



AFRICAN NARRATIVES

# Sudan at a Crossroads: The Parallel Government and the Future of Conflict



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### Summary

Sudan is witnessing rapid developments in the ongoing conflict between the Sudanese Army and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF). The latter has announced its intention to form a parallel government in the areas under its control, in an attempt to strengthen its political and military legitimacy. This announcement comes at a time when the RSF is facing a decline on the ground after a series of defeats by the Army, pushing it to seek political alternatives to enhance its negotiating position. However, this move faces significant challenges, including a lack of international recognition and internal divisions among opposition forces. On the international level, the RSF is accused of committing grave violations against civilians, complicating its position and making it

vulnerable to international sanctions. Meanwhile, the Sudanese Army is making military progress, supported by political moves aimed at bolstering its legitimacy. Despite continued regional support for the RSF, the Sudanese scene remains complex, with military and political factors intertwined in determining the future of the conflict. Regarding future scenarios, they range from the continuation of civil war, the victory of the Army, a fragile political settlement, or even state collapse. In any case, the Sudanese people remain the biggest victims, necessitating effective international intervention to stop the war and find a comprehensive political solution to end the crisis and achieve stability.

# Key Ideas of the Article

## 1. Formation of a Parallel Government

The RSF has announced its intention to form a parallel government in the areas under its control, in an attempt to strengthen its political and military legitimacy, despite its field decline against the Sudanese Army. This move aims to legitimize its presence but faces significant challenges, including a lack of international recognition and internal divisions among opposition forces.

## 2. Accusations of Human Rights Violations

The RSF faces international accusations of committing grave violations against civilians, particularly in Darfur and White Nile, prompting the international community to issue condemnations and impose sanctions on its leaders. These accusations complicate its international standing and weaken the chances of success for its parallel government project.

## 3. Sudanese Army's Field Advance

The Sudanese Army has achieved significant field progress, regaining several strategic areas, which has strengthened its military and political position. This progress weakens the RSF's ability to impose a new political reality and makes the parallel government project more fragile.

## 4. Regional Support for the RSF

Some regional countries continue to support the RSF militarily and politically, enabling it to endure despite field losses. This support complicates the Sudanese scene and increases the likelihood of the conflict continuing for a longer period.

## 5. Internal Divisions

The RSF faces internal divisions among its leaders and allies, particularly regarding the presidency of the parallel government and the distribution of powers. These divisions threaten to collapse the project before it materializes and weaken its negotiating position in any future political settlement.

## 6. International and Regional Stance

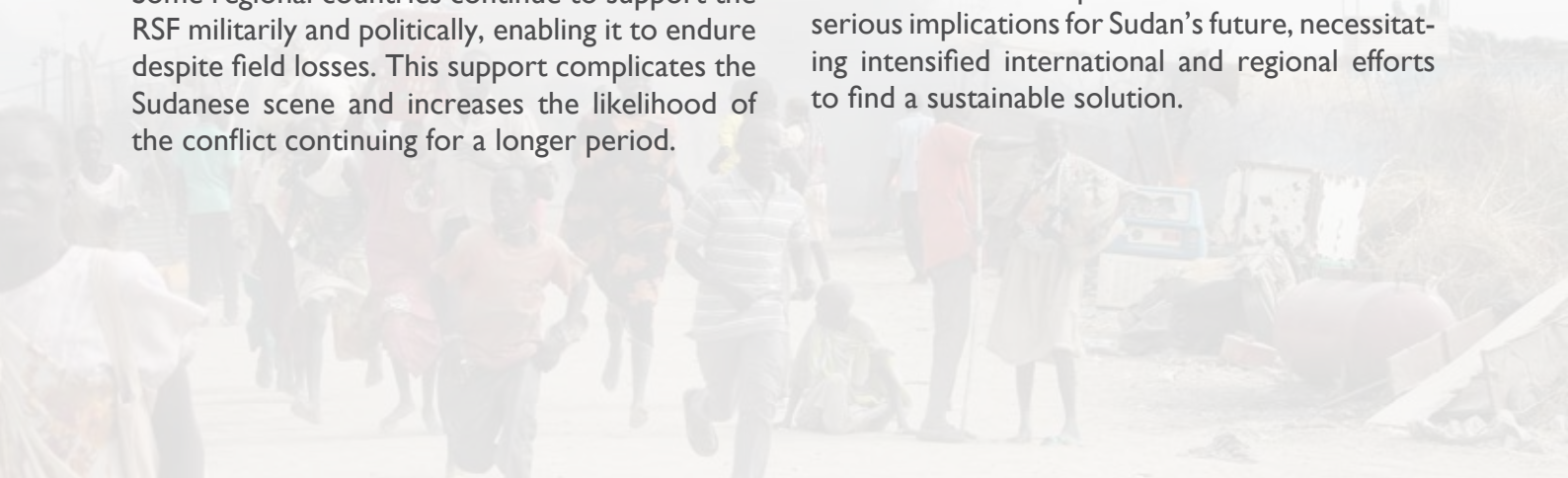
International and regional positions on the formation of the parallel government vary, with some countries like Kenya supporting this move, while others like Egypt oppose it. The United Nations has expressed concern that this move could exacerbate the crisis and complicate peace efforts.

## 7. Humanitarian Crisis

The Sudanese people are suffering from a worsening humanitarian crisis due to the ongoing conflict, with the country experiencing massive displacement and famine. This crisis requires urgent international intervention to provide humanitarian aid and find a comprehensive political solution to end the war.

## 8. Future Scenarios

The future scenarios for the conflict in Sudan are varied, including the continuation of civil war, the victory of the Army, a fragile political settlement, or even state collapse. Each scenario carries serious implications for Sudan's future, necessitating intensified international and regional efforts to find a sustainable solution.



