

## si può fermare questo genocidio? — RT Africa

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### Una terra di fosse comuni e mercenari: questo genocidio può essere fermato?

La guerra civile in Sudan è entrata nel suo terzo anno ed è ancora lontana dall'essere finita



Il 22 febbraio è stata firmata a Nairobi, capitale del Kenya, una carta che istituisce un "Governo di Pace e Unità" parallelo in Sudan, in opposizione al Consiglio Sovrano di Transizione (TSC) e alle Forze Armate Sudanesi (SAF). Alla cerimonia, organizzata dalle Forze di Supporto Rapido (RSF), hanno partecipato diversi partiti politici e gruppi armati.

Negli ultimi due anni, il Sudan è stato travolto dalla guerra civile e la firma della Carta giunge in concomitanza con i progressi militari compiuti dall'esercito sudanese, che è recentemente riuscito a cacciare le RSF dalla capitale, Khartoum, e da altre regioni. Data la situazione sul campo di battaglia e il fatto che organizzazioni legali internazionali e paesi, tra cui gli Stati Uniti, accusano le RSF di aver avviato una pulizia etnica, il successo dell'iniziativa è discutibile. Tuttavia, l'accordo raggiunto a Nairobi pone il rischio di un'ulteriore divisione in Sudan, poiché le RSF controllano ancora ampi territori nell'ovest e nel sud.



La Carta stabilisce che il Sudan dovrebbe diventare uno *"Stato laico, democratico e decentralizzato"* con un esercito unificato, ma che anche i gruppi armati dovrebbero poter esistere. Sottolinea inoltre che l'istituzione di un nuovo governo non mira a frammentare il Paese, ma piuttosto a porre fine al conflitto. Secondo Al Hadi Idris, ex membro del TSC e leader di una delle fazioni armate che ha firmato la Carta, a breve verrà annunciato l'insediamento del nuovo "Governo di Pace e Unità".



### **LEGGI TUTTO:** Come il ritorno di Trump riecheggia in una nazione africana dilaniata dalla guerra

La risposta delle autorità ufficiali sudanesi è stata prevedibilmente negativa. *"Non permetteremo a nessun altro Paese di riconoscere questo cosiddetto governo parallelo"*, ha dichiarato il Ministro degli Esteri sudanese Ali Youssef al-Sharif.

## **Un conflitto tra ex compagni d'armi**

The war between the army and the RSF – once allies who governed the country during the transitional period – erupted in April 2023 over disputes regarding the timeline for integrating the RSF into the Sudanese Armed Forces. Previously, RSF commander Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, known as 'Hemedti', shared power with the army and civilian

