

- Comrade Chairman of the Liberation Council of the Nuba Mountains / South Kordofan region
- Comrades members of the Liberation Council of the Nuba Mountains / South Kordofan region
- Comrades attendees, members of National Leadership Council of the SPLM
- Comrades attendees, members of Leadership Council of the Nuba Mountains / South Kordofan region
- Comrade Chief of Staff of the SPLM-N
- Comrade acting Governor of Nuba Mountains / South Kordofan

I greet you in the name of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement on the occasion of the first meeting of the Regional Liberation Council since the second war has started, as the highest political authority in the region in the absence of a national conference

Everyone knows the leadership role that the Nuba Mountains has played in practicing democracy thanks to the leader and teacher Yousif Kuwa Makki, who established principles and created a solid foundation for the existing struggle that is based on democracy, freedom of opinion, and collective leadership. Thus, the Nuba Mountains preceded all other regions of the SPLM at the time, to the degree that this prompted the commander and teacher Dr. John Garang at the first national conference in 1994 to borrow the experience of the Nuba Mountains and disseminating it to the national leadership bodies of the SPLM and to all branches and regions at the time.

Salute to the martyrs of liberation, the wounded, the orphans and widows, and all freedom fighters; military and civilians.

I congratulate you as a unique generation of the Nuba people that was able to achieve a large part of the aspirations and goals of the leadership of the Nuba and the marginalized, the leaders Yousif Kuwa Makki, Phillip Abbas Ghabboush, and Yousif Mubarak Al-Masha. Through your hard work and patience you were able to possess the most important tools of the struggle needed to attain freedom and end marginalization. These tools are represented in:

- Having the correct vision which is embodied in the New Sudan project.
- Develop capable political, military and administrative cadres capable of leading and fighting in the struggle in order to achieve the goal of liberation.
- Building a strong military force that has resisted the aggression of the armed forces of the old Sudan and its allies for the past thirty years
- Building effective civil and administrative institutions
- Building civil society organizations that are active and have extensive relationships
- Owning an education system and new approaches that are compatible with the needs of the New Sudan
- Ownership of financial institutions can be the cornerstone for eliminating marginalization and achieving an economic and social renaissance during and after liberation.

- The spread of political awareness and the involvement of the majority of the Nuba people in the political and armed struggles and the liberation of vast lands, including Al-Shareet Al-Ramly (sand strip), Tagali and Kaunyarau
- International recognition and the legitimacy of the Nuba struggle and the arrival of the case to the African Union and the United Nations

But why the long-standing armed conflict and suffering, despite these positives and achievements mentioned above?

1. First, the people of Nuba demand rights and freedom, and rights and freedom are usually not granted by begging, but rather by force. Here we must mention that the leading pioneers, Philippe Gabboush and Yousif Kuwa, have tried all the possibilities of peaceful means to demand the legitimate rights of the Nuba people through parliaments and others, and found only repression, oppression, prisons and murder by the ruling Jallaba institution in Khartoum. The center left them only one way and it was that of the armed struggle, because the center itself built its project on force and naked violence alone, and had no other way of dealing with national political issues and other legitimate demands except through the barrel of the gun.

So the Nuba did not commit a mistake when they resorted to armed struggle. Do not listen to the naysayers and others who discourage or underestimate your armed resistance to genocide, and try to tell you that your armed struggle is futile. Go back to history and you will find that all the strong nations in the world today have fought for freedom; the English, the Americans, the French, the Norwegians, the Chinese etc. Not to mention the wars of contemporary liberation that have taken place before your eyes in neighboring countries, starting with the experience of Southern Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda, Chad etc. All of this is because rights are taken and not granted. Especially in the face of an irrational state such as the state of the Jellaba in Sudan, which revealed its ethnic racism, and wars that rose to the level of genocide, identity killing, and the occupation of the land of its marginalized citizens. I would tell you that without the decision of Yousif Kuwa and the Komolo organization to raise arms in 1984, at the right time, the fate of the Nuba would have been like the fate of Zurqa (dark skinned people) in Darfur today.