## Introduction

The Sudanese scene has witnessed rapid developments since the beginning of 2025. The war between the Sudanese army and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) continues, amidst field and political changes that are reshaping the conflict's map. One of the latest developments is the RSF's announcement of its intention to form a parallel government in the areas under its control, reflecting its attempt to legitimize its military and political presence. This announcement comes at a time when the paramilitary forces are experiencing a field retreat in several regions, following a series of defeats inflicted by the army, pushing them to seek alternatives that strengthen their negotiating position or create a new reality on the ground. Although the idea of a parallel government remains uncertain due to the lack of unity among opposition factions, its mere proposal adds a new dimension to the conflict, highlighting the RSF's efforts to establish itself as a political force, not just a military actor in the Sudanese equation.

The RSF's announcement of forming a parallel government comes amid international accusations of committing grave violations against civilians, further complicating its position on the international stage. Concurrent with this announcement, horrific massacres have occurred in regions such as Darfur and White Nile, where hundreds were killed in attacks attributed to the RSF. This has prompted widespread international condemnation, particularly from the United States, which imposed sanctions on prominent leaders within the group. On the other hand, RSF

leaders view the formation of a parallel government as a necessary step to counter what they describe as the army's "monopolization of power" and its attempt to reproduce the military regime. This rhetoric aims to attract civilian opposition forces and gain their support. However, this project faces significant obstacles, including the lack of international recognition for any political entity emerging from a military faction, as well as internal divisions among Sudanese opposition leaders regarding whether to support or reject this move.



On the ground, the RSF's political maneuvers cannot be separated from recent military developments. The Sudanese army has achieved notable progress on several fronts, most notably gaining control over Wad Madani, Um Rawaba, and large parts of Khartoum Bahri. These victories have strengthened the army's position and weakened the RSF's ability to impose a new political reality through the parallel government. At the same time, regional support for the RSF continues, particularly from some countries that see the continuation of the war as a means to protect their strategic interests in Sudan. The question remains as to how capable the RSF is of





implementing its political project amid its field losses, especially since its military control remains fragile in the face of continuous airstrikes from the Sudanese army.

Thus, the Sudanese scene is heading toward further complexity, as military and political factors intertwine in determining the future of the conflict. The announcement of a parallel government may be more symbolic than a feasible project, but it reflects the RSF's awareness of the challenges it faces amid its military decline. Conversely, the army recognizes that military resolution alone may not be sufficient to end the crisis, opening the door to multiple possibilities, most notably the continuation of battles

or entering into political negotiations under new conditions dictated by the balance of power on the ground. In any case, the Sudanese people remain the greatest victims of this ongoing conflict, amid a worsening humanitarian catastrophe that calls for more effective international intervention to stop the war and lay the foundations for a comprehensive political solution.

This study seeks to shed light on the developments in the Sudanese scene in light of the war between the RSF and the army, particularly in light of the RSF's announcement of forming a parallel government. This can be explored through several key axes as outlined below.



## First Axis: The Sudanese War as a Priority at the 38th African Union Summit

The Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, hosted the 38th African Union Summit on February 15 and 16, 2025, amid unprecedented challenges and immense opportunities to reshape the future of the African continent. The summit took place at a critical time, as Africa faces complex issues ranging from regional security and climate change to economic transformations, making this summit a focal point for the world in search of purely African solutions to long-standing problems. Leaders of member states, alongside prominent international figures, gathered to discuss sustainable development, economic integration, conflict resolution, and advancing the continent's digital transformation. The timing of the summit coincided with a broader African landscape grappling with numerous political, economic, security, and social challenges, further complicating the African context, particularly the escalating Sudanese war. The summit addressed a range of pressing issues brought before the participating African leaders, focusing on matters affecting the interests of African nations, with the Sudanese crisis being the most prominent.

The 38th African Union Summit in Addis Ababa discussed the Sudanese crisis, with African leaders and international officials warning against the continued fighting between the Sudanese army and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF). They called for an end to hostilities and the delivery of humanitarian aid. The Chairperson of the African Union, Mohamed Sheikh Ghazouani, confirmed that he discussed with the head of Sudan's Sover-

ign Council, Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, the necessity of ending the war. Meanwhile, the Chairperson of the Union for 2025, João Lourenço, emphasized the importance of enhancing African cooperation to find peaceful solutions to conflicts on the continent. The outgoing African Union Commissioner, Moussa Faki, noted that the war in Sudan is exacerbating regional conflicts and expanding terrorism and organized crime, increasing displacement and instability. The United Nations Secretary-General, António Guterres, stated that Sudan is witnessing the largest wave of displacement and famine, urging the international community to act to stop the flow of weapons and end the bloodshed.

The Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs welcomed the proposal by some African Union member states to condemn the RSF's rebellion against the state and to stand with the legitimacy of the Sudanese government and armed forces, supporting the roadmap for forming a transitional civilian government. The ministry added in a statement, "We welcome the positions of Egypt, Algeria, South Africa, Eritrea, Tunisia, Mali, Somalia, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Burundi, Mauritania, and Botswana in support of Sudan and its people."

Sudanese forces also welcomed the convening of the high-level humanitarian conference in support of the Sudanese people and expressed gratitude for the donations announced by the United Arab Emirates and Ethiopia to support

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1 US aid freeze threatens Sudan's lifeline as USAID support hangs in balance, Al-Monitor.  
<https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2025/02/us-aid-freeze-threatens-sudans-lifeline-usaid-support-hangs-balance>

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2 War in Sudan dominates African Union summit amid calls for a ceasefire, Sudan Tribune.  
<https://sudantribune.net/article297432/>