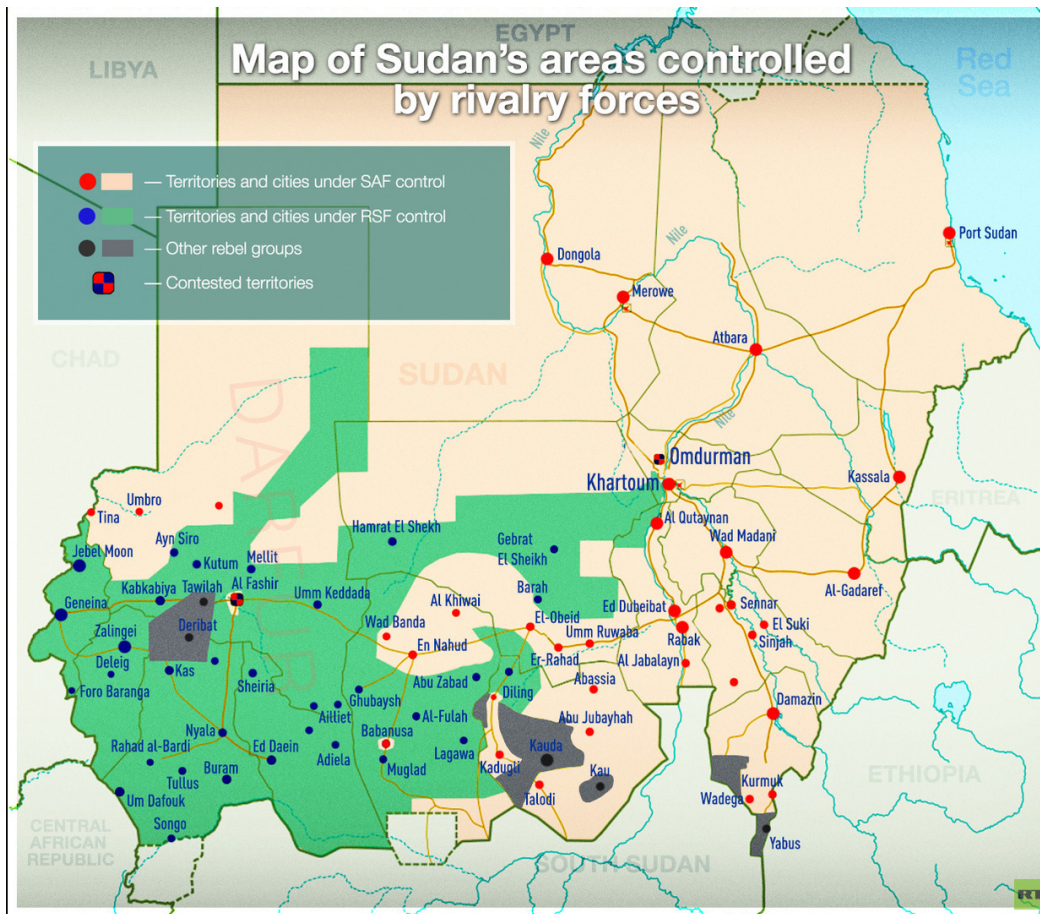
politicians under an agreement reached following the ousting of former President Omar al-Bashir in 2019. In 2021, along with the commander of the armed forces and Chairman of the TSC Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, he helped remove civilian leaders, including former Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok, from their posts – an act that was viewed by the international community as a new coup.



FILE PHOTO: RSF commander Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo. © Mahmoud Hjj / Anadolu Agency via Getty Images

From the very start of the conflict, the RSF seized key strategic locations and neighborhoods in Khartoum and other areas. However, by the time the charter was signed in Nairobi, the Sudanese army had pushed the RSF out of much of the capital and central Sudan, reclaiming major cities in Sennar State in the southeast. Nonetheless, the RSF still maintains control over significant territories in Darfur and continues to fight with the armed forces for control over North Darfur State and its capital, Al-Fashir.

At the same time, large areas of South Kordofan and certain areas of Blue Nile State, which borders South Sudan, are under the control of the rebel group the Sudan People's Liberation Movement–North (SPLM-N), led by Abdelaziz Adam al-Hilu, who announced cooperation with the RSF during the charter signing in Nairobi.



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The UN human rights office says the conflict has triggered the world's largest displacement crisis, leaving half of Sudan's population facing acute food insecurity. At least 14 million people have been forced from their homes, seeking refuge in other parts of Sudan or neighboring countries such as Egypt, South Sudan, and Chad.

According to a report published last November by London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine researchers, more than 61,000 people were killed in the first 14 months of the violence in Khartoum State, where the fighting began. The non-profit organization Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) said it had recorded over 28,700 fatalities by the end of November, including over 7,500 civilians killed in direct attacks.

## Kenya's role



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Following the signing of the charter in Nairobi, the Sudanese government accused the Kenyan authorities of orchestrating a *"plot with the goal of establishing a government"* for the RSF. Protesting against Kenya's involvement in discussions aimed at forming a 'parallel government', Sudan recalled its ambassador to Nairobi, Kamal Jabara. In response, Nairobi stated that the meetings were part of efforts to find solutions to end the war in Sudan, in collaboration with the UN and the African Union.

Many countries in the Middle East expressed solidarity with the Sudanese government. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Qatar expressed their support for Sudan's territorial integrity. Meanwhile, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres warned that the establishment of parallel structures would *"further deepen Sudan's fragmentation."* During a March 6 meeting, the UN Security Council expressed serious concern over the charter and its potential humanitarian consequences, reaffirming its commitment to Sudan's sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity.