Here we must recall that the history of any society in the world is a struggle either against an exploiter and an internal colonizer or against an external enemy ... it is therefore not strange that the war and suffering for freedom are prolonged. Especially if we know that we are not fighting Khartoum alone, but the dervishes all over the world, plus the chauvinist Arabists who stand behind it and supply it with weapons and supplies to our country, and no reason except religion, race, color and land. The experience of South Sudan, which fought for 50 years but is finally free and independent, is sufficient in this regard. The struggle should not be delayed or abandoned and its responsibility brought to the next generations. There will be no future generations with the current

policy of annihilation if you postpone the war, especially as there are those among us who say and promote that we will not be able to defeat the regime and achieve the New Sudan all at once. Therefore, we must sign any agreement and strive to achieve change from within through public and media action and peaceful struggle. We should make them miss their opportunity [those who say we cannot defeat the regime], and you should not be deceived by them. You have to be aware and able to take full responsibility and continue the process of liberation, whatever the price is to reach the logical end, which is freedom. Because the conditions available today may not be available tomorrow for others from later generations, if they exist. The Polisario experience is before you. And the generations that preceded you did not find external support for hundreds of years, until Mengistu Haile Mariam and others provided you with arms, this amount available now. The grandparents would get it [arms] with difficulty and in small quantities in the form of the few guns that were being smuggled by members and small groups of Nuba who were working as soldiers in the Jihad of the Turks and the Mahdi to defend their families against the slave traders. This is why you are here today in this room. Otherwise you would have been dead two hundred years ago.

2. Second, The war was also affected by the split of the Sudanese political conscience based on the conflict of interest between the beneficiaries of the Arab Islamic Center on one hand, and the disadvantaged marginalized from this center on the other. In addition to dividing the collective conscience based on cultural diversity and identity conflict, "is it Arab or African?" Indeed, the Sudanese people have been divided into two groups in the conflict that began since 1955 and which has taken on an armed character from the start because of the center's violence; one group with the vision of the New Sudan, which accommodates all, and another team with the exclusivist Arabist Islamic project that is fighting in order to stabilize the status quo and the privileges provided by the state of the Jellaba through the depletion of the periphery.

There is no neutrality in this war. Even the advocates of urban Jihad are in fact part of the forces of the center and the old Sudan with disparities, "because Aljack will not accept the disintegration of the house he has built or cooperate, even if it is to be rehabilitated and developed." Logic says that as long as the center has legitimized the power and violence embodied in the Sudanese army and its aggression against defenseless citizens, in addition to the whole arsenal of laws, flawed education curricula and biased media, it does not make sense to allow this center to fundamentally change its state structure through demonstrations and civil disobedience on their own. We have a lesson in past experiences of the October 1964 and April 1985 uprisings. Were these two uprisings able to achieve the required radical change in the structure of Sudanese society, or were they an extension and continuation of the same arrangement and hierarchy of the Jellaba state that existed since 1954? Sudan did not earn, and in particular the marginalized, anything useful from those theatrics. Whether it is real democratic transformation or nominal justice. There has been a process of changing the governing bodies, yes, but nothing has been replaced and no substantial changes were

seen in the foundations of the system. Rather, the continuation of the same exclusionary policies and the replacement of the military dictatorships with more severe urban dictatorships that increased the pricing of wars against the marginalized in both cases. We say if it is necessary to form alliances with those forces, let it be, but it must be based on the foundations of the New Sudan project.