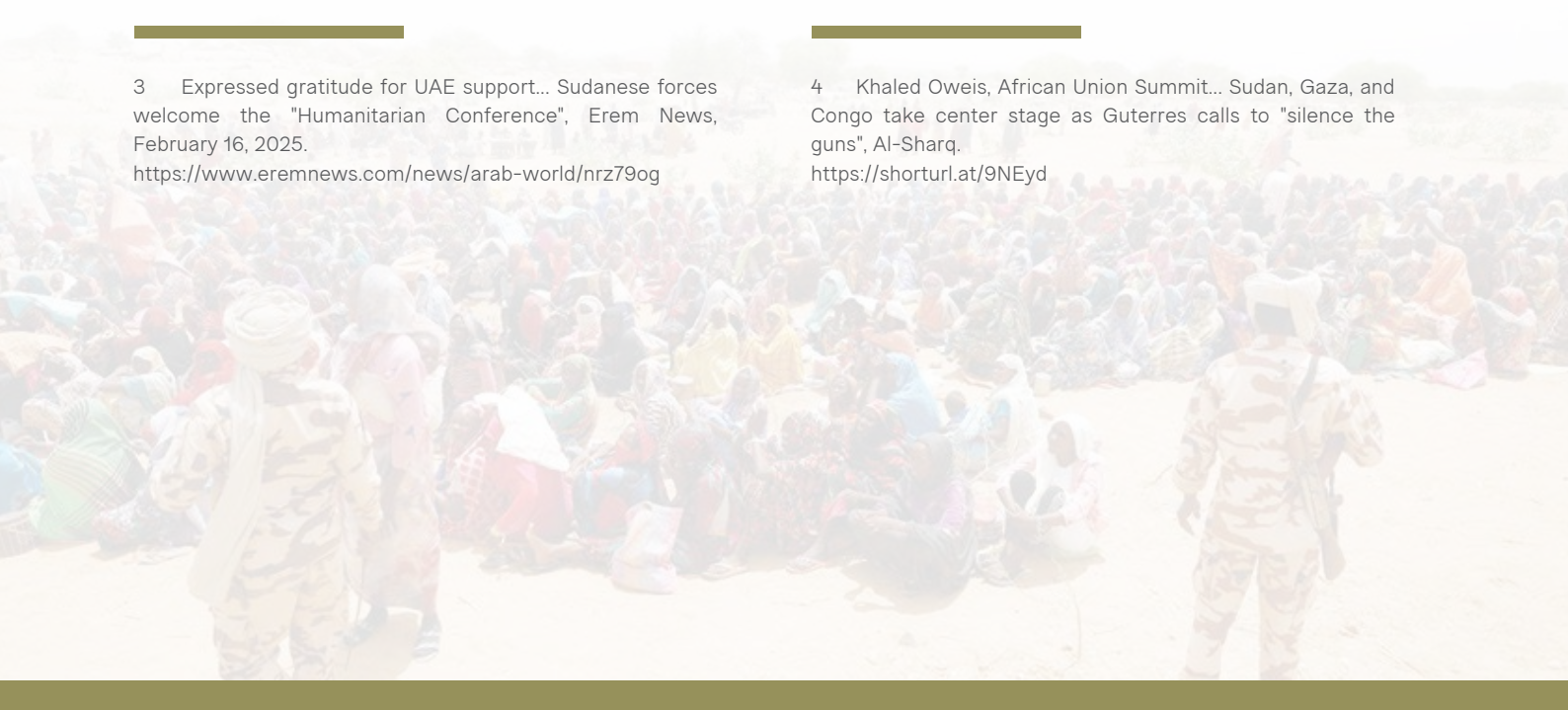
humanitarian aid in Sudan. The conference was held on Friday, February 14, on the sidelines of the 38th African Union Summit in Addis Ababa, in cooperation between the African Union, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the United Arab Emirates, and the United Nations, alongside several countries and international regional organizations. The newspaper "Erem News" reported that the RSF expressed full support for the conference, which seeks to attract the necessary support and funding for humanitarian efforts in Sudan, stating that it "highly appreciates the international and regional efforts to highlight the worsening humanitarian situation in the country due to the repercussions of the war ignited by the army and remnants of the old regime".

The summit also saw the attendance of Abdalla

Hamdok, the former Sudanese Prime Minister and head of the "Resilience" alliance, at the summit of heads of state and government on Saturday, despite Sudan's official absence since the suspension of its membership in 2021, raising questions. His alliance clarified that his visit aimed to support peace efforts, while observers noted that he participated as an economic expert. The leader Khaled Omar Youssef confirmed that the "Resilience" delegation, led by Hamdok, seeks to revitalize the African role in resolving the Sudanese crisis and to address humanitarian issues. Hamdok met with prominent officials, including the Kenyan President, the current Chairperson of the African Union, and Nigeria's Foreign Minister.

3 Expressed gratitude for UAE support... Sudanese forces welcome the "Humanitarian Conference", Erem News, February 16, 2025.  
<https://www.ere news.com/news/arab-world/nrz79og>

4 Khaled Oweis, African Union Summit... Sudan, Gaza, and Congo take center stage as Guterres calls to "silence the guns", Al-Sharq.  
<https://shorturl.at/9NEyd>



## Second Axis: The Rapid Support Forces' Efforts to Establish a Parallel Government in Sudan

The Rapid Support Forces (RSF), which have been engaged in a bloody conflict against the Sudanese army since April 2023, sought to strengthen their political and military position at the beginning of 2025 by announcing plans to form a parallel government in the areas under their control. These efforts were highlighted during a significant political event organized in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, where prominent RSF leaders, led by Abdul Rahim Dagalo, attempted to legitimize their authority. Although the foundational charter of the parallel government was not immediately signed, the event served as a symbolic step reflecting the RSF's intention to consolidate its political control, moving beyond its identity as a mere rebel military force. The choice of Nairobi, the capital of a key regional player, underscores the external dimensions of this move and raises questions about the extent of regional and international support for this initiative, especially given the accusations of war crimes and gross human rights violations leveled against the RSF.

Amid recent military gains by the Sudanese army, the RSF appears to be compensating for its field losses by pursuing a political path, aiming to legitimize its authority in the areas it controls. This approach reflects its attempt to establish itself not only as a military force but also as a political entity capable of negotiating and imposing its vision for Sudan's future. The recruitment of Abdul Aziz al-Hilu, leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N), into this initiative is a tactical move aimed at strengthening the RSF's political front and lending a pluralistic character to its political project. However, this attempt faces significant obstacles, including the lack of broad international recognition and the

internal challenges stemming from the ongoing conflict. The Sudanese army continues to advance in reclaiming major cities and consolidating its control, leaving the RSF in a defensive position that undermines the viability of its political project.