### **The idea of an Arab state**

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On March 4, Abdul Rahim Dagalo, the deputy commander of the RSF and brother of Hemedti, signed a so-called 'Transitional Constitution of the Republic of Sudan for 2025' with Abdelaziz al-Hilu and other opposition leaders. This marked the practical beginning of efforts to establish a parallel state centered in Darfur, an area currently under RSF control.



RSF deputy commander Abdul Rahim Dagalo gestures during a signing ceremony for the Sudan Founding Charter, aimed at forming a unity government, at KICC in Nairobi, February 18, 2025. © AP Photo / Andrew Kasuku

Meanwhile, significant demographic and political changes have taken place in Darfur in recent months. Intense fighting continues between the RSF and a coalition of the Sudanese army and local armed movements led by Minni Arkoi Minnawi, the leader of the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA).

At the same time, Hemedti and his deputies have managed to recruit tens of thousands of African mercenaries, primarily from loyal Arab tribes. Hemedti himself hails from the Rizeigat tribe, an Arab ethnic group that migrated to western Sudan during the 1980s due to war and drought in Chad, where they had engaged in camel herding and trade.



FILE PHOTO: Sudanese soldiers from the Rapid Support Forces. © AP Photo / Hussein Malla

The Sudanese authorities have previously expressed concern over the presence of foreign mercenaries in the RSF. Sovereign Council member and Army Assistant Commander-in-Chief Yasir Al-Atta has repeatedly noted that the RSF recruits thousands of mercenaries from countries such as Chad, Ethiopia, Syria, Libya, the Central African Republic, Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso. Initially, there were about 120,000 fighters and gradually 49,000 more servicemen joined the RSF. Al-Atta also accused the UAE and South Sudan of supplying the RSF with arms and fuel.



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It's important to note that Arab tribes are actively participating in the administrative changes and demographic reshaping initiated by the RSF in Darfur. Sudanese experts have long suggested that Hemedti wants to create a state for Arabs dispersed across the Sahel countries. This sentiment has also been echoed by the authorities in Sudan. In September 2024, Yasir Al-Atta stated that the UAE had urged the RSF leader to consider establishing an Arab state in Sudan to better control agricultural lands, ports, and gold mines.

## **An emirate in Darfur?**

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A noteworthy development occurred last October, when the establishment of a new 'emirate' for Awlad Baraka and Mubarak – an Arab group from the Central African Republic – was announced in Central Darfur. Members of this group, who belong to the Salamat Arab tribe, had lived in the southern part of Zalingei before the war, but their number increased significantly after the RSF seized control of the state. This decision sparked fierce resistance from the indigenous population, predominantly the Fur people, who accused the rebels of occupying their territory.



FILE PHOTO: Young people walk along a street marked by destruction on 27 August 2024, Omdurman, Sudan. © Mudathir Hameed / picture alliance via Getty Images

According to local activists, the establishment of an 'emirate' for the Awlad Baraka and Mubarak group is part of a broader trend of demographic shifts in the Darfur region. Whenever the RSF and allied Arab tribes seize new territory, they set up parallel tribal

administrations that wield far greater authority than existing historical tribal structures. This process often involves violence, forced displacement, and other crimes against the local non-Arab population.

## **Why did General Burhan go on a foreign tour amidst the conflict?**

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Recognizing the dangers posed by these developments, the Commander of the Sudanese Armed Forces and Chairman of Sudan's Sovereignty Council Abdel Fattah al-Burhan embarked on a tour of West African countries in January, accompanied by senior intelligence and defense officials. His discussions with leaders from Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, Senegal, and Mauritania focused primarily on the involvement of Arab-African mercenaries in the RSF. This trip came on the heels of the Sudanese army's successful offensive in Gezira State, Khartoum, and North Kordofan.



FILE PHOTO: General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan. © Mahmoud Hjj / Anadolu Agency via Getty Images

The nations Burhan visited generally maintain a neutral stance regarding the conflict in Sudan. However, given the failures of French policy in Africa and Washington's inaction, Burhan has a significant opportunity to garner their support based on a growing alignment with powers such as Russia and China.

