بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Answer to Question

The Political Conflict in Sudan

(Translated)

Question:

Al-Jazeera published on its website on 19/3/2023: (The Transitional Sovereignty Council in Sudan said on Saturday that "the parties that did not sign the Framework Agreement expressed their desire to reach a political agreement that would end the crisis in the country," following a meeting held by the Council's deputy head, Mohamed Hamdan Hemedti and these parties. It is noteworthy that the Sudanese Sovereignty Council and civilian components, most notably the Forces of Freedom and Change - the Central Council, signed the Framework Agreement on 5/12/2022 to launch a new transitional phase in the country. However, other forces refused to sign the agreement, including the Forces of the Declaration of Freedom and Change - the Democratic Bloc...)

Al-Araby Al-Jadeed had published on its website, Thursday, 16/3/2023:

(The signatory parties to the Framework Agreement participated in the work of the Conference for Transitional Justice in Khartoum, on Thursday, as part of the work of the final stage of the political process...) Is it true that the final stage has neared? Note that there have been reports of disagreements between the army commander, the head of the Sovereign Council, Al-Burhan, and his deputy in the council, the commander of the Rapid Support Forces, Dagalo. Are these actual differences, arranged by America, for Hemedti to become independent in Darfur and separate it, as it was done in southern Sudan, especially since Hemedti has weight in Darfur? Or are they fabricated differences to implement the roles? What is the significance of the mutual visits between Khartoum and the Emirates at this particular time? Finally, are Al-Burhan's attempts at normalization with the Jewish entity related to these conflicts? I apologize for the multiplicity of these questions. May Allah reward you with the good.

Answer:

It would have been better not to collect these multiple questions at once. Anyway, that is all right, to answer them, we review the following:

- 1- The official spokesman for the Sudanese Armed Forces, Brigadier General Nabil Abdullah, read a video statement that was reported by the media on 11/3/2023, in which he addressed the people, saying: (Your armed forces affirm their commitment to the course of the ongoing political process, and the strict and full implementation of what was agreed upon in the framework agreement that leads to the unification of the military system and the establishment of a civilian-led government for the remainder of the transitional period until the elections are over). The opposition forces showed their welcome to this declaration after they had doubts that the army would not abide by the agreement and that it was working to get rid of it, overthrow it, or circumvent it, and set conditions for its implementation.
- 2- The statement of the armed forces also comes a day after news circulated about the entry of trucks carrying armed groups belonging to the Rapid Support coming to Khartoum from the Darfur region, so the army deployed large military forces in a number of parts of the capital. Some circles considered them preparations for an imminent battle between the army forces led by Al-Burhan and the Rapid Support forces led by Dagalo that resulted from the escalation of differences between the leaders of the two forces. The army spokesman, Nabil Abdullah, said, "The situation in the country is under control, and what is reported on some social media about the entry of armed groups into Khartoum is not true." (Al-Youm Al-Tali Newspaper, 10/3/2023)

However, the office of the Armed Forces Spokesman said in a statement that "it did not issue statements denying the entry of armed groups into Khartoum state to any media outlet. The leadership of the armed forces and the security services in the country are following the security situation in the country with wisdom and patience in order to ensure the security of the homeland and the citizen. (Asharq Al-Awsat, 11/3/2023). This confirmation and denial from the office of the army spokesman indicates that it wants to manipulate people's nerves, and that one of its goals is to intimidate the opposition, and to prepare the atmosphere for Al-Burhan's meeting with Dagalo for reconciliation, claiming that there are differences and quarrels between them!

