

PanAfrican Solidarity with the Democratic Forces in Sudan

okay greetings to everybody
and thank you for
responding i short notice
to this event
an unusual
policy dialogue
to remind us that we are first and
foremost
political animals activists as we have
been
since we became adults
an african solidarity
meeting with democratic forces in sudan
i want to thank the
the co-sponsor of this uh that's
abdullah batili
who posted something the day before
yesterday morning
on sudan and began consulting with him
and we decided to have this
very short notice and we have tried
to get as many people as possible
in the short time
available
so somewhat we're not surprised that we
don't have everybody that we
expecting
but enough
especially those of you who are already
on the platform
so
i would want to say too much was i think
bio olukoshi
uh one of our
young luminaries not so young now but
certainly younger than me
so
to outline the pragmatic for us
and
introduce us to the topic
and
we are hoping that

he will also explain the context thanks
bio
uh thank you very much indeed
and uh thank you for putting this
together short notice i
am delighted to be here in the midst of
uh friends colleagues comrades um
uh in a certain sense um providing us an
opportunity collectively to exhale as it
were
in the face of um
uh the events that have uh
have been unfolding in the sudan over
the last 48 72 hours
and
which are still
very much uh
ongoing as the struggle
for
enthroning a proper democratic
transition
in that country continues and i would
like to probably start by putting this
in
what i would call a broader context
that situates
the situation of the sudan
within um
a global
uh system that is very much itself in
transition
from
a post 1945 world order
to something which is still very much in
the making
but which in the context
of the
loss of certainty and clarity
amongst
a whole range of issues which
might have been considered to be settled
including questions of governance
we
are witnessing

an increasing
emboldening
of anti-democratic
forces
the broad context for that
emboldening i think
emerged already in the period from
the late 1970s
that period that marked the ascendancy
on the global scale
of
neoliberalism
and
its ascendancy
to a position of hegemony
which basically
underneath it
was a determination not only
on a doctrinal basis to roll back the
state
but also to contain politics
insofar as politics was seen
as disruptive
of the
primary objective
of instituting economic rationality
governed by
peculiar ideas about the role and place
of the market
and how it would restore
a proper ordering of values
in society and allocation of resources
and this global neoliberalism
of course took a huge toll on our
continent which
like latin america and parts of asia
served as the huge experimental ground
for many things which were initially
experimented with as as we know in chile
but we found a huge field
across the global south much of the
global south
and uh
became reflected into

the broad practice of policy that we
have witnessed
over the last 20 years also
at the height of neoliberalism just to
underscore its anti-democratic
call
you will recall that the chief economist
of the world bank
africa department at the time
were questioned about the interface
between political reforms
that were beginning
to manifest themselves on the continent
culminating in the national conference
in the republic
and the continuation of austerity
in his defense of
the structural adjustment programs
he insisted that effective ruthless
governments able to ride roughshod on
public opinion
were clearly needed in order
to continue to implement structural
adjustments
so that much of what we then saw
subsequently
has been a struggle for the containment
of the boundaries
of democratization
it is junctual as it were on the one
hand
between
the quest
for so-called rational economic policies
to be enthroned as a permanent condition
of policy making
on a global scale and particularly in
the
countries of the global south
and
the quest by citizens
for an opening up of the political space
and the necessary empowerment
that will enable participation

and also exact
and that this juncture
has played itself out in various forms
over the period since the 1990s
when
our
entry into the so-called third wave of
global democratization
has gathered momentum
and it didn't really take too long
for things to begin to come to a head
initially within the first
decade
with all of the investments made in the
mechanics of democratization
election management bodies
some
constitutionalism
and so on and so forth
um citizens were soon to realize that
much of what happened in formal politics
did not really have a bearing
on struggles for the improvement of
livelihoods
and policy in any case did not appear to
shift
regardless of whatever alternation in
political power
took place in most of our countries
which is what prompted the later become
kandahari
to draw attention to what he described
at the time
as the emergence in africa of choiceless
democracies
democracies governments regimes
that effectively
were voted into power on the basis of
commitments that they made manifesto
commitments that they made
to redress
a range of issues of a structural and
conjectural nature in society
but which upon arriving in office found

themselves effectively constrained
and then compelled
to stick to a particular strict uh
script a new library script of how to
govern the economy and society
and which in turn meant that ultimately
in the face of that choicelessness
the political space
began gradually to close
and in new authoritarianism
began to rear its head
in the context of the crisis in the
sudan
we had a government which of course
was managing a multiplicity of conflicts
during the bulgarians
which ordinarily would qualify as the
kind of
effective and ruthless regime
which
the world bank chief economist for
africa at the time
said was needed to implement structural
adjustments
but which also was dealing with
sanctions connected
to its management of
domestic crisis and conflict
particularly in darfur
as well as pressures for
conformity
with
the requirements of the so-called global
war on terror
so in many respects it was a regime
which in retrospect we can argue
in spite of all of its appearances of
strength
was actually
living on borrowed time
and mothers were not helped for it
by the rapid and continued deterioration
of the domestic economic and social
conditions

which effectively came to a head
and
and and
compelled citizens
to take to the streets demanding an end
to the bashir regime
that regime was in power for 30 years so
obviously
it had
sunk some roots
in the structures of politics and
governance
uh what's i think uh following the fall
of bashir
we came to refer to without necessarily
following the analogy
of the trumpian
politics
of recent times
as the deep states as the elements of
the partial states that have become
embedded
both in politics even in economy and in
society from which the military was not
exempt
and the intervention which the military
made in the wake of the persistent
persistent and unyielding demand
of people for an end to the dictatorship
of the of the bachelors and the
installation of a proper process of
democratization in the country
the military intervention which took
place
was
actually an opportunistic intervention
designed by many of those who were made
by bashir and were enforcers for bashir
to hold on to whatever they could hold
on to
whilst giving an appearance of
abandoning
uh general bashir himself
and

as you will recall they immediately announced the setting up of a military transitional council which they expected would modify the population as long as bashir was written out of the new power equation citizens read through it and organized groups including formal institutions uh represented by the professionals but also street-level organizers rejected the military transitional council and continued with the campaign not only for an end time to military rules but to remove the military completely from the political arena from direct involvement in politics and as you recall in the ensuing struggle not less than at least as far as we know officials not less than 8 800 sudanese civilians were killed by the military in their efforts to break the will of the people and ultimately realizing that this was not going to happen there was a concession to create a power sharing arrangement within the framework of a sovereign council complete with an agreement for the rotation of power between the civilian and military components of the transitional council and also uh uh to prepare the transition uh over a three-year period initially uh towards a fully democratic and elected government unfortunately i think uh it was also clear from the outset

and
not a few of the civilian actors were
involved in the transitional process
were fully aware that what
the compromise represented
was one which was going to
produce a period of relative instability
for the country
and managing that instability
in many respects has been the stuff of
which politics
in the period since this fall of bashir
uh and the appointment of uh abdullah
handok as prime minister
has been
at one level it has been
an effort to ensure that the civilian
face
of government
remained
solidly united behind
the vision of the revolution
and
where possible also share the strategic
approach for
carrying for both defending and carrying
forward
the goals
of the popular struggle that led to the
fall of bashir
at the second level was to
establish proper authority
over the institutions
of civic governance
which basically
at least in terms of the agreement
appeared to have been considered to the
office of the prime minister
and reorganizing government
and introducing
a new set of
not just officials but also of policy
priorities
clearly consumed an important part of