Interestingly, Sierra Leone, one of the stops on his tour, has been elected a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. In November 2024, at the urging of the UK, it introduced a draft resolution calling for direct international intervention in Sudan under the pretext of protecting civilians. Russia vetoed this proposal, earning gratitude from Sudan while being labeled an aggressor by the West.



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## **Does the parallel government stand a chance?**

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Despite the ceremonious signing of the charter in Nairobi, the chances are slim that the parallel government in Sudan will receive international recognition and support. The key figure, Mohamed Hamdan 'Hemedti' Dagalo, was absent at the ceremony, during the negotiations that preceded it, and during the subsequent signing of the constitution. In early February, the Wall Street Journal [reported](#) that Hemedti had not been seen in public for several months, raising questions about his whereabouts. At official events and on the battlefield, he has been replaced by his brother Abdul Rahim Dagalo, the deputy leader of the RSF.

In recent times, Hemedti has only appeared publicly in two brief video messages, both of which provide little clarity about his whereabouts, and the authenticity of these clips is questionable. Throughout the conflict, he has been seen among his troops on just two occasions: once at the start of the war, riding in a military vehicle dressed in the RSF uniform, and again in July 2023, in a video with his soldiers. The RSF's press service claimed that the footage was shot in Khartoum. Since then, there has been no documented evidence of his presence in Sudan.

Pochi giorni prima della firma della Carta, si è verificata una spaccatura nel blocco civile "Tagadum", che ha portato gli oppositori del nuovo governo ad abbandonare la coalizione insieme all'ex Primo Ministro filo-britannico Abdullah Hamdok, che rimane popolare tra i cittadini sudanesi. L'organizzazione si è divisa in due nuove fazioni: "Sumud", composta da coloro che si oppongono alla Carta, e "Ta'sis", composta da coloro che la sostengono. Di conseguenza, gli architetti del governo parallelo hanno perso un leader di spicco che avrebbe potuto rafforzare le loro possibilità di successo.



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Anche i tentativi di arruolare altre figure politiche come Fadlallah Burma Nasir e Ibrahim Al-Mirghani per ottenere il sostegno dei due maggiori partiti politici del Sudan – il Partito Nazionale Umma e il Partito Unionista Democratico – sono falliti. Nasir ha partecipato alla cerimonia senza l'approvazione del Partito Umma di cui è a capo, ma altri membri del partito hanno successivamente dichiarato che la sua presenza era un'iniziativa personale che non rifletteva la posizione del partito. Nel frattempo, Ibrahim Al-Mirghani, discendente del fondatore del Partito Unionista Democratico, Ahmed al-Mirghani, ha partecipato all'evento in qualità di rappresentante del partito. Tuttavia, il Partito Unionista Democratico ha successivamente dichiarato che era stato espulso nel 2022. Di conseguenza, nessuna delle due organizzazioni ha firmato ufficialmente la Carta di Nairobi.

Nonostante la mancanza di una leva significativa, i gruppi di opposizione sperano che l'istituzione di un governo parallelo in Sudan consenta loro di procurarsi facilmente armi all'estero. *"Il governo parallelo istituito dalle Forze di Supporto Rapido (RSF) del Sudan mira a ottenere legittimità diplomatica dal rivale guidato dall'esercito e a facilitare l'accesso ad armamenti avanzati"*, ha dichiarato a Reuters una fonte delle RSF .

Tuttavia, affinché questa nuova struttura abbia successo, necessita del riconoscimento internazionale, che nessun paese ha ancora concesso. Diversi stati del Golfo, tra cui Arabia Saudita, Qatar e Kuwait, insieme all'Egitto, hanno respinto il piano per il cosiddetto "Governo di Pace e Unità", mentre gli Emirati Arabi Uniti e i paesi occidentali, che presumibilmente sostengono RSF, sono rimasti finora in silenzio.

*Di **Tamara Ryzhenkova** , orientalista, docente presso il Dipartimento di Storia del Medio Oriente, Università statale di San Pietroburgo, esperta per il canale Telegram "Africa araba"*

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