- 3- Subsequently, it was announced that a meeting would be held between Al-Burhan, Daglo, and the signatories to the Framework Agreement in Sudan on the evening of 11/3/2023. A statement was issued by the Sudanese Sovereignty Council stating that Al-Burhan and Dagalo "discussed the progress of the political process and the need to move forward with the agreed arrangements, and that they agreed to proceed with what was described as the agreed arrangements regarding the political process." At the end of the consultations that discussed the political and security situation in the country, they decided [to form a joint security committee of regular forces, relevant state agencies, and armed struggle movements to follow up on the security situation in the country. (Sudan Tribune, Al Jazeera 11/3/2023)], to show that there is a conflict between Al-Burhan and Dagalo as if the army was about to clash with the Rapid Support Forces, and that the situation has now subsided temporarily after these meetings.
- 4- Dagalo (Hemedti) had announced before that [that his participation in the October 25 of 2021 coup was a mistake, adding that the October 25th coup had become a gateway to the return of the defunct regime. (Al-Jazeera, 19/2/2023)]. Knowing that he was the strong defender of what he did with the army command against the previous government, it is not possible that his opinion has changed and that he declares remorse, but rather all of this is to deceive the opposition into following him or approaching him. That is why he stated, after his aforementioned announcement, saying: [The agreement is a single package that must be implemented in its entirety without fragmentation. (Arab Post, 21/2/2023)]. Then Hemedti escalated his campaign and appeared as if he was opposed to the army leadership, saying: [We will not accept anyone who wants to become a dictator to rule the country. With our voluntariness and our will, we agreed to hand over power to a full-fledged civilian government... The main dispute in the country is mainly between those who are devoted to power and those who want to hand it over to civilians. There is no problem between the Rapid Support Forces and the army, and the dispute is with those who take the army as a pretext. The principle of forming a civilian government was agreed upon between the army, the Rapid Support Forces and our brothers in the Sovereignty Council. (Asharq Al-Awsat, 8/3/2023)].

It appears that he wants to play a role as being with the civil component and is very keen to fully implement the framework agreement. On the other hand, Al-Burhan was hinting that the Framework Agreement is not binding on the army because it does not include all the political forces. Then Al-Burhan also connected the army's continuation of implementing the Framework Agreement by merging the Rapid Support and Armed Movements into the army, and he said: (If there is clear talk about integrating the Rapid Support and Armed Movements into the Armed Forces, we will proceed with the Framework Agreement. Any talk other than this will not be acceptable. (Asharq Al-Awsat, 8/3/2023). And all of this is to show that there was a disagreement between Al-Burhan and Hemedti regarding the implementation of the Framework Agreement, even though both of them participated in its approval!

5- We mentioned in the Answer to Question dated 11/12/2022 about the Framework Agreement signed on 5/12/2022: (This agreement saves the military leadership headed by Al-Burhan, his deputy, and those with them from their predicament, as people now reject their rule, and there is no internal support for them, and the military leadership is guaranteed immunity and protection from prosecution for the crimes they have committed, and they escape punishment. They were unable to manage the affairs of the country and failed to solve its problems. All they did was preserving American influence... On another note, the other side of the so-called forces of Freedom and Change and the parties that formed the government also failed to manage the country's affairs, address its problems, and secure the minimum necessities of life for the people, and all they did was to preserve the British influence in the country...) We also stated: (As for the questions: Will this agreement last and be implemented? This is questionable. Will it save the country? This is far-fetched because it is based on falsehood... Foreign intervention is visible to all, as foreigners were present when it was signed in the Republican Palace. Rather, the one who drafted the agreement is a foreigner, and he is the envoy of the United Nations under the direct supervision of the Americans and the British, the two parties to the international conflict in Sudan in the name of the Quartet and in the name of the Troika). **End.**

In order to impede the implementation of the agreement, the military leadership on both sides, the army led by Al-Burhan and the Rapid Support Forces led by Dagalo, creates or fabricates the conflict between them, so eyes remain focused on the agreement of the two parties or their disagreement at any moment, and that the solution is focused on that and not between the military and civilian component.

