A symposium entitled “Sudanese Revolution: Opportunities and Challenges” was held at the American University in Cairo (AUC) on July 8th, 2019, with participation of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA) represented by Ambassador. Dr. Ezzat Saad, Director of the Council; and a number of prominent Sudanese personalities, namely; Mr. Salah Manna, leader in the Forces of Freedom and Change; Mr. El-Shafie Khadr, writer and political activist; Mr. Ibrahim ElBadawi, the Director of the Economic Research Forum (ERF). Prof. Hamid Eltigani Ali, the Sudanese Professor at the American University in Cairo (AUC), moderated the symposium.

Speakers agreed that the Sudanese Revolution was not a Revolution of the Hungry, despite the severity of the ongoing economic crisis. In addition to that, those who revolted were the young people and also women, from all ethnicities, backgrounds and partisan affiliations; all of them fused together in one crucible, so that it can be said that the key players in the Sudanese revolution were the youth who were born under the rule of the authoritarian Muslim Brotherhood Salvation Front; moreover, Omar Al-Bashir’s policies over the past thirty years have turned Sudan into divisions, conflicts and proxy wars which is a serious challenge Sudan will face after the revolution; furthermore, such policies that permitted extremists to participate in government and infiltrate vital authorities of the state, do not only pose threat to security and stability of the country; but to the security and stability of neighboring states as well, especially Egypt.

With regards to the security of the Red Sea region and Sudan as a State of the Nile Basin, his policies have led to exposing this area to dangers, especially after offering to host foreign military bases.

Details on pages 4 & 5
The Meanings implied by what have been proposed by Sudanese participants in the symposium on “The Sudanese Revolution: Opportunities and Challenges” clarified the special nature of the Freedom and Change Revolution that overthrew Al-Bashir’s Muslim Brotherhood regime, which had to fall due to the great hostility that this kind of regimes establish between themselves and the people they govern; it is a self-isolated regime having no national identity, and it derives this ideology from the Muslim Brotherhood’s faith of no nation, that includes in its body a Diaspora of diverse nationalities whose coherence is based upon their special faith in the first place, before nation and land.

As participants from the Forces of Freedom and Change said; this regime permitted extremists to participate in government and infiltrate vital authorities of the state, posing threat to security and stability of the country; and extending beyond to threaten the security and stability of neighboring states, especially Egypt.

Among the significant meanings presented in the symposium were that the difficult economic situations were not the cause of the revolution and that the roots of the revolution extend 30 years back, since Al-Bashir’s first day in power with his Muslim Brotherhood identity, which is different from the identity and nature of Sudanese people.

The evidence that it was the Sudanese people with all their factions and groups who led the revolution and remained, within the framework of the Forces of Freedom and change, resistant to any sort of pressure or breakthrough, is that they finally imposed their will in decisive compliance with the Military Council which has in turn refused Al-Bashir’s rule and participated in its termination.

The revolution of the Sudanese people was purely Sudanese; that did not allow the presence of any external intruders to infiltrate its lines, and thence its impressive success and ability to start determining its steps towards the future.

(The Editor)
Within the framework of the multiple aspects of development of Egypt-Russia Relations, that included the fields of economy, industry, commercial exchange and tourism, Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA) emphasized during the meeting held with the Russian parliamentary delegation, during its visit to the Council, the importance of starting its activity in the Russian Industrial Zone in East Port Said. This could be particularly put in place in parallel with Moscow’s interest to promote its relations with the African continent along with the first Russian-African summit in Sochi, co-chaired by Presidents of the two countries, for cementing the relations between Russia and Africa.

Within the diversity of the fields of cooperation, the two parties demonstrated their readiness to organize cultural and civilizational cooperation events considering 2020 to be the year for Egyptian culture in Russia, and Russian culture in Egypt.

These ideas were presented during the visit of Russian delegation to the Council on July 16, 2019. The council was visited by a delegation of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation (The upper house of parliament), headed by Deputy Chair of the Federation Council Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Chairman of Egyptian-Russian Parliamentary Friendship Association, Mr. Farit Mukhametshin. The delegation included: Deputy chair of the Federation Council Committee on the Budget and Financial Markets, Mr. Andrei Yepishin; Member of the Federation Council Committee on Agriculture and Food Policy and Environmental Management, Mr. Ivan Kulabukhov; Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Mr. Paveler Moshin; Member of The Group of Strategic Vision “Russia – Islamic World,” Mr. Irek Shamhunov; and Second Secretary at the Embassy of Russia in Cairo, Mr. Nikolai Liagoshin.