Here, it must be emphasized that the SPLM is still working to build a unified secular democratic society based on justice, equality and freedom. If this is not possible, and the center is committed to its principles of Islamic Shari'a law and all other laws that differentiate the Sudanese on the basis of race, religion, color, culture and language, and the continuation of the genocide in its cultural and sensory form, the Nuba people have previously demanded the right to self-determination at the Nuba Conference in 2002 when it was ascertained that the Machakos Framework Agreement did not abolish Islamic Sharia in the north, which is the first instrument of oppression. The demand of the right to self-determination is not a misdemeanor, hardship, or crime committed by a persecuted people in their country; it is a democratic right of peoples and is enshrined in all international conventions and treaties and is practiced by dozens of peoples, including Sudan, in 1955 from within the parliament for liberation from colonialism. It is an instrument of liberation even from internal centrality when it loses its rationality and becomes a colonizer as in the case of South Sudan. There are statements that are sometimes released claiming that the SPLM-N is not with the right to self-determination and does not want two armies ... we affirm that these statements do not express the opinion or vision of the SPLM because the SPLM fights for justice and does not exclude any means of achieving justice. Any fighter for freedom, justice and the end of genocide and apartheid can not reject the right to self-determination as a democratic mechanism for the resolution of disputes whether it is an external or internal self-determination. The Liberation Army is also one of the most important mechanisms and means of struggle for freedom and democratic transformation. It can not be dissolved in light of the current dualistic and centralized state violence that has killed millions of defenseless Sudanese.

And here, I see that you have the right to get a clarification on my part, as we are the three executive officers of the National Leadership Council of the SPLM-N; we have differences, the disagreement is natural at work, but when the disagreement over the secondary issues goes beyond the principles and directions, the problem begins. I reiterate your right as the Liberation Council and representatives of the people to know some points of disagreement between me and the comrades, the Chairman of the movement and the Secretary-General. Including:

1. Manifesto and Constitution

It has been almost six years now and the SPLM is moving without a manifesto. Why?

After the disengagement [from the South], there was a letter written by Dr. Alwathiq Kimeer calling for changing the name of SPLM to the "People's Movement for Citizenship and Democracy" as well as for changing the objectives and means. I did not

agree with the Secretary-General because the SPLM and the SPLA have a history of thirty years of struggle, millions of martyrs, orphans and widows, with documents and sophistication; we can not eliminate all of this and create a new movement. Especially since citizenship is a matter of a period linked to the national state stage, and did not exist before, and can be eliminated in the future or canceled; but the project of human liberation will continue and will exist even if the world turned into one country. Democracy itself is a stage and is merely a means, but the purpose of its exercise is to achieve freedom, and freedom as a goal that has no limit. And humanity is still struggling and seeking better and more finer representative systems of governance than what exists now. Therefore, there is no reason to abandon the principle and aim of liberation, which is to end the name of the SPLM and to replace it with temporary objectives. Therefore, I asked Dr. Abbakar Adam Ismail and the New Sudan Studies Center to review the draft of Dr. Alwathiq and work to submit another draft. This was done and we formed a committee headed by Yasir Jaafar to produce a single draft for the manifesto. The draft has not appeared til this day.

In 2013, during the full 12-member Leadership Council meeting, I was surprised by the Secretary-General's proposal to draft the constitution for approval before agreeing on the manifesto. I objected to that procedure. I said in the meeting that the constitution should be based on the manifesto as an intellectual reference. As long as we do not have manifesto now, we have to work with the old constitution of the SPLM until we agree on a new manifesto that takes the developments after the independence of the South into account. But with the Secretary-General's insistence and the support of the Chairman of the movement, the constitution was discussed by the Council and approved. And you all know what happened after that. After the constitution was passed, the draft of the manifesto was killed until today. The movement goes unobstructed only from individuals' actions and this is the basis of the problem. After the constitution was passed, the draft of the manifesto was killed until today. The movement continues without a manifesto except from individuals' efforts. This is the basis of the problem.

I wish to pointed out that the writing of the Manifesto of the SPLM-N is necessary and that any manifesto of the People's Movement should be based on the vision of the New Sudan and reflect the interests and priorities of the periphery and marginalized in general with different degrees of marginalization.