The RSF's recent moves in Kenya also reveal broader regional dimensions of the Sudanese conflict, with increasing indications that regional actors may be supporting this initiative, or at least allowing it to proceed to serve their own interests. Kenya's hosting of this event sparked widespread controversy, particularly among Sudanese circles, which viewed it as potential bias in favor of the RSF. This reflects the complexity of the regional landscape surrounding the Sudanese crisis. Moreover, the continued military and financial support from some regional powers enables the RSF to withstand setbacks on the ground, increasing the likelihood of a prolonged conflict. However, the formation of a parallel government could deepen divisions in Sudan, similar to what has occurred in other countries with similar conflicts, complicating future political solutions.

Despite the RSF's attempts to impose a new political reality through the parallel government project, the success of this endeavor remains highly uncertain due to the lack of international recognition and the military challenges it faces on the ground. The Sudanese army, which is making rapid progress on multiple fronts, may seek to undermine this initiative by continuing military operations against the RSF and weakening its influence in the areas it controls. Additionally, internal divisions within Sudan, both among political forces and within the RSF itself, could hinder

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5 Sudan... What do we know about the founding charter for forming a parallel government?, Sky News Arabia.  
<https://shorturl.at/Wmkbi>



the achievement of any long-term political stability. In this context, Sudan's future remains tied to developments on the ground and the ability of the warring parties to reach a genuine political settlement that ends the cycle of violence that has persisted for nearly two years.

The parallel government that the RSF and a group of political forces and armed movements intend to announce in the areas under RSF control comes at a critical time for Sudan, as the country grapples with political division and security chaos. The RSF has outlined several objectives for this government, including:

- **Achieving Security and Basic Services:**

Through the announcement of a parallel government in the areas it controls, the RSF seeks to position itself as a key player in Sudan's political landscape amid the ongoing war with the army since April 2024. According to RSF advisor Mustafa Mohamed Ibrahim, the primary goal of this government is to provide security and basic services to citizens suffering from the consequences of armed conflict. Amid increasing security chaos, economic collapse, and deteriorating humanitarian conditions, this government aims to offer an alternative that can improve the situation for populations in RSF-controlled areas, reflecting its desire to strengthen its influence both locally and internationally. This move also represents an attempt to legitimize the RSF's existence as an independent political entity capable of managing the affairs of the regions it controls, especially after the central government in Khartoum lost its ability to fully enforce its sovereignty over all of Sudan's territories.

- **Consolidating Political and Military Influence in Sudan:**

The formation of a parallel government is a strategic step for the RSF to entrench its presence not only as a military force but also as a political actor

seeking to manage the country's affairs amid divisions among civilian and political alliances. Through this government, the RSF aims to present itself as a practical and effective alternative to the army-led government in Port Sudan, especially as the ongoing war has weakened the central government's authority, creating an opportunity for the group to demonstrate its ability to govern. Additionally, the formation of the government comes in the context of divisions within civilian alliances, with varying positions between those supporting the creation of a parallel government and those opposing it, viewing it as a move that would further complicate the Sudanese crisis. Despite widespread criticism of this step, the RSF is betting that controlling strategic areas and providing tangible services to citizens will make the parallel government an acceptable option for many in the absence of more effective alternatives.

- **Strengthening the RSF's Position in Any Future Political Settlement:**

From a strategic perspective, the RSF aims to improve its negotiating position in any future peace talks through the formation of a parallel government. Announcing a government in the areas it controls gives it leverage in setting terms during any international negotiations to end the war or form a new transitional government. This move could also attract political forces and armed movements seeking a greater role in Sudan's political landscape. Through this initiative, the RSF seeks to send a message to the international community that it has the capacity to manage the country's affairs, not merely as an armed militia but as a political actor that must be recognized in any future arrangements. Despite concerns that this move could further divide Sudan, the RSF appears determined to move forward, leveraging the field situation to its advantage and seeking to translate territorial gains into political influence in the future.



## Disputes Over the Leadership of the Parallel Government

The project to form a parallel government in Sudan has been marked by sharp disagreements among its components, particularly over the presidency of the Sovereignty Council. This has led to the postponement of the signing of the foundational political charter without setting a new date. The dispute centers between the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), which sees itself as the initiator of the project, and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) led by Abdul Aziz al-Hilu, who insists on leading the council. Al-Hilu justifies his position by arguing that the People's Army cannot be led by another military force. Amid this conflict, the parties are discussing several proposals to resolve the crisis, including the distribution of

powers between the council and the president. Meanwhile, Kadugli in South Kordofan has been proposed as a potential headquarters for the parallel government, with efforts underway to secure the location with external support.

Recently, Nairobi witnessed the announcement of the "Foundational Sudan – Establishment" alliance, which includes political forces, armed movements, and local leaders, aiming to form an authority parallel to the government in Port Sudan. As disagreements persist, the RSF is intensifying its efforts to convince other factions, such as the Sudan Liberation Movement led by Abdul Wahid Mohamed Nur, to join the alliance to strengthen its position. However, the lack of internal consensus and the escalating power struggle threaten to derail the project, reflecting the deep divisions among the forces opposing the current government.

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7 Dispute over the presidency of the parallel government and multiple proposals for the capital, including "Kauda", Sudan Tribune, February 21.

<https://sudantribune.net/article297731/>

## Signing of the Charter

The Rapid Support Forces (RSF) and some allied groups signed a political charter in Nairobi, Kenya, late on Saturday, February 22, aiming to form a "transitional peace government" parallel to that represented by the Sudanese Sovereignty Council. This move came after five days of deliberations, prompting swift condemnation from Sudanese authorities, who described it as "utterly reprehensible." The Sudanese Foreign Ministry also criticized Kenya for hosting these meetings, labeling it as support for a "rebel militia."