the energies of the civilian components
whereas the military insisted during the
negotiations
that mata's military would be completely
out of the purview
of the civilian component of the
administration
inevitably i would argue
the prime minister in particular and
elements of his government
had absolutely no possibility to be
completely
immune to or absent from developments in
the armed forces
especially because
at one level they needed as part of the
stabilization post partial stabilization
of the country
uh to conclude agreements with the
various
armed groups
uh across the country
contesting this authority of hatum
and which
even if they welcomed the departure of
omar al-bashir did not necessarily
prepare themselves to lay down their
arms uh
following the arrival of the
transitional government
so bringing them into the political
process
and committing them uh to a transition
program was as much a priority
uh for
abdullah hamduk and his team as for any
other uh actor in the sovereign council
uh including the head of the armed
forces
and the official head of state
many of the armed groups did not trust
the army
and
a lot of the delays actually in the

negotiation of peace agreements
with
with some of the groups uh including uh
some whose leaders were in exile in
neighboring countries uh owed to the
fact that confidence measures had to be
put in place uh to assure them
that the
prime minister's office and team were
not acting at the behest of the army uh
certainly not at the behest of general
abu ham
or his deputy helmeted
with a much traded and distinct figure
going back to the at the heart of the of
the of the
of the dictatorship of the bash areas
whether this was part of a renewed
national effort to
rebuild the country
and forge a more stable path
forward into the future
now any agreement with the peace with
the various any peace agreement with the
various groups
clearly would have implications
uh for the workings of the armed forces
and that's why i said inevitably
abdullah hamduk until uh could not stay
out of uh
developments within the armed forces
within the
non-insurgent
groups armed groups across the country
within the regular armed forces
if i may call it that way to the extent
to which one can call it the regular
armed forces there were also factions
there were factions
which remain to this day
uh divided roughly uh for analytic
purposes into
uh the mainstream armed forces
and

the
militias the various militias
also of the time of the fall of bashir
analysts uh some of them the
uh sudanese analysts pointed to the fact
that as part of his survival strategy
omar al-bashir actually had
up to six armies so to speak
up to six armies
including the militia groups that were
very heavily armed
and perhaps the most powerful
of those malaysian groups being the one
led by the so-called uh deputy chair of
the sovereign council there is no
provision in the transitional agreement
for a deputy chair of the council but
burhan did appoint
a deputy unilaterally soon after the
transition began
uh and that deputy um henetius is
popularly called
leading one of the most powerful initial
groups uh very heavily armed
and also himself contesting
the authority of the mainstream army out
of my quran uh emerged
and
managing that tension also
in order for the business of governments
to be able to take place effectively i
think um necessarily involved uh
abdullah
um and at the third level uh still on
the on the military
was the fact that the different uh
components that made up uh bashir's
military support base
themselves were allied to external
external powers
powers external to the sudan
partly sometimes dependent on the places
from which bashir sought military
hardware

in order to
support those militia groups and here
for example
the apart from the
emiratis saudi arabia
you also had egypt
which has a historic
uh relationship with some
with uh the sudan uh sharing
an extensive border and
uh you have turkey uh
and uh to some extent uh
i would add russia and china
as
us as players also in the overall power
equation
uh with
different sections of the armed forces
apparently
allied to them and even in the heat of
some of the
conflicts between factions of the army
uh as recently as
three months ago we had hemeti
going to seek
consultation in turkey
while spokane headed
to the emiratis
competing for
support
in order to bolster their positions in
what was clearly an emerging power
conflict
and that was the context within which
abdullah's historic press conference
was called and which he spoke candidly
to the people of the sudan
about
the need for unity not only of purpose
not only between the civilian and
military factions but also particularly
within the military uh itself and the
six-point plan which he put forward uh
to govern um

uh the transition and tied the country
over
from a situation of intense power
struggle uh that was becoming more and
more vulnerable
apparently
was accepted
by all of the key actors
but only in order to reposition
themselves
for the ultimate showdown
so i think this broad uh background uh
is of course uh for the um prime
minister complicated by the terrible
economic situation that the government
inherited after the departure of bashir
and i'm sure we're unaware of the steps
that were taken
um to lift sanctions that was a an
important part of the
work of the prime minister in the early
years in the early months of the
transition
and to begin to also get some debt
relief
uh and ultimately attract uh significant
injections of capital uh of money into
the economy to begin to aid the process
of reconstruction after so many years of
sanctions
but in the interim as all of these went
on
the economy itself
hemorrhaged quite a lot
symbolized uh particularly by the
collapse of the sudanese pound uh
and and waited um
an erosion in the conditions of living
of the population
that led some uh to
take to the streets uh
to uh protest
uh the inaction of the of the
transitional government

i uh during my last visit to cartoon
and i had the chance november last year
to spend some time with the prime
minister
it was remarkable that on the wall
leading to his office
the graffitis in arabic
covered the entire wall a lot of them
very insulting by the transitional
government
under the prime minister and
we took a photo
um on the wall and he said he basically
took the attitude to say let people
express
themselves because if we were in their
situation to would actually be
protesting uh the collapse
in living conditions and standards um
and the security forces should not stop
people who want to exhale who want to
express their frustration from doing so
um understanding that this is part of
the
responsibility
that he had but
it became i think also
another this economic and social
situation became an avenue for a
regrouping of anti-democratic forces uh
some of them acting in the name of
passion
to
particularly try to prevent
the extra addition of balsa to the icc
for trial
and perhaps
also win back
a significant position in
the in the proof in the process of
governance in the system of governments
and on the other hand for the military
a section of the military led by burhan
who um

continuing a trend of unilateral action
without consultation
either with the civilian members of the
sovereign council or the prime minister
and it's not just the appointment of
hennetty for example but it's also
the meeting uh secret meeting which he
had with the yamin netanyahu
which took the prime minister off guard
he was not informed about it he read
about it asked questions directly
abraham
and durham um basically said it was a
question of timing devante sensitivities
and all of that um
that that faction to um
had itself uh
increasingly made it clear that
uh it was it was um
uh not going to be open to scrutiny and
questioning on an endless basis uh by a
prime minister who on the one hand was
feeling pressures from below
uh to deliver more quickly uh to the
populist particularly the youth
and on the other hand
found himself increasingly hamstrung
from above
by unilateral steps
taken by burhan
as part of the efforts to loosen up uh
the grip of the military uh
quite surprisingly i think for for me at
least my belief for other observers
was his success in
uh actually getting the military to
transfer some of the economic
uh institutions including
industries
that they had controlled throughout the
bash areas as part of what one might
call a sudanese
version of the military-industrial
complex

over to the
government
to the prime minister's
cabinet
and for
more effective civilian control over
sections of the of the economy
but nevertheless the overarching
situation that uh evolved in the last
few weeks was one of an intensifying
power struggle
both within the armed forces and within
the civilian and military component
of the sovereign council
to a point where
sections of the army
began to orchestrate their own
demonstrations
almost like a rent-a-crowd uh situation
including the sitting
at the presidency
which borhan used to justify
impact the coup that was launched
so colleagues are in a very rough uh
way
uh this this this is what i'd like to
contribute to our conversation um
and for us to perhaps uh
uh against this background
uh begin to um
see ways in which on the uh at one level
um we can uh support the democratic
forces in sudan
in what i think
is clearly
a titanic battle that will determine the
direction of the country
for a very long time to come
the democratic forces are very clear
that nothing less than the total
departure of the military
from the political scene will do
the military have basically thrown the
gauntlet and said