2. Institutional framework

In 2012 we agreed on the need to revive or build the leadership structures of the SPLM-N after the independence of the South and the start of the second war in June 2011.

a. First: Political Office / Leadership Council:

After the independence of the South and the disengagement, seven members of the Political Bureau remain in the north. However, after the second war began on 6/6/2011, only four members of the Political Bureau attended. We

appointed 8 new members to increase the number to 12, and then the number was increased to 27 later. And we did not agree on the completion to this day.

b. Second: National Liberation Council

As a result of the differences on the percentage of representation, a committee was formed to limit the membership that existed after the war and that the formation of the council after the inventory should be considered on fair bases that take into account the active participation in the struggle. But for many reasons it remained suspended from 2012 until today and the National Liberation Council was not formed.

c. Third: General Secretariat of the SPLM-N

This is the executive body that has great political responsibilities and needs to follow up on daily work. So we assigned four assistants to the secretary-general but he did not succeed in activating these four offices. Even though we repeatedly reminded him of the need to use assistants, he did not listen and he was working alone and the result was that he was the only one to decide or work through the personal assistants that he chose, and their number exceeds the four constitutional assistants.

On the other hand, some institutions, such as the National Liberation Council, have been replaced by bodies that lack constitutional character, such as an extended and open leadership meeting without legal authority and no right to make any decision by voting on important issues and causes. This reduced the Secretariat's ability to accomplish many of its tasks, such as party building in liberated areas and government control areas, party branches abroad, external relations, training, media, finance, etc.

d. Fourth: Media

Media is an important tool in the struggle to explain the vision of the SPLM, and the vision of the New Sudan. Despite the limited potential and space available, it could have been harnessed to strengthen the negotiating position of the SPLM with the regime. However, most of the statements made in this limited space are not reflective of the vision of New Sudan or the political line of the SPLM, and many examples of it: "We do not want the right to self-determination" in a clear bypassing of the principle of voluntary unity and the choice of the people of the Nuba Mountains at the conference of all Nuba 2002. Another example: "we do not want two armies" despite our full knowledge of the regime's skill in violating the agreements and not committing to their implementation, increased by the practice of genocide and ethnic cleansing. Sometimes these statements reach the level of changing the slogans of the popular movement calling for justice, equality and freedom with other slogans such as peace, food, citizenship without distinction etc. This means a narrowing of the demands and

original objectives of the SPLM in greater equality, justice and freedom.

e. Fifth: External relations and offices

The selection and appointment of SPLM representatives in many countries is a matter of personal temperament, but there are secret criteria for which I am not aware of for the selection of part of these representatives.

f. Sixth: Negotiations

There is no need to waste time in the matter of the bypassing of the head of the negotiating delegation to the formation of the negotiating committees in the SPLM since its establishment and the lack of clarity of the criteria it adopted in this regard, outside the condition of membership and adherence to the principles of the movement. Rather, I will focus on the continuation of the usual reduction of the demands of the SPLM in the negotiations and continuously without compensation or concessions by the government delegations, which continued to adhere to the principles of the NCP, such as the rule of Sharia and the disarmament of the SPLA-N. My focus will be on the difference on the negotiating position, especially on security arrangements. Because the waiver of security arrangements means in my view that the SPLA-N is disarmed by its means of assimilation into the National Congress army, ending its role as guarantor of any agreement, or as a tool of pressure to achieve democratic transformation and just peace.

This is reflected in the following:

- i. Only 22 days after the beginning of the second war on 6/6/2011, the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Movement were presented with the draft framework agreement, called "Nafi / Agar" or "28 of June". I objected to it because of the provisions on security arrangements, because they were intended to accommodate the SPLA-N into the NCP army. But they ignored my views and signed the "Nafi / Agar" framework agreement. In my opinion, the reason for their indifference to my opinion was because there were a number of officers from the Nuba Mountains with them in the delegation in addition Ismail Jalab. Thus they considered my view unimportant.
- ii. After Bashir rejected and tore up the framework agreement, we agreed to cancel it and start a new declaration of principles or a framework agreement away from the June 28 agreement. Which took five years and at least 14 rounds of negotiations because of the intransigence of the regime.
- iii. While I was in the region in 2015, the negotiating delegation of the movement presented the autonomy requirement for the two regions without consulting or taking my opinion. When the Chairman and the Secretary-General then met and I asked them why it was done, they said

that Bashir would not accept the requirement of self-determination or the confederation, but they could be persuaded to grant federal powers without naming them self-governing as in the case of South Sudan in Machakos. In light of this new reality and my trust in them, they agreed to put forward self-rule on condition that the SPLA-N remain standing for 20 years until the implementation of the agreements and the democratic transition is realized. After that, we can consider creating a new Sudanese army according to the model of security arrangements in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement 2005.