Embassy of the Russian Federation in Cairo has been arranging that meeting, upon the request of Mr. Mukhametshin, Deputy Chair of the Federation Council Committee on Foreign Affairs and Deputy Chair of The Group of strategic Vision “Russia-Islamic World” whose members include Ambassador Ezzat Saad, Director of the Council. During the delegation’s visit to Cairo, meetings were held with Chairman and members of the House of Representatives Foreign Relations Committee; Head of the Egyptian-Russian Parliamentary Friendship Association and the Egyptian-Russian Business Council whose members include Ambassador Dr. Ezzat Saad, Director of the Council; and Cairo University President. The meeting was attended by Ambassador Dr. Mounir Zahran, Chairman of the Council; Ambassador Dr. Ezzat Saad, Director of the Council; and Dr. Moustafa Khalil, businessman and member of the Egyptian-Russian Business Council (at the invitation of the Director of the Council).

The importance of restoring Russian tourism to Egypt, albeit gradually, was stressed upon during the meeting, owing to its significance for enhancing cultural ties and connections between the people of the two countries.

The talks addressed situations in the region, including the USA foreign policy centered on Iran, as well as the significance of the development of the relations with Russia and China.

In response to an inquiry from the Russian side, the council asserted that it is planning to invite its Russian counterpart for foreign affairs, to hold a further round of consultations soon in Cairo.
During the Sudanese Revolution Symposium, entitled "Opportunities and Challenges", speakers outlined a set of ideas for Sudan’s Future.

- Dr/ Salah Manna’a, a leader at the Forces of Freedom and Change and former Counsel of the Secretary General of COMESA, expressed his optimism about the future of the Sudan, pointing out that the roots of the revolution extend back to year 1989; since the first day of establishing the Rule of Rescue and Brotherhood “Who have made corruptions over 30 years,” warning of an apparent and flagrant regional intervention, and calling on: “Our regional brothers, do not interfere in our affairs and try to realize that the Sudan Revolution is purely Sudanese,” unlike other Arab Spring Revolutions that have received external support.

- On the current challenges, he clarified that the first and biggest challenge is the peace dossier during the transitional period. In addition, all domestic movements should be aligned with one another to avoid the incidents of years (1956-1965-1985). Indeed, the war bleeding has not been stopped yet. Moreover, he stressed that deep state authorities are taking control of 100% of the situation. But they forgot the Transitional Military Council; the main enemy, i.e. the Muslim Brotherhood who takes control of the vital sectors of the State, while maintaining the stockpile of weapons in their hands.

- Yet, there is another challenge which is no less serious than its predecessor, namely, the Sudanese Army, or rather, the Sudanese armies. That is because the Sudanese army was an invention of the Muslim Brotherhood. Whereas the group fully controls the military, as well as the loyalist military and security forces and militias. He added that their budget exceeds that of the state. In this regard, Manna’a pointed out that the solution lies in integrating such Forces, emphasizing Sudan’s need for the support of the states of the region in order to establish a national Sudanese army, otherwise Sudan would be threatened by the spectre of civil war.

- Manna’a has concluded by emphasizing the importance of maintaining and faithfully carrying out the agreement after it has been signed by the states of the region; in addition to the necessity of the availability of security arrangements for ensuring the execution of such agreement. He added that he appreciates that the Military Council resorted to signing such agreement since it had no other alternatives, particularly with the cataclysm of revolution and the determination to move forward with it.

- Manna’a Concluded his speech by emphasizing the importance of the Egyptian Role in supporting the Sudanese revolution, as well as the need for technical aid to help the Sudan establish its armed forces; indicating that presence of UN security force for supervising implementation of the issues that would be agreed upon, might be necessary; that would contribute to overcoming past challenges and guaranteeing prompt restoration of security and stability.

- Mr. Ibrahim El-Badawi (from Sudan), Managing Director of the Economic Research Forum (ERF), tackled the economic situation in Sudan. He indicated that the Regime over the past 30 years led to a rent-seeking economy controlled by militants and several powers other than the State. In this context, it is critical to re-establish the financial policy as well as re-consider the resources, particularly since the former regime used to conclude agreements with militants in different regions. Hence, an economic dialogue must be held in Sudan, ensuring development for all and avoiding the excessive expenditure attributed to whom he called “The Evil Cohorts of Politics”. This dialogue should extend so as to include the regional framework that would create a solid economic partnership with neighboring countries, particularly Egypt. He added that the new Sudan has the chance to benefit from the Egyptian Experience in terms of economic reformation, particularly on the dossier of subsidies for the poor and stopping the delivery of subsidies to ineligible individuals.
Within the framework of mutual visits and ongoing cooperation among ECFA and the Chinese think tanks, political and academic institutions, the two sides convened several meetings in close succession.