they will confiscate full power in order
to manage the transition
if they get away with the coup
the next set of actions that will come
from them i think is fairly obvious
to us
and it is clear that
even when a transition
would take place in 2023
um it would not be the kind of
transition for which
many sudanese have sacrificed men and
women
uh not only insane bashir of the sin
uh but also um
in taking a lot of social and economic
pain
uh in expectation but ultimately uh the
kind of
government they would want to see
and hold accountable will be instituted
down the line that that is likely to be
lost
and i think
being able to find a way to solidarize
with and support
the democratic forces
in
sudan is one of the most important
forms of contribution which we can make
and uh at the present time of course the
telecoms to uh the country are a bit
diffic
establish contact with the prime
minister who are able to reach some of
his staff
who have access to
equipment
that is not directly within national
control
but hopefully
it would be possible also down the line
to be able to
get some

input from within sudan itself in terms
of the kind of solidarity
that they would expect
from friends and allies
around the world including
the african continent
thank you very much evil let me stop
here i'm sorry if i went on for a bit no
no this is necessary
very useful
give us the context
the background
and your own intimate knowledge of this
the sudanese situation
before i call on eleanor who's next
i just want to
make some uh
give some feedback from some of our
panelists georgie
let's send a message though
from lego on ghana she's she's in class
teacher we have academics here but she's
the full support of this meeting
likewise full me
from nigeria
since the apologists should join us
after the lecture
i'd like also to welcome
dr jock madhu jok from southern south
sudan
and i hope that perhaps
you'd have the chance to
you'd welcome doctor to say something on
the sudan
in particular the points raised by
by bio
uh what are the chances of
rolling back
this evolving coup
are the chances of a successful
return to civilian rule in 2023
and
thirdly what
do we do

in the event that things get worse as
they are appear to be
the good news though is that uh
good news not but not so good is that
ram doc
has returned was returned to his home
together with his wife
after days in general quran's house
but is under very strict
house arrest
but he is safe at the moment
many of us
remember
ram dock he was with us at surface
1998-2000
uh with the
original human development report
after which he went to eca
so and
significantly we have shared notes
on the transitional authority which they
put in place in 2019 but about which we
warned some of us that
the inclusion of the military
would be problematic
but perhaps
that reflects the demonic
role of the military in a country in
which the military had been it'd be
multiple and become israelites
so
uh i'll call upon uh
dr jock
subsequently but then now i call on uh
eleanor
eleanor is
a well-known zimbabwe zimbabwean south
african
and happily my relative too
and and she has been an active member of
this
forum
and i also ambushed her took her for
granted and i knew that she would

live up to the occasion to join us
when we talked about the sudan situation
the other day she was very distressed
and
so i knew that she would welcome the
opportunity to be part of this
expression of solidarity
with the democratic forces in sudan
eleanor
uh thank you very much ibo and i'm glad
i'm speaking up for tobias very
extensive analysis
so
i don't need to add anything to that and
i'm not speaking from a position of
great knowledge
and authority
just
speaking emotionally as an african
at this
assault on democracy in sudan
i found it particularly distressing
because in 2019
i was part of the crisis action
campaign on sudan to support the
democratic forces and to
to fight for the au not to recognize
the the
post-al-bashir
regime
and to fight for a democratic regime in
sudan and i particularly remember
the
the courage of the young people
especially the young women activists and
when this
happened i was just thinking
of
how hard and long they fought how
intense that battle was
only for it to come to this
i think that
we we are in a moment of such fatigue
this pandemic has brought about such

fatigue and
actually undermines the capacity for
solidarity in so many ways
we in south africa are assailed with our
national problems we have the crisis in
swaziland next door and the pandem
pandemic has made it very difficult to
effectively mount any kind of solidarity
campaign the kind of solidarity
apparatus we had
a few years ago or decade ago
seem to be anticipated

so

i i also think that partly the school
one of the factors was that the regime
it's a moment when people are
preoccupied with their own business
and that they could get away with doing
doing something like this
i really don't have much to add except
that the preoccupation of what what what
can we do
and i'm glad that there is a pan-african
gathering such as this one
uh to talk about solidarity and
even

i mean the lowest hanging fruit i think
is a joint statement from this group to
which we we
we sign off on because i think the value
of a collective voice
uh some may dismiss this as just
you know being a token but i think it's
it will start at least to have a
continental a statement from activists
across the continent that there's value
to that
and

i suppose you know it's it's so
difficult to talk about doing something
within our own respective countries
but i think we at least can try
you know we are in a situation of having
elections uh next week local government

elections in south africa
something which i think is personally
totally
unnecessary
and untimely having a an election during
the pandemic
but um
so october the 30th the day of um
mass mobilization
within south sudan and internationally
may pass by out unnoticed here but i
think the few of us
that are here will do what we can to get
some kind of media coverage and maybe
see
if there can be some kind of solidarity
action at the local level here in south
africa
apart from that i mean i'm just
interested in hearing from others
what kind of convenient continental
solidarity actions we can
we can carry out uh thank you
thanks elena thank you i hope
as we go into the meeting we can have
some ideas as to
what action to take from here what
resolution to take from here
i i saw i thought i saw one of our our
also one of our panelists uh idiot
hassan from cdd nigeria
she's still with us i like to call her
after after karen
and i like also to welcome patricia
rodney
british i haven't seen you
since the 80s
but welcome
patricia rodney
from the caribbean
yes don't ask the question yes that's
the walter rodney
his
partner

karine are you ready now
kareem is
director of
human rights watch
based in d.c
karine nantulia from
burundi where sadly she's not been to
the country since 2004.
the same reasons
that many of our people out there in the
diaspora
so karin can you come in
thank you evil and um can you hear me
yes thanks
it's an honor and a privilege to be with
all of you um
i know some of you um others i don't um
but i guess it's in times like this
where
we we get to have this moment where we
share ideas but we also share sorrows
as we think about the best way of
helping brothers and sisters from
different countries
and
today we will be talking about sudan
i just wanted to share a quick uh
anecdote in 2015 an unknown an unknown
civil servant
who was working for the
for the burundian government at that
time um
decided to resign
out of the blue
and
and when people spoke
and
asked the civil servant um why
that person had uh resigned
um he had this to say he said
he had realized in the middle of the
night the night before he um
he resigned that africa
was going through its third struggle

and
he explained the three struggles so the
first one was obviously when our
forefathers and and grandfathers
fought against colonialism and slavery
the second era was when we
fought um to get rid of military crews
and the third one
is really
um according to this uh civil servant
was really about the
institutionalization of people's dignity
and human rights
and and when
when this discussion was taking was
taking place um that the civil servant
ended up um in a in a refugee camp in
one of the neighboring countries
we met again
in
in banjo when we were sitting with
um sudanese protesters uh elinor
mentioned the young women and and men
um who were so courageous and paid a
high price
for
for the aspirations for democratic
democratization
and and and freedom
and during that conversation between
that person that the civil servant and
the sudanese protesters um who had been
in this in a city in for weeks at that
time
we got to realize
how one
hum
humanity is the same
the struggles that some are going
through
you'll find them in another country but
most importantly that indeed history
repeats itself
and

