an oath of allegiance to the president of the republic and will rule the region in his name. To assert democracy, I have agreed that the regional people's assembly nominate a chairman for the executive council who will be appointed by the president. This does not apply to the first council [or assembly] on whose shoulders will fall the greater burden of implementing this agreement and establishing its bases. I will appoint him after consulting with the different viewpoints in the south.

Moreover, the basic law, in its other aspects, deals with the formation of the various government departments, the determination of relations among them, and the definition of the region's financial revenues. However, there are two things which I find myself obliged to point out. The first thing is the position of the armed forces in the new system. The second thing is the language. Both these matters, as you already know, have been the subject of a long and elaborate discussion.

The armed forces have all along been the loyal guardian of this pure country, defending it, protecting its soil, repelling the invaders and guarding it against intrigue.

Inevitably, the principle of nationalism of these forces and the nationalism of their command had to be asserted in the permanent basic law without any detraction from the principle of nationalism whether in regard to the command, the composition or their right to move to any part of Sudan.

However, realizing that a great deal of bitterness has prevailed among the people throughout the past 17 years [as received], we agreed to the adoption of temporary administrative measures dealing with the composition of the army in the southern region in a manner which insures firm nationalism and does not lead to harmful friction. This matter will be dealt with by a military technical committee since it is not a political matter but a technical one.

As for the language, we have asserted that Arabic is indubitably the country's official language. [applause] Our southern brothers have agreed to the provision on this principle in the basic law. [applause]

However, proceeding from a conscious awareness of the facts and the present practical circumstances, we have agreed that the English language be a working language in the region besides the local basic languages, the use of which may be required for a proper and wise administration or necessitated by the present practical circumstances.

The general amnesty law we issued today determines in a new form and a wider scale of what we have committed ourselves to since 1966--to pardon those who participated in the rebellion and sedition against the authority whenever they wish to return to Sudan and live in it in safety. The necessary administrative measures will be taken to insure all this.

Free compatriots: The rehabilitation of the refugees, expatriates, and those who moved out of their country is a matter requiring not only a national but also a humanitarian mobilization. Agreement has been reached on this. On our part, we will take the necessary measures which will insure proper coordination and planning for the rehabilitation of the refugees in a manner which will effectively restore them within the Sudanese economy. We will also benefit from the southern skills in the various fields.

In addition to this, agreement has been reached for a cease-fire in southern Sudan to begin on 12 March 1972. [applause] However in order to pave the way for a peaceful atmosphere and to save bloodshed, we issued instructions at the beginning of this week to all the People's Armed Forces to begin a cease-fire in the south. [applause] This order has been implemented. We have received reports from all areas in the south reassuring that all is quiet there. This is a good start.

Free citizens, the Addis Ababa agreement has been a victory not for Sudan alone but for all Africa. I decided, out of appreciation for the fraternal and neighborly attitudes, to send delegations to the fraternal and friendly Arab and African states to inform them the details of the agreement and that Sudan is entering a new era. [applause]

Free citizens, action abroad, though very important, is still only a supporting factor in our strategy for implementing the agreement. The main action remains at home. Hence in the past 2 days and on the return of the delegation from Addis Ababa to Khartoum, I worked continually to mobilize all efforts for implementation of the agreement. I summoned the Political Bureau of the Sudanese National Union and the cabinet to a joint meeting. This was followed by a meeting of the People's Armed Forces commanders to discuss the great role these forces will play in implementing the agreement. Then there was an expanded meeting at the People's Palace attended by the chief justice, judges, assistant ministers, the under secretaries of the various ministries and

senior police and prison officers. All these meetings were aimed at clarifying certain points and at explaining the course of implementation.