6- As for Al-Burhan's visit to the UAE, the important center of Britain last February, and the visit of Sheikh Shakhboot, the UAE Minister of State to Sudan, after Al-Burhan's visit and his delivery of a

secret message to Al-Burhan, these visits are neither here or there. There is no noticeable change from Al-Burhan in his positions, statements and actions. Rather, they are consistent with what America wants to follow, bit by bit... It seems that the motive for the visit is to "spy" on each other, so each party tries to know the reaction of the other party to the steps taken by each of them, under the pretext of each party's attempt to calm the situation; as if the civilian component was deceived by this conflict between Al-Burhan and Hemedti, thinking it was a real conflict, and so the military component succeeded in pushing the civilian component to try to intervene to resolve the conflict between them under the pretext of calming the situation. The leader in Freedom and Change, Muhammad Esmat, told Asharq Al-Awsat: [There are continuous efforts by the Forces of Change and civil transition to calm the situation between the Rapid Support Forces and the armed forces, to avoid any clash between them that will lead the country to the abyss of loss. (Al-Sharq Al-Awsat Newspaper, 6/3/2023)]. Then, on Wednesday evening, 08/3/2023, a high-ranking delegation from the leaders of the former ruling coalition in Sudan, the Forces for Freedom and Change, went to the United Arab Emirates...to support reaching a final agreement to end the political crisis in the country. [The delegation includes the head of the Communication and External Relations Committee, the head of the Sudanese Congress Party, Omar Al-Dagir, the head of the Executive Office of the Federal Assembly, Babiker Faisal, the Secretary-General of the National Umma Party, Al-Wathig Al-Barir, and the representative of the Professionals Association in the Forces for Change, Taha Othman. The coalition said in a statement that the delegation will meet Emirati leaders to discuss completing the final arrangements for the political process based on the political framework agreement. (Al-Sharg Al-Awsat Newspaper, 9/3/2023)].

All of this indicates that the civil component has been placed in a corner, and that the issue is now controlled by the political component alone! That is, America has moved the political conflict in Sudan to a new arena, which is a deceptive arena of conflict between its agents that dominates other conflicts and pushes the forces affiliated with the Europeans to rapprochement with Hemedti, especially since he declares his support for civil rule!

7- As for the issue of normalization, Al-Burhan seeks to protect himself from falling and to strengthen his authority by conceding to America everything it wants, including normalization with the Jewish entity. This normalization only benefits the Jewish entity, America, and Al-Burhan personally and those with him, and it does not benefit Sudan with anything, but rather harms it, and it is forbidden by the Shariah because it is a recognition of a usurper of Palestine, one of the lands dearest to Muslims, and assaults its people day and night, demolishes their homes, kills their children, and confiscates their property.

Nevertheless, [the Sudanese Sovereign Council announced that its President Abdel Fattah Al-Burhan (met Cohen in Khartoum and discussed enhancing prospects for joint cooperation, especially in the security and military fields), the Sudanese Foreign Ministry stated that the two parties (agreed to move forward towards the normalization of relations between the two parties. (SUNA, 2/2/2023)] The official radio of the Jewish entity stated on 8/2/2023 that a special delegation from the Sovereign Council in Sudan secretly visited the Jewish entity this day. Thus, the Sudanese regime is no longer ashamed of committing treason by normalizing with the Jewish entity, in order to remain in power to secure America's support for it!

Conclusion:

- 1- There is no real dispute between Al-Burhan and Hemedti, but rather each of them is an agent of America. America brought Al-Burhan to his current position through Hemedti. [The relationship between Al-Burhan and Hemedti reached the current alliance, after the overthrow of Defense Minister Abd al-Rahman bin Auf, who assumed power after the removal of al-Bashir, as al-Burhan became head of the Sovereignty Council and commander of the army, although he was not a first-line commander in the armed forces, and therefore it is believed that this was supported by Hemedti and regional support, while Hamdan became the deputy head of the Sovereignty Council, and the two men allied against the civil forces. (Arabic Post, 21/2/2023)] Thus, the dispute is artificial and not real, but rather as a matter of dividing roles.
- 2- As for why the dispute is not real to enable Hemedti to gain independence in Darfur and separate it in an arrangement by America, as it did in southern Sudan, especially since Hemedti has military and financial weight in Darfur [and Hemedti's forces control most of the region's wealth, including the gold mines from which the UAE exports \$16 billion dollars. (Africa Report, 13/01/2021; Egypt 360 website, 12/5/2022)], there are no indications about that at the present time. Rather, America is now focusing on the dominance of its agents over the rule of Sudan and not

enabling the British agents to have effective roles in governance, but rather preoccupying them with the reconciliation between Al-Burhan and Hemedti instead of fighting with them! But it does not exclude America from fragmenting Muslim countries if it is able, as this is the matter of the Kaffir colonial countries.