at the same time we realized that
one of the the struggles of our time are
now led by young people
in the same way they were they were
launched
decades ago by young people as well
so
the question now i think for us is
how do we how do we bring out the
solidarity we had decades ago
uh in the same way you had and and i'm
saying this i think as a as a i'm
thinking aloud in terms of what eleanor
and and you said you know what are the
actions that we can we can put forward
and
if we if we if we try if we attempt to
remember how it was
um in the 60s and the 70s and the 80s
would it be too ambitious for us and
this is a question i'm asking myself and
i'm asking all of us would it be too
ambitious to think of how do we how do
we engage continental institutions like
the african union in the same way at
some point there was a committee uh that
was really
uh um
gathering
resources
and and um
expertise and and
knowledge around how to fight against um
apartheid the apartheid regime um
yes joint statements
but at the same time how do we how do we
sustain these actions at a continental
level
um we might not be able to engage all of
us might not be able to engage uh with
our countries but some of us might
um some of some of us might be able to
engage with
different governments who are within the

african union
that's one the other thing is how do we
how do we how do we amass a critical how
do we collect a critical mass of
citizens um to actually
uh if possible uh support physically on
the ground uh sudanese um sudanese
brothers and sisters
and
and finally
how do we
how do we keep scrutiny
how do we keep the scrutiny on
the dynamics the political dynamics on
the ground and how do we make sure that
um ultimately
the the the forces
uh of change remain at the forefront
of the politics of transformation in
sudan
these are the questions that we
hopefully will be able to answer and
again it's
very glad and very honored to be with
all of you
thank you
thanks karin thank you
one of the things that prompted this
meet this meeting
is is the real one namely the safety
and security
of
a hamduck and his colleagues in
government who have been under house
arrest
and
the bio has just told us 1 800
citizens
perished
as part of the process that that led to
the
removal of
of bashir
we cannot allow that to continue

we have to do everything possible
to ensure the security and safety
of
the
forces of change in in in sudan
and when we had to heard that
um doc and his family had been and
several other
members of the transitional
government had been
wasted by the military i think the the
the the measure of
public reaction
internationally
in africa and including ourselves
will and should assist
in restraining the military but in
particular saving
our comrades there
dr jock i hope you're on standby i'll be
calling on you but before i do that you
can those of our panelists were here
on this platform under under
they perhaps can recognize them because
they're using either the phone
please identify yourself as we move
forward and i want to call on
the diet yes if she's still around
to join us you dare
then i will ask
dr jock after that
ibrahimov is here he brought south trust
africa but of course we know him from
for destroying days
and just
let you know that codextria are
likewise
streaming this this occasion
gonna admit from uh
so we have many of us and i'm sure
through ibrima
trust africa uh community are also on
board but ibrahimova i would like to
also say something

later on behalf of trust africa
and
pedestria
i'd like to welcome to varieto and conga
so we're out there in west east africa
nancy kachingwe my sister patricia
mcfadden
and many of you who are here including
charles ray
hussey patel amidi dagger from mauritius
and and so on and my sister mowed blood
blair from
from the uk
zimbabwean but living in the uk the word
musha abbasa
christophe mukhoffer was always joining
us in these sessions
also based in the uk um
is either 18
he that
idiot is uh
from
the center for
democratic development in
nigeria i saw early on
if she's not there my call on
dr jock
dr joke
hi
thank you um and it's it's a pleasure
and such a honor to be on this platform
with
all of you people i have admired from
afar
over the years
and i'm grateful that uh this call was
brought to my attention so i could join
i don't really have so much uh more to
add
to
the privileged speakers
especially adebayo who gave a
comprehensive overview of the situation
other than to simply

repeat what i put there in text for
those of you are interested um
and which is that
the
there is no question that uh
it's going to be an uphill battle
to support
the pro-democracy movements
in sudan and sudan
of of most african countries actually
has
an amazing
history of
civil society organizing and
revolutionary protest to topple very
powerful dictatorships so i don't see
any reason why they they will not do the
same
currently with this effort to power grab
and
we need to
really hone in
on the best ways to
to keep them going with the protests
because it will these protests will
prevail in the end
the the caveat to that of course is
every time a popular uprising in sudan
has succeeded in toppling the
dictatorship it has always been the
military siding with the people at least
a large chunk of the military siding
with the people or refusing to
uh to shoot at protesters
and so if that situation still remains
with the live swath of the army i can
assure you the protest will succeed in
preventing this coup from going forward
but if the military has already been
hijacked because this is a manufactured
crisis that the coup is trying to solve
it's a manufactured crisis they they
said that oh the the civilians part of
the government was not

successful in
containing the situation solving the
needs of the people
and uh but they but they were the ones
who told the baja in the red sea to
block the road to to
to port sudan
it was the military who told
their elements to go and protests in
front of the national palace
and so they they created the
the crisis in order to justify
uh this power grab
but i think it is going to be a massive
confrontation and our fear is that
people will die in large numbers if this
confrontation continues for long
and and escalates especially with
regards to the
splm north to sla to splm north in
darfur i mean in kotovan and in blue
nile i think
these guys
were party to the
coalition government by virtue of the
ufo peace agreement
now you have two countries where the
peace agreement in juba is sponsored by
kharkum and the peace agreement khartoum
is sponsored by cuba
so if the current if the coup leaders
are not respectful towards yuba
there is a chance that their peace
agreement will collapse
and if it does the the movements the
revolutionary movements from the
peripheries
will have no choice but to go back to
civil war
and that is the most ominous situation i
can think of and so as we
as we put our heads together
in in in ways of you know in how to
support the pro-democracy forces in

sudan we have to keep
this this possibility of a return to
civil war in the back of our minds
um i i can't help but also point out
that uh
every time there is a
kind of an african
coalition of people trying to influence
events in sudan
the
racial card always gets thrown in our
faces
by the arab world and we know that the
current military coup
is sponsored by saudi arabia by egypt by
uae because they have had many
investments in that country the security
investment
from egypt including uh
trying to use sudan
as a buffer against ethiopia with
regards to the renaissance zones dam
there is no question that egypt wants a
military leadership in that country
uae and saudi arabia who are partners in
the war in yemen
are using sudanese soldiers to in that
coalition against the houthis
now if if there is if the military if
there is the military is out of the
picture in sudan such collaboration
might not continue
therefore saudi arabia and uae won
military power
now if if that is going to be a
confrontation between the arabs and the
africans
we all know where
the power lies the power is always about
money
and the pan-african solidarity to help
sudanese people
is going to fall short of what it takes
to

to revamp that so the solidarity on the
ground which is about money
and we know the arab world is going to
invest more
in sudan and we will be told off uh you
are africans uh okay so sudan has been
expelled from the african union what is
that going to affect
sudan to in it doesn't so
we have to reckon we have to come to
terms with the realities of the
afro-arab relations on the african
continent
even as we
we we remember the role of some
powerful arab leaders like
like um
mama gaddafi
like
jamal of the nasser
being so convinced of the need for
africans to work together
that effort was always undercut
by afro-arab politics
which is racial politics
so my mind is just a reminder of the
complexities and the nuances of this
relationship
as we try to find a way to support our
brothers and sisters in sudan
thank you
you know thanks chuck was very useful
intervention on your patch
also
reminding us of the realities
did you apply geopolitical realities in
in that part of the world in the sudan
and the scaring reality
of the
afro-arab relations
which are not often discussed
in the open but i think they've been
very helpful
either is it that there