The delegation of China Center for Contemporary World Studies (CCCWS) visited the council on July 2nd, 2019, for discussing the belt and road initiative, in addition to some important international issues, with the participation of Ambassadors: Dr. Ezzat Saad, Director of the council; Ali El-hefny, Coordinator of the Permanent Committee for Asian Affairs at the council; Magdy Amer, and Abd El-Fattah Ezz-Eldeen, Members of ECFA.

In this context, the Chinese delegation expressed their interest to listen the ideas and suggestions on means of strengthening Egyptian-Chinese relations, in view of the importance of Egypt as a country of ancient civilization that played an important role in African affairs and in developing countries through means of solidarity and cooperation, and due to the faith in Egypt’s capacity to effectively present the stance of Africa and its ideas on the international arena; as the voice of Africa.

The Egyptian side was keen to emphasize that the second forum of the initiative has been successful in appearing as a multilateral platform for follow-up on the current status of the initiative and the development of its roadmap, under the significant increase in the international support to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Suffice it to note that, the number of states having signed the initiative reached 173 states, and representatives of 130 states and 29 international organizations have attended.

Concerning the Egyptian-Chinese relations, the Egyptian side emphasized that Egypt is keen to enhance Chinese-African relations within the framework of the initiative, and urge the Chinese side, on the one hand, to promote investments within the framework of the initiative, and to work on reduction of loans interest, and that this comes in light of the cooperation witnessed by the bilateral Egypt-China relations at all levels, in light of the mutual belief in the principles adopted by the two sides as for the establishment of an international community that cares for common future of humanity and that has effective measures for peaceful settlement of disputes, particularly the region's crisis and conflicts in which key super powers of the world are being involved.

On August 25th, 2019, when the new Chinese Ambassador visited the council; whereas, at his request, the new Ambassador of China to Egypt, Mr. Liao Liqiang, accompanied by two of his assistants, paid a courtesy visit to the council. At the council, he was received by Chairman and Director of the council; Ambassador Dr. Mounir Zaharan and Ambassador Dr. Ezzat Saad, as well as Ambassador Ali El-Hefny, Coordinator of the Permanent Committee for Asian Affairs at the council.

The Chinese Ambassador spoke paying tribute to the progress achieved in China-Egypt relations noting the six visits of President Al-Sisi to his country and the obvious interaction between leaderships in the two countries. He said that he does not have much experience in Middle East affairs and problems (as he had served as an ambassador to Senegal), and he is looking forwards to the council’s cooperation and support for promoting his message as his country’s ambassador to Egypt. He noted his knowledge of the council's strong and deep-rooted relations with Chinese Embassy for years. He also expressed his interest to listen the council's view point regarding his country's relations with the United States of America.
Ambassador Ezzat Saad indicated that the policy of the United States of America in the region is a series of mistakes, particularly since Trump took office, whose administration's priorities contradicts the peace and security requirements of the region; whether through absolute and unlimited bias towards Israel at the expense of Palestinians and Arabs; or through holding Iran, which he mobilizes all kinds of support against, responsible for what is going on in the region. He added that these policies as well as the other policies of Trump related to immigration and his obvious racism resulted in increased anti-American sentiments in the region, and that the circumstances are suitable for more cooperation between China and countries of the region that occupy a key position in China’s strategy in connection with its initiative known as the Belt and Road.

Ambassador Ali El-Hefny addressed the developments in bilateral relations between the two countries, noting that these relations have taken a new dimension since president Al-Sisi took office; as they have transformed from strategic cooperation to comprehensive strategic partnership. Ambassador El-Hefny pointed out to the need for new horizons and areas of cooperation, noting the close opening of the grand Egyptian museum next year with Japanese financial support in addition to Japan’s successful experience in elementary education councils which Egypt seeks to apply. He added that Chinese companies, in their turn, are doing a great job in the New Administrative Capital of Egypt; “but we expected more”.

Ambassador Dr. Mounir Zahran paid tribute to China’s wise and quiet Diplomacy when addressing tensions raised by the United States of America, as well as other international and regional problems; Referring to the nuclear disarmament issue, and the firm stance of the Chinese delegation during the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

The Third meeting was held on September 17th, 2019. The council received a delegation from Renmin University of China. The delegation was headed by Professor WU Xiaoqiu, Vice President of the university. The meeting was discussed some issues that the Chinese side views as a priority, while the Egyptian side presented some points that aim at fostering relations of economic and investment cooperation between the two countries, and means of achieving equilibrium of trade balance between the two countries by concentrating on attracting Chinese tourism to Egypt.