- 3- Al-Burhan wants to expand participation in the agreement, and alludes to the intransigence of the signatory powers, as a matter of procrastination in its implementation. He has sought to hold meetings with the non-signatory parties, as mentioned at the beginning of the question, what creates a conflict between the signatories and the non-signatories, especially between the Freedom and Change, the signatory, and between Freedom and Change, the non-signatory Democratic Bloc, and this extends the time for final approval. Al-Burhan's position was expressed more clearly by member of the Sovereignty Council, Shams al-Din Kabbashi, who stated earlier this month [that the army will not proceed with the framework agreement without political consensus, the signatories are not sufficient to solve the political crisis in the country, and that the army will not protect a constitution that is not agreed upon. (Al-Jazeera Mubasher, 20/2/2023)] The army is trying to get rid of the Framework Agreement or circumvent it in one way or another, at times by expanding participation in it, and other times by requiring the merging of the Rapid Support forces and the Armed Movements with the Armed Forces, i.e. with the army, and this is controlled by Al-Burhan and Hemedti in terms of its length or shortness, according to America's desire!
- 4- America has succeeded in transferring the political conflict in Sudan to a new arena, an arena of alleged conflict between its agents that dominates other conflicts and forces the powers affiliated with the Europeans to postpone focusing on implementing the framework agreement, and is instead preoccupied with reconciliation between Al-Burhan and Hemedti, thinking that the dispute between them is real! Then the military component (Al-Burhan and Hemedti) controls the postponement of implementation under the pretext of their lack of agreement on the merging (of forces). This is until the conditions and atmosphere become suitable for amending the agreement and purifying it from any actual influence in it for the civilian component. This is the meaning of the word "soon" contained in Al-Burhan's statement: [that the country is moving in the way to establish civil rule, it is likely that the civil government will be formed "soon". (Al-Ittihad, 19/3/2023)]. So, the Framework Agreement will be implemented in accordance with the requirements of the military component, and then it will be "soon" whether it is the earliest implementation date or after! And if this did was not made possible to them, then it is not possible to rule out an attempt to cancel the framework agreement by fabricating the difficulty of integrating the Rapid Support Forces with the army because Al-Burhan and Hemedti do not agree, i.e., repeating the scenario of canceling the constitutional document with a new method of output.

This document was signed between the military component and the civilian component on 21/8/2019, and it was decided that the military would preside over the Presidential Council in the beginning. Then, in November 2021, civilians would begin to preside over the Council, and to prevent them from doing so, the Sudanese Minister of Defense, Lieutenant General Yassin Ibrahim, announced on 21/9/2021, that is, two months before the date for the civilians to take over, that a coup attempt had been thwarted. Then demands were raised to dissolve the government, and it was actually dissolved and the constitutional document expired. We clarified this at the time by answering a question on 25/10/2021. It is not excluded now that the same scenario will be repeated, but by fabricating the conflict with a prominent element of America's men, Hemedti!

5- In conclusion, we affirm once again that Sudan will not see a glimmer of hope as long as there are agents working for this colonizer or for that colonizer, and they are fighting over an Islamic country. They do not care about the country's revival, solving its problems, feeding its people and securing their needs. There is no way for people except to get rid of the agents and not follow them or follow their misguided path, but rather they have to follow the path of those who repented and called to Allah and worked to implement His rule and to unite Muslims and revive them.

"And who is better in speech than one who invites to Allah and does righteousness and says, "Indeed, I am of the Muslims." [Fussilat: 33]

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