- iv. In January 2016, the Secretary-General, as head of the negotiating delegation, asked us, without preamble, to define our negotiating position on security arrangements because he was under pressure from the mediation and the government delegation to know the movement's position on security arrangements. We said that security arrangements are tied to a comprehensive political solution, and then security arrangements are discussed. But he said he wanted our position, because there might be surprises in the negotiations and that he needed to be ready [for them]. And in his insistence we agreed with him to adhere to the twenty years and the model of security arrangements in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, that is to divide the SPLA-N in these 20 years into three sections. The first is the mother army remaining in the two regions and the Sudanese army withdraws from both areas. The second section of the Joint Integrated Forces shall form the nucleus of the new Sudan Army in case of implementation of the Agreement. And the third section consisting of the other regular and demobilization forces. And to abide by our agreement that none of the three officers of the Leadership Council shall make a single decision on any file in which he shall be employed until after the other officers have been consulted for their consent.

But in the August 2016 round, I was surprised that the head of the negotiating delegation ignored our agreement with him in January 2016 and reintroduced the same negotiating position on the security arrangements of the “28 of June” / “Nafi / Agar” agreement without my knowledge or opinion. The reasoning was that this round was only for humanitarian aid and the cessation of hostilities, in addition to the fact that no political agreement was reached requiring a position on security arrangements, including a concession that would include the integration of the SPLA-N into the NCP army or rather its absorption. But the worst part is that the head of the delegation has placed this negotiating position on security arrangements with the mediation or high-level mechanism to be a reference in any future negotiations on security arrangements. At the deliberative meeting presented to us by the negotiating delegation, I protested against the conduct of the head of the delegation because he

did not take my opinion before presenting this new negotiating position, and the great concession he gave to the government delegation, plus his deposit of the paper with the mediation. But the Chairman of the movement intervened and responded to the protest before the meeting and said that the negotiating delegation had settled this matter and there was no room for discussion or change and that he was not afraid of that formula.

Subsequently, I wrote to him to withdraw the paper on security arrangements deposited with the mediation, but he refused.

In addition to my long experience in working with the Movement's Chairman and the Secretary-General as Executive Officers of the Movement's Executive Council, I have reached the following convictions:

1. I can not work with the Chairman of the movement and its Secretary-General as a single denominator because of their lack of credibility and the erosion of trust between us. There are also mysterious things, and I do not understand all their motives.
2. The disagreement of Nubans on my representation of them in the leadership because of ethnicity opened the doors to the Chairman and Secretary-General to ignore my views by exploiting some of the officers of the Nuba Mountains from behind my back to serve their agenda and pass dangerous political decisions on the future of the revolution, as they did in the "Nafi / Agar" agreement, when they introduced the autonomy demand in 2015 and the waiver of security arrangements in August 2016.
3. The lack of agreement on my representation of Nubans in the leadership enabled the NCP to divide the Nuban ranks by using this card, creating several anti-SPLM organizations in the name of the Silent Majority (Al-Aghlabya Al-Samta), People of Interest (Ahl Al-Maslaha), People of Cause (Ahl Al-Sha'n), the SPLM Peace Wing and others, based on the fact I do not belong to the Nuban ethnicity. I am convinced that these organizations that germinate daily may weaken the movement in the Nuba Mountains and even undermine the project, as was the case at the Kampala Conference in 2002. All because of me. There is therefore a need to put an end to this problem in the interests of the revolution. Especially since the stage of social development we are going through in Sudan makes ethnicity a key role in issues related to the leadership and issues of the different peoples.
4. My experience since 2001 has proven that some always blame me for mistakes made by others. For example, I was not present at the signing of the Declaration of Principles in 1998, nor was I present at the signing of the Framework Agreement in Machakos 2002, which deprived the Nuba Mountains of the right to self-determination. The representative was Daniel Kodi in Machakos. The other fact is that the Nuba Conference in 2002 authorized the leader Dr. John Garang to negotiate on behalf of the Nuba people. But after the signing of the Naivasha agreement, many tried to blame me personal, because Nubans did not have the right to self-determination, despite their knowledge of the truth, but they are working to mislead the people.