and
well i'm calling idiot i'm also
reminding renewing my
my invitation to ibrima self to help us
in the discussion
in that
in any other of our panelists who might
be in the room
either
i'd like also to apologize for the world
intelligence
we've just been appointed to
the un
uh ambassador to drc ambassador the u.n
he was caught up in class as well today
but he sends his his
good wishes
and and and uh subscribes to this
meeting in full
when i asked ibrahimo
so come join us
yeah thank you thank you thank you uh
brother ebo and greetings everybody and
and thank you for for for the initiative
of bringing us together to discuss
this crisis in sudan and what to do you
know about it and uh i know you were
working very closely with with uh
abraham actually
of senegal who was also having sleepless
nights since this thing began like many
many people on this continent
i i don't have actually much to add i
think the analysis that we've had is
really so deep and
and pertinent to bio
you know deep understanding of the
dynamics in sudan
and has been you know very helpful in
putting the current crisis in context
and
i think
is also
in even in a better place to speak about

christian

than me he was my boss when i was head
of research he was executive secretary
and he is already also right now the
chair of the scientific committee of
pedestrians so i i guess koresway has
spoken

spoken already through his own voice
again

um so also and there are many other
people who are part of the palestinian
community and i think i just want to say
that i think it is very important that
we are

making this uh you know a demonstration
of solidarity and african solidarity i
think this is really the minimum we
ought to be doing at this stage

uh in addition to all the efforts that
could be made to make sure that safety
and security is guaranteed to those who
are on the front line

um the specter of creditors you know we
thought we had managed to

you know sort of keep keep out of the
the african scene

um but we've seen them coming back we've
seen so many of them in the last two
years right sudan this is the second one
in a few years and then we've
seen mali and guinea

and you know the the challenge is to is
to make sure that we don't have more
cools uh uh come coming

uh and and the big challenge definitely
is to make sure that we don't have more
of them coming

um i think the

the

characterization that bio has made as an
opportunistic who and this and like the
others is a very pertinent one and it's
also maybe where we have a sign of hope
in the sense that these schools are

coming you know following
popular uprisings in most instances you
know they must say look we are
tired of the
hardships we are tired of the abuse of
human rights and of you know the
uh and we we want we want better giving
conditions we want better futures
and a lot of young people
social movements
of young people and women on the on the
forefront
and i think that that we shouldn't lose
sight of that and what one sees in sudan
today
with the
the
fact that people are coming out to
challenge nuku
when it is still
almost like happening in a sense uh it's
a sign of hope uh in in in mali the coup
also followed
a lot of protest movements by
sort of mixed
forces in civil society but but in the
end it was really following an
expression of
uh dissatisfaction with the state of
self-affairs in the country by by the
people
and you see that happening in many other
places and that's what led to the
collapse of the dictatorships that we
had
you know in in other countries of the
continent as well and i think that's
that's been probably also what we should
be looking at to see how to strengthen
those forces how to strengthen the
movements of young people the movement
social movements and suicide movements
and make sure that
we

factor in the possibility of having
these uh you know
in you know in um
interventions of the army and military
in the
in the in the
in the politics of our countries uh you
know as we we work towards you know more
democratic forms of change
the second thing
we should also remember is that actually
and i think that has been also very
clear in the analysis that was made
that the
the this the underbelly of all is the
software under value of all this is the
other economic systems and economic
issues you know people go out in the
streets to protest
because of the lack of opportunities
because of the lack of jobs because of
the poverty and exclusion and those
issues are far from being resolved and
even if the military is
using that as an excuse for saying look
the civilians have been incapable of
resolving the issues i think there are
structural
conditions that
you know definitely we have to learn to
deal with which is where when one
interrogates the democratic politics
that is you know at play
on the continent is one looks at the at
the programs of political parties so you
know
you know what has been presented to
people in terms of elections you really
work look for alternatives alternative
ways of dealing with economic issues
alternative ways of dealing with the you
know the challenge of inequality the
global challenges that our continent has
is faced with and i think you know

beyond the the current crisis
uh that is what
you know i think uh
politics on this country need to
reconnect with democratic forces for the
progressive forces in particular we are
the context of sudan you know a regime
led by somebody like hamdok who is very
familiar with these issues he's a very
very progressive scholar
who has had time to reflect on these
issues when he was with uneca
but he definitely didn't have you know
the
the room for maneuver that he needed and
resources and and the possibility to act
and implement
the policies that would have helped me
making a difference so i think uh you
know it is it's a lot of things that
maybe we should be taking up in our
respective organizations and coming
together also that we should be pushing
forward in a much more forceful way
in terms of the debates on the
continental alternatives for the current
economic conditions the thinking
economics the thinking challenging the
orthodoxies that are somewhere there
still
and that uh you know
regimes succeed one another in power but
end up implementing for a whole lot of
reasons part of it be coming from the
pressures that they are under but also
part of it being that that the maybe the
uh people don't organize marina for or
you know or probably structuring the
movements in such a way that they will
take up those economic issues in a new
way and in a way that would enable them
to hold on for over a longer period in
terms of managing the resources of the
continent in ways that make them benefit

the people of the continent
you know more than any other person so
i'm in full support of the idea of
having a declaration or something
adopted you know following this
particular uh you know roundtable
um but also maybe making sure that we
find channels of communication with the
african union and those in the continent
who have also spoken out
you know against the coup and calling
for the reinstatement of the regime the
likelihood what we what we could fear is
that
you know they would you know appoint a
new government made up of people who are
much closer to them and then they will
say okay look look you know we are still
having the transition continue one way
or the other but the forces
that
you know are more in favor of democracy
would be pushed to on the side and and
the ham dogs may have it
very difficult to be brought back to
power but i think that that should
actually one of the the people we should
be calling for the things we should be
calling for is for the statement of farm
dog and this regime
all right so just thank you all for for
for putting together this great final
ins in the short such a short period of
time and uh and for the exploration of
solidarity
thank you bremer thanks also for helping
or graduates meeting you're very modest
you are
your very central
uh you and abdullah abdullah uh
battery
who
thanks to the
to the

poor police nature of our communication
system on the continent he's stuck some
out there can't can't link him
like to welcome
david johnson from trinidad and tobago
just joined us
also we're having a very precarious
link but welcome david never too late
then we have also my mind in show i
i see you there you want to say
something later you're welcome in the
meantime i call on your
partner brian kagura
last but not least
in this discussion
uh i'm assuming that
is not seen anyway she's disappeared
and then none of the other panelists on
board they are on board
please indicate and you you can join us
to speak after brian cagoro frank aguero
well known to all of us on this platform
zimbabwean
but
mostly penn african
right
thank you uh
doc thank you
that's good seeing all the uh
pan-africanists um
i think there are certain key questions
and thanks bio for that framing and
thanks to joke and thanks to
brima thanks to elino
uh thanks to karine for the framing that
they have done
what we are seeing is an interplay of
several factors as already indicated
and those several factors land lend
themselves
to very specific questions about the
nature of solidarity that we need to
ourselves
think about