The following were the most important points raised during the meeting:

• The comprehensive strategic partnership between Egypt and China places Egypt as a key player in the Belt and Road initiative, and that Suez Canal would be the most important shipping lane for its success; and we expect doubling Chinese investments in the economic zone of the canal.
• The importance of support the principle of resolving all trade disputes through World Trade Organization (WTO), the need for respecting its rules, and not resorting to preventive measures by any side so that the trade system would not be affected, and globalization would not be hindered and would not negatively influence other trading partners.
• The Cooperation between Egypt and China represents starting point for cooperation in the African continent, especially in the textile industry.
• What is going between China and the United States of America is a conflict between an emerging power and a declining one. In this context, the trade system, after the Second World War (Bretton Woods Institutions), is an American creation, but as the United States of America is giving up its position since this system does not work in its interest, then China is eligible to play such role.
• The developments in the economic performance of Egypt noting that World Bank and the International Monetary Fund reports affirmed the great achievements fulfilled in the area of financial and monetary reform; but in spite of that, the investment climate in Egypt has been negatively addressed in the reports, and Egypt would seek to overcome that in the next stage.
• The need to increase the number of Chinese tourists visiting Egypt has been mentioned; as that number did not exceed 200,000 over the past year, and this is totally inconsistent with the tourism potentials of the country.
• The possibility of China's contribution to solve the Renaissance Dam Especially there are Chinese companies participate in its construction.
Over 10th -11th of September 2019, the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA) hosted a delegation from Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), for discussing the means of developing Egypt-India bilateral relations and a number of other critical issues. These talks lasted over five sessions, where each day included two sessions. The first session tackled the international issues from the Egyptian-Indian perspective, including reform of the United Nations, counter-terrorism and illegal migration, etc. Meanwhile, the second session discussed developments in Egypt-India bilateral relations in all fields. On the morning of September 11th, three themes were under discussion over three sessions, including: developments in the Middle East and Arab Region that included latest developments in Arab- Israeli conflict, crisis in Libya, Sudan, Syria, Yemen and Iran; developments in Indian-Chinese relations and their stances towards one another, particularly on the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative; and finally developments in the India - Pakistan relations including the latest crisis in Kashmir, and the Indian vision for peace and security in South Asia.

In the same regard, the two parties agreed on the importance of the United Nations’ reforms in order to ensure the effective and successful treatment of the various international and regional issues encountered by the international community. They also emphasized the need for moving forward with exertion of necessary efforts to combat cross-border crime such as terrorism, illegal migration, cyber threats and climate change, etc. The need to pay more attention to Egyptian-Indian relations was also emphasized, including maximizing cooperation in agricultural and technological fields, particularly since India has become one of the world’s major leading technologically advanced states. On the other hand, both states agreed on the need for an Egyptian-Indian joint action for the placement of a common and agreed upon frame for the resolution of crisis that abound within the Middle East through peaceful means in accordance with the United Nations framework and the relevant resolutions issued by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).
The Spanish Official Discussed the Situation in the Horn of Africa at the Council

Upon his request, The Director General for Africa (Sub-Saharan Africa) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Spain, Ambassador Raimundo Robredo Rubio, visited the Council on the 15th of the current month of July, accompanied by the First Secretary of the Embassy in Cairo. The meeting was attended by Ambassadors Dr. Mounir Zahran, Chairman of the Council; Dr. Ezzat Saad, Director of the Council; and Marwan Badr, Coordinator of the Standing Committee on African Affairs at the Council.

The Spanish guest noted that he is on a flying visit to Cairo, where he met, this morning, Ambassadors Amr Ramadan, Assistant Foreign Minister for European Affairs of Egypt; Abu Bakr Hefni, Assistant Foreign Minister for African Affairs; and Osama Shaltout, Assistant Foreign Minister for Sudanese Affairs; where views were exchanged about the overall situation in the African Continent, especially in the Horn of Africa, in addition to the opportunities for a Spanish-Egyptian cooperation in the Continent, indicating that they have adopted a strategy for dealing with Africa in the forthcoming phase, especially in light of the growing interest of Spanish companies to work there, likewise their interest to work in Latin America.

• The guest was interested to learn from the council about the developments in the Horn of Africa, the challenges facing the region and the role that can be played by the European Union and Spain in this regard. He also asked about the Council's vision towards the situations in Sudan, Ethiopia and Sahel Region.

The Spanish Ambassador acknowledged that the international community shows some kind of complacency towards some countries including Ethiopia, whilst being stricter with others, noting that this was the topic of a conversation he had with the current Ambassador of Ethiopia to Cairo, when they worked together in South Africa.