The leader of the RSF, Hemeti, was absent from the signing ceremony, while his deputy, Abdul Rahim Dagalo, attended alongside the leader of the SPLM-N, Abdul Aziz al-Hilu. This indicates that the RSF is seeking to form a government that includes political forces and armed movements in the areas under its control, as a "parallel" to the Sudanese Sovereignty Council government currently operating from Port Sudan.

Asharq obtained a copy of the "Political Charter" signed by 24 entities, including political parties, armed movements, alliances, and Sudanese political figures. The spokesperson for the civilian alliance "Qumm," Najmuddin Drisa, stated that political forces, civil society organizations, and armed movements signed the charter after intensive deliberations. Participants included the acting leader of the National Umma Party,

Fadlallah Burma Nasser, the Revolutionary Front, armed movements, factions from the original Unionist Party, and a splinter group from the Justice and Equality Movement.

The "Political Charter" outlined fundamental principles, most notably the "secular and federal nature of the state," the voluntary unity of Sudan, and the right of peoples to self-determination if unity proves unattainable. It also called for the establishment of a "national army with a new doctrine." The charter used the term "Sudanese peoples" instead of "the Sudanese people," emphasizing Sudanese identity based on historical and contemporary diversity. It stressed the need to build a state founded on principles of freedom, justice, and equality. The charter included 32 articles, prohibiting the formation of any political party or organization based on religion and calling for the creation of a new army reflecting the diversity of Sudan's regions, subject to civilian oversight. It also emphasized the establishment of an independent intelligence agency free from political loyalties. The charter underscored the importance of achieving justice, historical accountability, ending impunity, and criminalizing extremism and military coups, while affirming the need to build a democratic, pluralistic system of governance that allows regions to manage their political and economic affairs.

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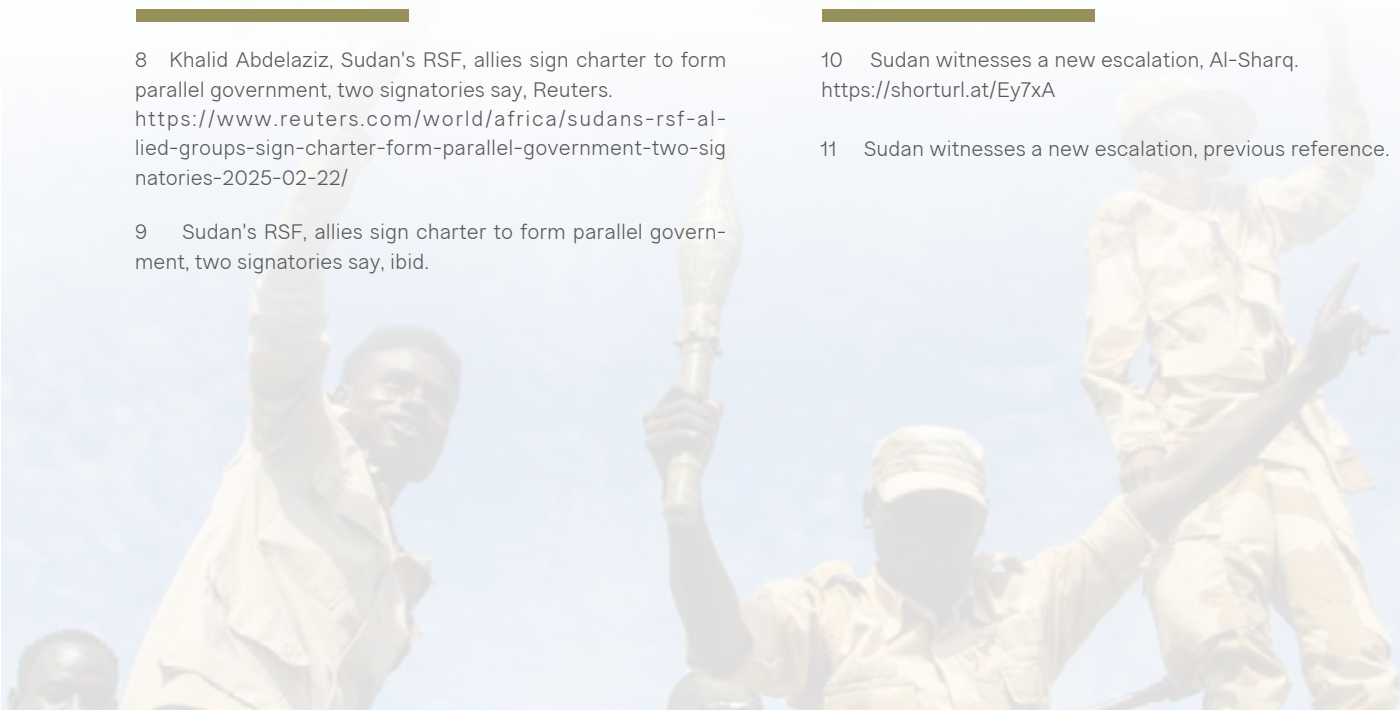
8 Khalid Abdelaziz, Sudan's RSF, allies sign charter to form parallel government, two signatories say, Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/sudans-rsf-allied-groups-sign-charter-form-parallel-government-two-signatories-2025-02-22/>

9 Sudan's RSF, allies sign charter to form parallel government, two signatories say, *ibid.*

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10 Sudan witnesses a new escalation, Al-Sharq. <https://shorturl.at/Ey7xA>

11 Sudan witnesses a new escalation, previous reference.



# Third Axis: National, Regional, and International Positions on the Formation of the Parallel Government

## First: Domestic Positions

### 1. The Position of Sudanese Government:

The government of Sudan led by Abdel Fattah al-Burhan has taken a firm stance against attempts to form a parallel government in areas controlled by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), viewing this move as a direct threat to Sudan's unity and sovereignty. The government, based in Port Sudan, has categorically rejected any alternative entity, emphasizing that the Sovereignty Council is the internationally recognized legitimate authority. In this context, the Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs recalled its ambassador to Kenya for consultations in response to Nairobi hosting meetings to form the parallel government, vowing to take "measures to safeguard Sudan's security, sovereignty, and territorial integrity." This escalation comes as the Sudanese army has successfully reclaimed several major cities previously under RSF control, particularly in Khartoum and Gezira State, strengthening its military and political position.