let me reframe some of those issues for
purposes of moving us forward
clearly there is an issue of a
militarized racialized and financialized
which is politically mortgaged
but equally politically mortgaged as
others have said what's the transitions
the interplay of interest in the
sudanese transition
presents several challenges conceptual
ideological and practical
first i think that it is fair to say
and those who are in the american
foreign service will accept
that the euro-american interests
over-projected themselves at the moment
of sudan's transition
given some of the sweeter deals they
were willing to make with bashir
before his
he was deposed
they encumbered the new government
in ways that made it appear as though
uh they had more control so the visceral
reaction that you saw from the opponents
of the euro american interest is
something that must be appreciated an
overprojection by euro-american
interests
and also
a counter projection by other interests
and i'd say this was
ideologically contaminated the moment of
transition a transition offered by the
agency of sudanese without foreign help
and
transition authored as part of the
history that joke has described of
resistance to military
rule
and resistance that has been costly
contaminated by this over-execution
it was an agenda of
almost a romantic attempt

to
try and fossilize and microwave
a particular type of liberalism in the
transition or in the democracy that was
imagined
so this has led many to ask and i see
that variety has asked the same question
is sudan democracy ready
is the state ready is the economy ready
society rating is the sec kurokras ready
and is there a possibility that the
school would be sanitized
and once it's sanitized that african
union will do exactly what we did in
charge in mali and elsewhere
take the de facto
situation and of course has happened in
zimbabwe in um on the 17th of november
2017 take the de facto situation as the
diure
situation
but the sudanese context is complicated
as all the other speakers have said by
the interests of egypt
and those interests extend to its grand
renaissance damn interest but they go
beyond
they go beyond the Nile basin historical
fields they go
into
what egypt sees as its own domestic
security and what it will take to
guarantee uh that security in the face
of the threats that it thinks it is
facing and of course
i think joke and others have talked
about uae saudi arabia and this growth
of militarism and militarization that's
linked to the broader mediterranean
regime
and that's worth tackling as a matter of
solidarity
uh and then of course
it raises bigger questions that go

beyond the sudan about
these transitional arrangements
governments of national unity inclusive
governments
in which you have designed easy bad
fellows
and
the curious role that the au and the un
have played
is either as undertakers who come to
embalm their bodies or as marriage
officers who come to bless a forced
marriage
and the lack of a clear normative
framework to deal with these situations
where they are rising out of mass
protest as ibrahim has said abraham's
age or arising out of a genuine uh for
or transition oh those situations are
rising out of coup the eu has died at
the point of principle and within god it
made
some position on the sudan
but it's worth noting that the bigger
challenge
and variety raised this in a chat
there were no guarantors for the sudan
transition
as there were no guarantors in many
other transitions and in south sudan
which is a more precarious transition
the guarantors that had been set of
course were required
and were monitored and were replenished
it seems to me therefore that
the question of afro-arab
uh solidarity and disconnect the
geopolitical as well as the racial
dimensions of it
and the question of how best to mediate
in this situation given the various uh
components of challenges that we
we've referred to and and in various
geographic and other spaces whether it's

cordovan blue Nile and etc and the militia
and so on and so forth
I want to suggest the following there was already a statement issued by civil society groups to which many have signed on that it may be useful to have a look at that statement and there was a statement already done by defend the defenders uh it may not carry the sort of politics because it focused purely on getting the human u.n human rights system to consider this matter but I think that they are worth supporting these efforts because they get some action out of the uh um the un and the au but I want to suggest evo and colleagues that Karine when she talks of mass mobilization online and offline we cannot take it for granted that the actions we take with respect to Sudan I in essence expressions of our seriousness to ensure that this melody does not replicate itself in all our countries where if military folks are unhappy with the state of politics contrary to the constitutional requirement that they be under civilian control and contrary to the expectation that they would always act in the interests of citizens they could and would and will act in the interest of either their foreign handlers or their own self-interested self-actors in overthrowing the constitution and taking fundamental uh actions to

determine without any form of democratic control

uh which citizens would be part of that so in order to stop this i think that the arnold infrared says the african union it is about time that citizens pronounce themselves on this issue if for no other reason for the reason already given

that the number of human lives lost in order to achieve the sudanese revolution

demand that this be

a matter too important to be left to the sudanese alone

and this is a matter in which we must reach out across the continent east west north south and central

and sudan is not the only one as we take solidarity on sudan we pronounce ourselves on ethiopia we pronounce ourselves on esswatini we pronounce ourselves in on mali and guinea we pronounce ourselves on chat on matters we feel that the leadership has not handled

in terms of its own normative framework the au shared values but as citizens were custodians of those uh shared values so we can organize virtually as we are doing

today i think this type of organizing needs to be expanded

uh we need to reach out to colleagues in the media to ensure that the media captures the right narrative about what is happening in the sudan

but there are very clear demands with respect to the sudan which is the release of the prime minister from house arrest

the reinstatement of civilian authority and of course to ensure that any inclusive arrangement is an arrangement

that's not subject to the control of
those that wield the guns but the
subject to the control
of a broader set of actors and there's a
formula there's a process that's not
directed
from a barack
and i think that
beyond those demands releasing all
political prisoners investigating
instances of violation
of those citizens who've been
ill-treated in the process
by being unlawfully arrested by the
military and also addressing questions
of broader questions of accountability
in the economy and elsewhere both
domestic
and foreign players but i think we need
to address ourselves to the foreign
actors
the ones mentioned as well as the
europeans and the americans
there are certain actions that they take
that may undermine any prospects of
transition they may seem to make sense
in
washington and may even make sense in
whitehall or in paris or in bonn
but ultimately their net impact
on the ground is to undermine
the heart sweat the blood
of the matas that
died to liberate the country from the
bashir rule
i want to end by saying people that
practical solidarity demands that beyond
the virtual and physical organizing and
the media work that we would do
we ask ourselves what will it take
to practically support the families
of those activists who are being shot on
the streets
being arrested

i do not suppose that we will have all
the resources as individuals
but we need to make it clear
that an injury to one is an injury to
all we also need to make it clear that
we are the sudan revolution and the
sudan revolution is the african
revolution it applies to zimbabwe
applies to lesotho applies everywhere so
evo with those words i just want to call
us
beyond the statements to say we now need
as people who are pan-african conscious
uh or are conscious pan-africanists
to have a very practical structural way
of responding to this growing
cancer across our continent thank you
well thanks brian thanks wonderful
summary
wonderful
draft already
in terms of resolutions
and we'll just have to ask you brian too
although of course this thing is
recorded
and there's as people have
been
guests
and participants on this platform
the policy dialogue is
recorded
it is transcribed
and it's published subsequently but
would ask brian
perhaps to
put something
on paper along the lines is just
outlined
form of resolution
which we can circulate
post this meeting
and develop some kind of consensus
and more importantly a practical
position

with respect
to
the sudan
also grateful brian that you made
mention that africa is always in crisis
and if bremer had left out zimbabwe as a
cool area
it is one of the first crews that
the
the au ignored
overlooked
and that someone warned at the time
cause beca beget cools
but essentially
we have learnt
in the in the contemporary situation at
least
that crews are
implicitly
explicitly an expression against
democratic forces
and they're coming always
as saviors
restoring legacy in the case of zimbabwe
or as buran said in the case of the
sudan
that the military intervened to to to
stave off a civil war
that's nothing new in terms of the
claims that the military
make in taking over power
we have read it all and we will ask
those of you who want to say a few words
to come in
anybody amidi
well no thanks sibo uh i think the
previous speakers from adebayo to joke
to brian
and others were spoken cecilia
sulu i've said it all
i obviously in
i'm in full support of the initiative
i particularly have thoughts for our
comrade abdallah