Today's mass meeting completes these meetings and fulfills our duty to the people to inform the masses of our policies so that they share with us the most delicate questions. In line with my commitment to supervise the country's affairs on the spot, I will tour the three southern provinces. Furthermore, brother Abel Alier will give a press conference at the television building hall to give more details. Political bureau members and cabinet ministers will explain things in more detail whenever they deem it possible. Today, 3 March will be memorable day to be celebrated every year in Sudan. As of today I have called it the day of national unity. [applause] It will be a day of public holiday, and because this year it falls on a Friday, tomorrow will be a holiday throughout the republic for you to celebrate everywhere. [applause] Brothers, tomorrow let everyone of you go to his respective house of prayers to say a prayer of thanks and gratitude to God who has granted us this victory, and to beseech him to grant us success till the end. [applause]

Free citizens, we must all be vigilant and patient to achieve implementation of this agreement. We will not find the road paved or strewn with roses. We will encounter some plotters who will try to trap us into breaking the cease-fire agreement and drag us into situations to turn the Addis Ababa agreement into mere ink on paper. We will encounter great harm from the outcast enemies of the revolution for they will not be happy that the revolution has achieved what they had failed to achieve in two decades. Rumormongers in the city will carry out their traditional role of sowing doubts and creating incidents. All this, however, must not deter us from proceeding on the road which I pledged to follow and to defend with all the strength God has given me until death. [applause]

The decisions of the local popular government are a fundamental base through which the people can exercise authority and complete their constitutional organizations.

Despite all this, the problem of the southern part of the country which the revolution inherited from imperialism and the misleading deceptive regimes continued to obstruct our procession toward the establishment of freedom, domestic unity and comprehensive national development to achieve self-sufficiency, justice and stability.

Today our brothers, thanks to God's help, and with our sincere and honest work we have reached the sound framework which lays down the basic and final solution for this problem.

Free citizens: The revolution's march was not simple or easy in view of the many questions of underdevelopment and division it inherited. It was not also simple or easy in view of the plots it faced--most important of which were two bloody reactionary plots. The first was carried out by the traditional reaction in March 1970 and the second by the new reaction in June 1971. The revolution's march was not either simple or easy in view of certain things it faced in the stages through which it passed. The march was not simple or easy as I said in view of certain errors that occurred during the assessment of certain matters and which accompanied the application of plans in certain fields.

Free citizens: It is true that the procession was not simple or easy. We did not expect it would be so when we declared the revolution would establish a nationalist socialist regime hostile to reaction and imperialism.

The revolution's march was difficult in view of all that I have mentioned. But thanks to the consciousness of these great people--your consciousness my dear citizens--the revolution has overcome all these difficulties triumphantly and is proud of what it has achieved even before it completes the second year of its life.

Free brothers: In what you have just heard, I concentrated on our domestic achievements which lead to the unity and progress of the homeland. As for our foreign policy, it has remained consistent in its principles and purposes. It has been a positive force for Sudan's progress and development, governed by the need to achieve this development and progress with full responsibility toward Sudan's national, regional and international commitments. We have followed this policy with a conscience which does not accept any bargain and with an unerring sight. We have adopted it for the interest of Sudan and the safeguarding of its unity. We have followed it to fulfill the responsibility of our Arab commitment and in understanding of our situation. We try to overcome all obstacles which prevent us from playing our full role in this fateful field. We have followed it to fulfill our African commitment to improve neighborly relations and push the African liberation movement forward. We have always followed it in the peace and liberation front in cooperation with all peoples.

There are two basic duties ahead of us: Preservation of what we have achieved in the strengthening of our domestic unity and sincere action to achieve true progress--the door to this has been opened by the revolution.

The coming stage is more difficult than the one through which we have passed. To expand the field of achievement, we must fulfil our commitments to promote achievement. We must exert more effort to achieve economic and social development. We must build our socialist union to shield our unity and organize our ranks and infuse energy into our potential on the road of progress and happiness. On top of all this brothers, we must be on a revolutionary alert to detect the methods and movements of the revolution's enemies.

Free revolutionary citizens: With your help the revolution has achieved a great deal. It is sure that with your help it will also achieve what has been thought to be miracles. Revolutionary Sudan entered the doors of history today more able to establish its glory. All the Sudanese people are now preparing to achieve with glory. They will not be dissuaded by those who do not agree to Sudan's progress.

From this place I turn to all the sons and daughters of our homeland, to our youths and senior men, to our men and women, and to our vanguards to act unitedly in the building of Sudan. You alone are able to build it and built it well. I will always be with you in the fulfillment of the pledge to the people and the revolution and the responsibility of the leadership. May God bless you. May He lead our steps on the road of welfare and justice. My thanks and appreciation are extended to the free people and sons of Wad Nubawi. May the peace of God and His blessing be upon you.