As efforts to form an alternative government gain momentum, the Sudanese Sovereignty Council announced the formation of a transitional government led by a technocratic figure, aiming to block any attempts to legitimize the parallel entity. This move reflects the Sudanese government's desire to consolidate its authority and address growing

internal divisions, especially in light of the political forces' reactions to the army's victories. Analysts believe that the formation of a parallel government could deepen the political crisis and prolong the conflict, pushing the Burhan government to adopt more decisive measures to maintain stability and prevent the country's fragmentation amid the ongoing conflict.

In this context, Sudan recalled its ambassador to Kenya in protest of Nairobi hosting RSF and allied meetings aimed at forming a parallel government. The Sudanese government described this move as a "hostile act," considering it direct support for attempts to divide Sudan and a violation of the principles of good neighborliness and African and international norms. Sudanese Interior Minister Khalil Pasha Sairin condemned Kenya's position, stating that it threatens Sudan's unity and harms bilateral relations, both diplomatically and economically. Khartoum also accused Kenyan President William Ruto of pursuing his own interests, citing his economic ties with the UAE, which faces accusations of supporting the RSF—a claim Abu Dhabi denies.

### 2. The Position of Sudanese Civil Forces:

Sudanese civil forces are divided over the formation of a parallel government in RSF-controlled areas, leading to the disintegration of the "Tagadum" alliance, which supported ending the war,

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12 On the eve of an anticipated announcement of a parallel government - Sudan recalls its ambassador to Kenya, Deutsche Welle. <https://shorturl.at/8eHiQ>

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13 On the eve of an anticipated announcement of a parallel government - Sudan recalls its ambassador to Kenya, previous reference.

and the emergence of a new alliance called "Sumoud" led by former Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok, who has declared a neutral stance. The "Sumoud" alliance believes that forming a new government would complicate the situation in the country and increase the risk of fragmentation, affirming its commitment to peaceful democratic struggle without engaging in any governmental arrangements. Approximately 60 political, professional, and civil entities under "Sumoud" have outright rejected the parallel government, arguing that it would exacerbate the crisis and prolong the war, which has inflicted the world's largest humanitarian disaster on the Sudanese people. The alliance also warned that this move could allow elements of the former regime to return to the political scene and reproduce a more authoritarian system.

On the other hand, another group within the civil alliance supports the formation of a government as a necessary tool to address the crisis and is participating in ongoing consultations in Nairobi. Amid this division, concerns are growing that the establishment of a parallel government could deepen political and field divisions in Sudan, especially as both the army and the RSF continue to control parts of the capital, Khartoum, and other regions.

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14 Rapid Support Forces: The new government aims to achieve peace and unity, Sky News Arabia. <https://shorturl.at/fcNIM>

## Second: Regional Positions

### 1. Egypt's Position:

Egypt has taken a clear stance in supporting Sudan's official state institutions, dealing with the Sudanese Sovereignty Council as the internationally recognized legitimate authority and rejecting any attempts to form a parallel government in RSF-controlled areas. Although Cairo has not issued an official statement directly addressing these developments, its political and diplomatic indicators reflect a consistent position of supporting Sudan's unity and stability while opposing any steps that could deepen internal divisions. Ambassador Salah Halima, a member of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs, confirms that Egypt recognizes the legitimate Sudanese government and cooperates with Sovereignty Council Chairman Abdel Fattah al-Burhan as the country's legitimate leader. He notes that Cairo is closely monitoring attempts to form a parallel government but does not recognize it, especially given its lack of broad international support, except from some regional actors like Kenya, which is hosting meetings to draft the political declaration for this government.

This stance is reinforced by the official Egyptian position, as emphasized by Foreign Minister Badr Abdelatty during his meeting with his Sudanese counterpart at the Munich Security Conference, where he affirmed Egypt's support for Sudan's unity and sovereignty and its commitment to enhancing its political stability. Observers believe that moves to form an alternative government are a reaction to the recent victories of the Sudanese army, prompting some parties to seek a future political role after the war. These steps

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15 "A parallel government in Sudan"... What is Egypt's position?, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat. <https://shorturl.at/qGKao>

also contradict Egyptian efforts to resolve the Sudanese crisis through political dialogue, as Cairo previously hosted a conference for Sudanese political and civil forces under the slogan "Together to Stop the War," aiming to unify efforts for a peaceful solution. Thus, the formation of a parallel government does not align with Egypt's vision of supporting Sudan's stability through a comprehensive political process involving all parties without external interference.

## 2. Kenya's Position:

Kenya has adopted a supportive stance toward the formation of a parallel government in Sudan, hosting meetings in Nairobi to sign a "political declaration" and a provisional constitution to establish this government. The meetings included representatives from the RSF and Sudanese parties, such as the Umma Party and the Democratic Unionist Party (Original), as well as prominent figures like Abdul Aziz al-Hilu, leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N), and former Sovereignty Council members Hadi Idris and Tahir Hajar. This Kenyan position has angered the Sudanese government in Port Sudan, which recalled its ambassador to Kenya for consultations, reflecting its outright rejection of this move and its view of it as interference in Sudan's internal affairs.

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16 "A parallel government in Sudan"... What is Egypt's position?, previous reference.