uh abdallah and i we've been working a lot from unique time
i'm abdallah came to mauritius i took him to seychelles
on the whole governance promotion program
uh in fact just before he left for uh sudan
i had the opportunity to have a conversation with him
and he was truly a real nationalist
uh going on a mission for his country
uh in the context of a civilian government in the context of a new democracy to emerge
so yes i'm in support yes we need to express the solidarity in all ways possible thank you
thanks amir
those who may not know media dagger we belong to the old
african association of political science along with some of the people who were supposed to on this panel helmut sharawi
i think communication problem in zangola and jalaja
in support of this meeting
and we have to we we know that they're together
with us in this in this venture
uh anyone else for this week
hey let me put on my video
my name
oh okay
yes
so i'm new to this space and mine is not to repeat what people have said
but one of the things that are very concerning
is
when you watch what happened with um dog and he couldn't even levy taxes

and a big part of the time
after the revolution was spent
trying to put
certain conditions into place
and there was no money to enable him to
at least
roll out economic recovery measures for
his people
and you know a new government like that
needs some time to be able to overcome
the resistance by local officials all
the way to the ground he couldn't even
levy taxes they were sabotaging him for
a very long time
and why are we as africans unable
to have a fund that systemizes the
africa development bank it's i don't
know where i'm not an economist i'm a
lawyer but i i feel we failed a block
from day one part of the after the
revolution the biggest campaign should
have been availing a dog with enough
resources
to keep the people
uh happy until he's able to consolidate
power but we spend so much time doing
that icc that i'm not saying isis is not
important but that should have been like
the first first thing a master plan for
sudan but washington and the rest of
them were just asking to change that
change that changed that before we give
you money and that was wrong we should
have
i said give the money they need money
now until he's able to politically
overpower the people are receiving his
government and i think going forward we
need to really find a way where do we
have funds that can easily be mobilized
where can we sit and our governments
should be persuaded to be putting money
there i know they don't fund the african
union even they resist that as well but

we have to wake up what has happened in
sudan is africans not friends you have
to be your friend first to befriend
yourself fast before you you have other
friends from outside that's what i'm
saying i'm saying we need to
think even if not for us of our children
and their children
can there be some money somewhere for
for for responding to crisis like this
economically so we can stabilize our
nations so that we don't give anybody
space to cook
what brand called neoliberal
spaces economically or politically and
if we don't like that but if we don't
like it then let us be ready for it and
we have to learn from now and start now
even if it is
we have to think even if it's thinking
through even if we don't have the money
we have to think through these things we
have to
thank you
thank you wonder once were you from
wanza
i know
i'm kenyan
i'm kenyan
asante about a gunner
anyone else
after wanza thanks for answer for your
statement
anybody else
patricia from the
from another
maybe we shouldn't involve you in this
at this stage
anybody else
there's a handle of people filani
fulani i don't see the end fellaini
please come in
uh thank you uh
thank you evo

i think this was very insightful
i just want to say that
democracy to me must remain an issue
for the people by the people
and
what we are seeing in africa as brian
said
should give us out
to reframe conceptually
in terms of what others have been
calling waves of democratization i
remember sudan a few years back
with a number of scholars saying that
africa is actually looking at the fourth
wave of democratization
uh from the third wave of
democratization
as suggested by huntington then
i think what is happening here is that
we're really
taking one step forward at a moment and
perhaps three or four steps
back
and there's need to really confront
this reality and not to keep on a linear
uh conceptual
pose life that uh africa is also part
toward democratization
and
my worry is that this is not gonna be
the last military pool in africa in the
next few years
and
as far as i know it won't be surprising
if zimbabwe is gonna have another
military coup as well one one military
who gets another
and
we have seen that elsewhere in mali
and so forth
so
my emphasis is that
we need to
to be conceptually clear that what is

happening in africa now is totally
democratic regression
and all the celebrations are about waves
of democratization
a kind of a kind of force and the
warning is that this military crews do
not just start by the military stepping
into civilian issues
but we have leaders who start deploying
the military to deal with civilian
matters where they would have lost
control we saw that in zambia
though it didn't culminate in a coup
where the former president eddie gallon
deployed the military we have seen that
happening in south africa we are seeing
it all over uh most of the governments
don't have
sustainable solutions to the problems
benevolent africa and they think the
military is the ultimate solution but
what it does it empowers the military in
the long term and they feel that they
are holders of power and not the
citizens let me
end the
professor
thanks thanks sir
thank you very much i see musoni
and then tony please come in
how about pronounce your name
yeah it's a pretty common kenyan name
um thank you so much everybody for all
of the
insights and especially bio for the
more historical kind of run into the
more recent day events i have a couple
of things to say that are partly
practical on sort of solidarity
suggestions
but also more
things i think we need to think through
and have clear positions on
in terms of sort of what's being

advocated as a sort of solution on the way forward
on practical and urgent solidarity messages as you all know um saturday is the day that they've called for that the protest movement forces for freedom of change have called for the massive nationwide protest and all the unions have called for a general strike um and i think that's gonna be a day of extreme risk for protesters and maybe you know this group is the wrong generation to get things going but it would be amazing if we could see across africa a real kind of you know support online for sort of protect the protesters on that day um or some kind of action that is alert to the fact that that is probably where one of the biggest crackdowns will happen um in terms of the general strike i mean i think eleanor pointed it out we're also stressed by our own situations and also you know also economically sort of hit by you know two years of covet but if the general strike persists which it seems like it will there's going to be real need within the country to keep the protest movement going and of course the last time around sudanese and the diaspora were amazing in terms of organizing brigades of medical supplies food and so on money coming in right now the money channels are shut down but that's also something that we could think of as a as a longer term kind of support to keep

the protest movement going if this thing
prolongs as i'm sure it's going to
um and then the last sort of practical
issue issue is other than suspending the
sudan from
the au they are sending a mission in on
monday and this group i think would be
really well placed
to put in a very concrete and sort of
detailed and nuanced kind of set of
suggestions before they go in
and i say that because you know even on
this call some of the calls have been
for dialogue but
they had already dialogued they already
had the transitional arrangements
through the
constitutional declaration through juba
the timelines were clear the military
was out meant to be out of government
next month which is no doubt why they
have made this kind of move that they
have
and in a way the sort of attempted coup
a couple of weeks ago i feel really
we all understood it as sort of floating
a balloon um for a real coup but
actually what it did was
open up the doors for a negotiation
again of things that were already agreed
in the first instance and then with the
armed groups
and i really feel our position should be
these things have been negotiated the
transitional arrangements have been
negotiated this government needs to come
back the military needs to come out but
there is something that needs a sort of
position on i think that this group
would be good to sort of think through
another issue is on the externals
everyone's talked about you know the
usual western suspects and the whole
gulf issue but the one external who