He added that what matters to them is the stability of Ethiopia. Therefore they support Abiy Ahmed in this transitional phase, which does not mean they support all Ethiopian policies. In addition, they do not believe in an African Horn that is solely confined to Somalia and Ethiopia. The Spanish guest mentioned that they want all the donor community to bear the burden of funding the 100% European Union-funded peacekeeping forces in Somalia, expressing his regret over the lack of interest some donors are showing, such as the United Arab Emirates, towards the regional safety and Somali territorial integrity. He added that Spain has a greater interest in the nearby Sahel region, and noted that they are convinced of the importance of reducing the funding provided by European Union to peacekeeping forces in Somalia, especially after Brexit.

In connection with the foregoing, Ambassador Marwan Badr commented that, by virtue of his previous work as an ambassador in both Kenya and Ethiopia, he wishes to emphasize that the latter does not view the stability of Somalia as serving its interests, unlike Kenya, but is working to keep it divided into states. He added that he believes that reducing Ethiopian influence on Somalia will restore security and stability to this state. Ambassador Badr’s comment came in response to the Spaniard’s statement that Kenya is strengthening its relations with Somali Jubaland on its borders, while UAE supports Somaliland, something that impedes the return of stability to that country. Ambassador Badr concluded by stating that all of this confirms that IGAD is an ineffective regional grouping in light of Ethiopia’s domination over it and using it to serve its own interests.
In the framework of its keenness to establish collaborative relations and new partnerships with its counterparts worldwide, the council hosted the delegation of the Serbian Institute of International Politics and Economics (IIPE). The delegation visited Cairo from the 15th to the 19th of the current month of September. The delegation included: the director of the institute, Prof. Branislav Djordjevic; and the head of the regional center of the institute, Dr. Ivona Ladevac. The first round of talks between the two sides was held on September 18, 2019, at the headquarters of the council.

During the meeting, the two parties expressed their pleasure to establish a framework of cooperation combining the two organizations; expressing their aspirations that this would be the onset of enhancing cooperation between the two countries, especially in light of the long and shared history that had been demonstrated by the coordination within the Group of Non-Aligned States framework. At the conclusion of the meeting, a memorandum of understanding on cooperation between the two parties was signed.

Following that, the director of the institute gave a lecture about "From Conflict to Peace in the Contemporary World" in which he exposed the threats facing the world in the Twenty-First century whose effects exceeded the extent of devastation after the second world war; in terms of number of victims, and the extent of devastation that affected the states. These threats include primarily terrorism, civil wars within the states, the spread of the extremist groups, immigration problems, as well as economic problems that have become a threat to many countries suffering from the scourge of terrorism and war, amid international interests and agendas of conflicting powers, each seeking to further its own agenda, to militarily intervene in order to exert its control and exercise hegemony over land, causing disasters and civilian causalities, without contributing, as promoted, in resolving the problem.
Two Lectures Given by Director of the Council at The Institute of Diplomatic Studies

At the invitation of the Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Ambassador Dr. Ezzat Saad, Director of the Council, gave two lectures to the new batch of students at the institute (Batch no. 52). These two lectures were given in the following order:

The first one: On the afternoon of August 19th, 2019, about “Public International Law and Foreign Policy,” during which the following points were particularly addressed:

- The main characteristics of public international law as being based on agreement of wills among states, and the incorrectness of comparing this law with domestic law.
- The direct relation between public international law and the principle of balance of power; the reflections that this would have on the principle of using force in international relations and the rule of law in the norms of international law.
- Spillovers of the one pole domination after the cold war, particularly with respect to using military force based on humanitarian and other considerations, whether with the permission of UN Security Council or without resorting to.
- The rise of new world superpowers, particularly China, Russia, and regional powers; the reflections that such rise would have on the enforcement of the norms of international law, and the US reactions towards that, through attempting to contain the new superpowers and returning back to old system, whether with unilateral American will, or through NATO, or even through the EU.

All that led to undermining existing international norms in the most sensitive fields such as international peace and security, at a time when new norms have not been crystallized yet.

The second lecture: On August 20th, 2019, about Diplomatic Relations, during which the concept of diplomacy has been addressed together with the modern changes that have been introduced to it in connection with the information revolution, as well as the use of social media by states leaders and officials for their messages and for their diplomatic activities. The lecture also discussed the types of diplomacy and their means, in the sense contained in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, the Convention on Special Missions, and the Vienna Convention on the Representation of States in their Relations with International Organizations of a Universal Character.