17 Victor Abuso, Kenya defends hosting Sudan's RSF in Nairobi as Khartoum protests, the Africa report. <https://www.theafricareport.com/377352/kenya-defends-hosting-sudans-rsf-in-nairobi-as-khartoum-protests/>

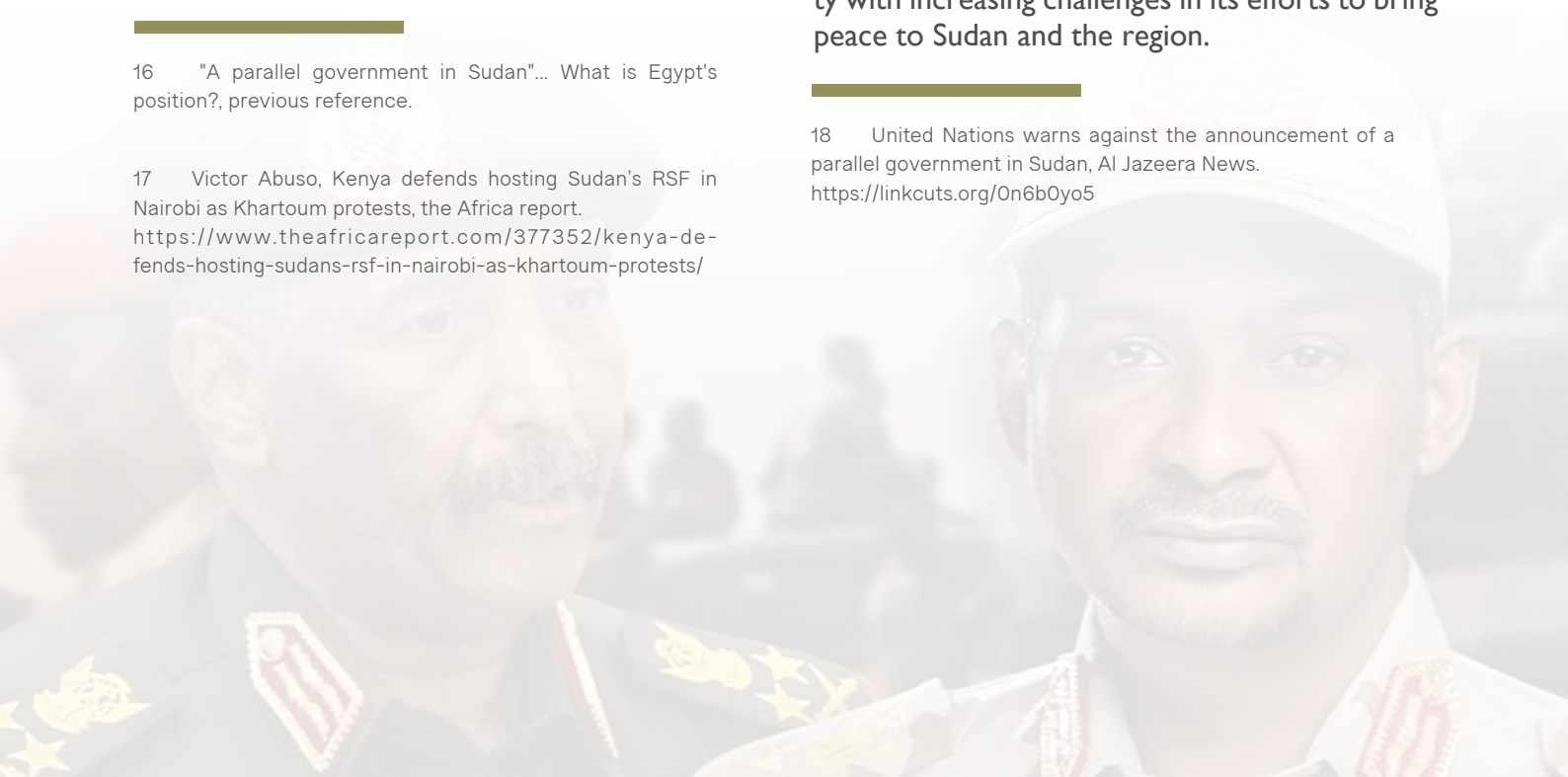
## Third: International Positions

### 1. The United Nations:

The United Nations has expressed deep concern over the RSF's announcement of its intention to form a parallel government in Sudan, warning that this step could exacerbate the ongoing crisis in the country. Stéphane Dujarric, spokesperson for the UN Secretary-General, stated that any move deepening divisions in Sudan would further complicate the crisis, emphasizing the importance of preserving the country's unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. He explained that the UN is closely monitoring the situation, cautioning that the formation of an alternative government could lead to further escalation in the conflict between the Sudanese army and the RSF, potentially obstructing any political settlement efforts. This warning comes as the RSF prepares to announce a "founding charter" for a new government, a move that has caused divisions even among its allied forces. The UN stresses that any sustainable solution to the Sudanese crisis must be based on comprehensive dialogue and consensus among the conflicting parties, rather than unilateral steps that threaten more violence and instability. These developments occur as the country faces a worsening humanitarian and political crisis, presenting the international community with increasing challenges in its efforts to bring peace to Sudan and the region.

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18 United Nations warns against the announcement of a parallel government in Sudan, Al Jazeera News. <https://linkcuts.org/0n6b0yo5>



## Fourth Axis: Future Scenarios

As the Sudanese crisis escalates and the political and military landscape becomes increasingly complex, several potential scenarios for the country's future emerge. Between the continuation of war, the victory of one side, or reaching a political settlement, Sudan's fate remains tied to the balance of power and regional and international interventions. Below are several possible scenarios:

### Scenario 1: Escalation of Civil War and the Division of Sudan

If the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) continue to form a parallel government and secure political and military support from regional and international powers, this could solidify their control over the areas they dominate, leading to a situation of two rival "Sudans." The conflict could resemble the Libyan model, where two competing governments, each with its regional allies, prolong the civil war and make a political settlement more difficult. In this case, violence would increase, and there could be attempts at ethnic cleansing and redrawing the country's geopolitical map, opening the door to broader external interventions.