hasn't been raised and
you know we're struggling with how to
how to sort of get around it is israel
um because israel is really playing the
role of a spoiler and a sort of
intermediary and a sort of financier and
supplier of arms to different sides of
the arm groups and
there is some i think
we've begun to think of ways to sort of
get into talk to deal with the gulf we
haven't begun that kind of work when it
comes to israel and then the last thing
that sort of needs to be think thought
through really carefully is
the cabinet is split it's not all
cabinet ministers that were arrested um
and it certainly i think jock was
pointing this out it's not all armed
groups that are on the streets like sbm
north that have
called for the people to join the
general strike and the protest
um especially the darfuri armed groups
are
sitting quite pretty with the military
and i think we need
some sort of nuance of which of the
parties are where
and which of the armed groups are where
and why
again to sort of
you know avert jokes big fear but also
to have a clear position on sort of
what next steps forward are
um and again that's it for me thank you
so much everyone for for hosting this
and for speaking
well thanks mutoni that's very very very
interesting
brian please take note in drafting your
statement for us
uh tony rila
then i'll ask the panelists at least

those who smoke
a two minutes each as we wind up
uh bryan tony
thank you everybody i think that
this has been an immensely rich
discussion not merely
about sudan but about africa generally
and i'd like to link something that
eleanor said and
link it to what brian said
we're not dealing with events we're
dealing with processes
and when we went back
helena went back to the 60s
and
the whole process of decolonizing africa
we were not dealing with events in all
these countries we were dealing with a
process
we're now dealing with a process
right across the continent and we need
to join the dots exactly as brian is
saying
that we need to see that the events
happening in all these countries have
common links and i think bio
richly described those links there and
that this is the core
of the kind of solidarity that we need
to begin to develop
and
whether you have a hard coup
in
in sudan or softku in zimbabwe
we still face
the
dilemma of how do we remove
authoritarian forms of government
built on the colonial legacy
and transform the kinds of institutions
and particularly
to create the conditions
in which the military remain
absolutely clearly under civilian

control
these these are very serious issues so
we we can't
ignore sudan and we must provide the
strongest solidarity problems provide
the same solidarity in a swatini and in
zimbabwe and everyone else and this is
where civil society i think has to
develop a very pan-africanist view
and i think one of the things that's
happened
is that
much of civil society
in africa
is now
at the behest of what brian
quite rightly called the euro us
support on the basis of what bio talked
about as the neoliberal agenda linked
to democracy and human rights and rule
of law
but we're not developing the authentic
kind of solidarity that civil society
has to have
in a pan-africanist view
i think we have to start somewhere and
this is a good example of us for us
in civil society right across africa to
begin to develop exactly this kind of
solidarity
so i hope that my
erudite colleague brian
will get his pen out and start to
produce something that
pulls the notion
of this is both an event
but it's also a process
thank you
thanks tony uh but i don't want to have
to
ask you the expanders to come back
unless you really feel so others i'll
ask
bio and brian

to
give us the last
few words on the occasion and the way
forward
i'll begin with
with brain
and bio the last word
i really don't have much to add i've
noted the points that anthony has made
that tony has made that karine and
others made earlier uh
don't worry i will
reach out to caroline
and to eat diet even if she didn't uh
she wouldn't speak
and to you tony and to bio and then we
will come up with um
with a statement i think some things are
time bound which is what amboni
was suggesting uh the au has this
mission we need to have something
for that other things i think we
are more
have known that they have a lot of time
and some very practical questions on the
saturday related solidarity that may
require small groups to dialogue
about and maybe the invitation i see
people like janna
and nancy and the others
and no zippo and even ones are on the
calling joke
so maybe a smaller group could think
about specific
pan continental and i would dare say
even within
the u.s north america
europe and elsewhere so continent plus
plus uh
solidarity it just needs some form of
coordination and we can think about that
but otherwise evil
and
everybody that's organized this thank

you so much for gathering us beyond the
statement i think that we can have the
bilaterals on the practical
solidarity bio i think you and i can
talk as well as the other colleagues
that are referred to yeah
thanks brian thank you very much indeed
bye
thank you
thank you very much
and i'll come back to you
hello yeah it has been very
useful
it's it's always good to have a an
opportunity to share with colleagues
it's it releases some of the frustration
some of the pain
and and to do so with
comrades of many years
standing um is particularly i think
empowering at this time
um i would definitely want to second um
this proposal that for the immediate
please let's keep the cut yet on our
radar
the military will do everything possible
to break the wheel of the people on the
cart yet
but it's also going to be
a day of massive novelization within the
sudan itself
uh and to the extent to which we can
uh in various ways
both online and physically
support uh the democratic forces within
the country uh it will be really helpful
um early information of course is that
the the military are looking for ways
also
and it's it's good that
we've been allotted to the fact
that there are
armed groups that also supports the
military and that even

in some instances as i indicated
orchestrated the events by making calls
for a military intervention
they would like to they will try to
organize a counter demonstration
early efforts that they deployed two
days ago didn't seem to work
gather enough traction and the
overwhelming sentiment is in support of
the transitional government of abdullah
hamduk
for the au delegation i think
as many of us as have the possibility to
reach out uh to particularly the
commissioner for political affairs
uh bankole joey should do so um
i had a brief chat with him in kigali he
came
came briefly to kigali for the
for a meeting and we we run into each
other so i
i have offered to give him a scenario
analysis um
uh as an input into the preparation of
his mission but i think as many of us as
are able to reach him brian muttoni and
all her stuff others please let's do so
partly also because he's going to be
managing a peace and security council in
which the military had allies and it was
a bit of a miracle
that
at the end of the day the majority voice
was for the suspension of
offsuit down from the councils of the eu
day before yesterday uh the debate went
on to about 11 pm at this time and it
was still mated
uh because
the military had
uh um and not an insignificant number of
african countries actually supporting
that but it was not a coup
um so we need to work on that front

uh and bolster those within the
commission
who who would need arguments
to help us thank you
thanks thanks by thanks very much indeed
for being the anchor on this program too
and helping us and also indicating the
way forward hello
hello
yes i'm thinking of the 30th
that
just in terms of the shortness of time
twitter is the lowest hanging fruit
so um
i think the twitterati if we can please
make sure that we
we
are at least spends uh
if nothing else at least spend saturday
on twitter
and i don't know if there's an expert on
setting up the first
server of tweets if they can do that and
the rest of us follow
i think those of us who have contacts
with our own ministers of
international relations or foreign
affairs
to at least give them a call and say you
know what are you doing
and also to the journalists that we know
and then i've you know i'm really
hope hopefully maybe that there can be a
statement that we can sign on by the by
the 30th
you know great thanks leno
thanks indeed
before you close
yes so if there are variety joe and all
the other more savvy people who can help
uh set up a twitter chat
for friday and saturday and we expand
the sort of panels include the younger
comrades maybe they should volunteer

through you and ruth
and others who are on here and then we
can take it up if people want to
volunteer to be part of twitter chats to
host twitter chats then let's let's do
that we keep and if the surprise media
focus there they can help as well we can
work with them together with other
community
we do a part but we seek your assistance
in the process
thanks very much
we come to the end of the
of the event
and please be just to thank every one of
you
especially those who have led the
discussion uh
bio
karine
elena
jock
and brian
thank you very much andy brima
and all of you we've come on
on on this
platform today to discuss and i think
it is a
an important meeting one of the first
that we've ever had
in solidarity with a crisis situation
in on the continent and there are many
crises many
we should try and institutionalize
the men in which we respond to this
crisis
as we've done in the past especially
during the anti-apartheid days
if unless this be the beginning but not
the end
thank you and good night
thank you
bye
thanks everyone bye

bye everybody
thank you so much
bye brian brown
message
i am calling
yeah
somebody has put a whatsapp number there
bye
what
that's a question
that's a question yeah
a
i am happy