### Scenario 2: Victory of the Sudanese Army and the Political and Military Demise of the RSF

If the Sudanese army continues its advances and regains control of more strategic areas, it could undermine the logistical and political support for the RSF, forcing the latter to retreat into isolated pockets. If the "parallel government" faces regional and international isolation, its chances of long-term survival would diminish. This phase could witness internal divisions within the RSF, with its leadership split between those who want to continue fighting and those seeking a negotiat-

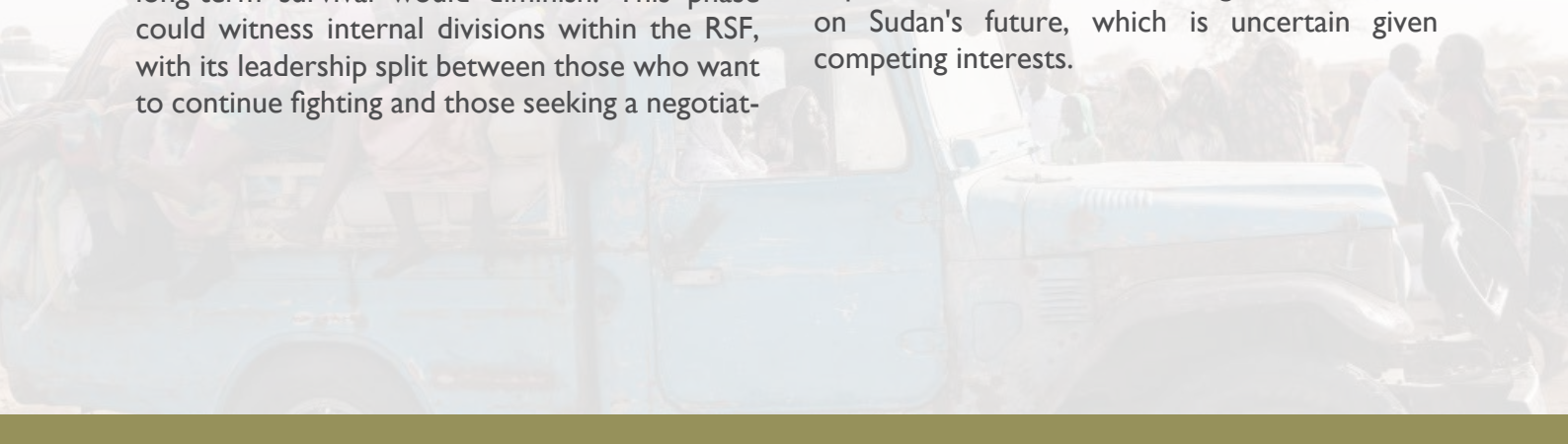
ed exit. Ultimately, the collapse of the RSF could lead to the army regaining full control, but this would not mean the end of the crisis, as the risk of renewed conflict would remain.

### Scenario 3: Political Settlement and Power-Sharing

Under regional and international pressure, the two sides may be forced to enter negotiations leading to a political settlement, possibly involving power-sharing during a transitional period, followed by comprehensive political reforms. This scenario would require significant concessions from both sides, most notably the RSF's acceptance of integrating its forces into the army, with guarantees for its political and social components. It would also require international and regional agreements to prevent any party from exploiting the conflict for its own interests. However, the likelihood of this scenario succeeding is low due to the deep mistrust between the parties.

### Scenario 4: International Intervention Under the Umbrella of the UN or African Union

As the humanitarian crisis and security vacuum worsen, international and regional powers may move to impose a solution through direct military intervention or the deployment of peacekeeping forces under the auspices of the UN or African Union. This scenario could involve the establishment of a demilitarized zone, forcing the parties to cease fire, and imposing a new political process. However, such intervention could face strong opposition from Sudanese parties, especially the army, which rejects any form of international guardianship. Its success would also depend on international and regional consensus on Sudan's future, which is uncertain given competing interests.



## Scenario 5: State Collapse and Sudan's Transformation into a "Failed State"

If the conflict continues without any fundamental solutions, Sudan could collapse as a unified state, transforming into a collection of militias and warring regions, similar to what happened in Somalia or Yemen. This scenario would lead to the complete disintegration of state institutions, economic collapse, and a worsening humanitarian situation, potentially driving millions of Sudanese to displacement and migration. It would also create an environment conducive to the emergence of new armed groups, possibly more extremist than the current parties. If Sudan loses the ability to manage its various regions, the country could enter a prolonged spiral of chaos and violence with no clear path to resolution.

of the council and control of political and military decision-making would lead to the fragmentation of ranks, especially if a compromise satisfying key actors like the RSF and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) is not reached. Over time, some forces may gradually withdraw, particularly if they feel their interests are not guaranteed or if the project appears to favor one party over others. In the face of this fragmentation, the government in Port Sudan could exploit these divisions to pit groups against each other or offer incentives to attract opposition leaders. Any further delay in resolving leadership issues and forming the government could lead to a loss of political and field support, both domestically and from external actors who may already be hesitant to back an entity plagued by sharp disagreements.

## Scenario 6: Collapse of the Parallel Government Project Due to Internal Divisions

Amid growing disagreements among the components of the new alliance, the parallel government project could gradually collapse before it fully materializes. Disputes over the presidency







## Conclusion:

**A**mid the rapid developments in the Sudanese landscape, the formation of a parallel government remains a contentious step, carrying profound political and military implications. While the Rapid Support Forces seek to impose a new reality that enhances their political influence, this project faces internal, regional, and international challenges that could hinder its success. As the fighting continues and the humanitarian situation worsens, Sudan appears to stand at a crossroads, facing several potential scenarios ranging from the continuation of war, to a fragile political settlement, or even the complete collapse of the state. Regardless of the path the crisis takes, the Sudanese people remain the greatest victims of this conflict, necessitating intensified international and regional efforts to find a sustainable solution that ends the cycle of violence and establishes a comprehensive peace, fulfilling the aspirations of the Sudanese people for stability, democracy, and development.