5. After the peace agreement in 2005, I was appointed head of the [SPLM] Northern Sector at the national level, and when I traveled to America for certain reasons, the malevolent propagandists claimed that Abdelaziz had traveled and abandoned the Nuba Mountains. Although the Nuba Mountains were under Gallab's command, operationally, politically and militarily at the time. Meaning, I was not responsible for the Nuba Mountains at the time, and the Nuba Mountains were for the Southern sector and not for the Northern sector at the party level as well.
6. In the 2011 election, Talafon Kuku conspired with the National Congress and nominated himself to the post of governor in order to divide the votes of the SPLM for the candidate of the National Congress. In addition to the travel of Jalab and Daniel to France during the election campaign, and deliberately remove themselves to thwart the candidates of the SPLM in those elections, and issues related to the popular consultation and the fate of the people.
7. In 2010, Daniel Kodi relinquished to the National Congress the signing of an agreement on the withdrawal of the Joint Integrated Forces of the South or the handover of its weapons on 9 April 2011 instead of 9 April 2012, as expressed in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. We tried with the ambassador to fix this in Addis Ababa, but the government delegation led by Lieutenant General Esmat Abdel Rahman withdrew from the negotiations as soon as I opened the subject for discussion to the high-level mechanism to avoid reviewing and correcting the flawed agreement. This concession by Daniel and his agreement with the NCP was the reason for the outbreak of the second war on June 6, 2011, for the NCP's desire to disarm the SPLA. And yet, to date, there are those who say that this war is the war of Abdelaziz. As if they wanted to say "we had to hand over our weapons to the enemy to avoid war."
8. My committing, as a person and as a human being, of leadership and administrative errors because of the length of time I have spent in commanding the Nuba Mountains; from being Governor before the agreement, to the Deputy Governor in 2009 after the agreement, and the Governor and Chief of Staff and Vice President after the second war, all reduced my eligibility to lead these people and their great revolution.
9. Respect for the right of the Nuba people to be adequately represented at the national leadership level of the SPLM and in proportion to the sacrifices that it has made and continues to make for liberation.

Finally, in abandonment of the spirit of old guardianship, and respect for the principle of freedom and democracy and the right to fair representation for which we are fighting, plus all the reasons I mentioned earlier, I found that the negative aspects of my leadership are greater than the positive, it is a hinderance to the revolution rather than support for it. Therefore, I have decided to be honest with you, and return to you the responsibility entrusted to me by the leader Yousif Kuwa Makki in 2001, as the representatives of the Nuba people and its highest political authority, so that you can arrange the inner house to continue the struggle in a new spirit, and stronger than before, in order to liberate this peoples from marginalization of all kinds.

I recommend that you stick to the following:

1. Vision of the New Sudan
2. Do not compromise on the guns that your ancestors valued, who were armed with rifles (Abu Jagra, Marmtoun, etc.) from the Jihadi armies during the Turkish and Mahdiya days, to defend the people against the slave traffickers at the time. For this reason, the people of Nuba are the only people in the world who use rifles as dowry in marriage to appreciate their role and value in their continued existence. It is known that the Bilateral Governance Act exempted the Nuba exclusively and allowed them to carry arms openly; the only people in Sudan allowed to do so.
3. The unity of the people of Nuba on the basis of the New Sudan project.
4. Unity with the fighting people in Blue Nile
5. Unity of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement
6. Sticking to institutionalization and collective leadership

I hereby announce my resignation from my position as Vice-President of the SPLM-North as of 7/3/2017, to fill it, as it belongs to you. And for the struggle to continue.

May victory be your ally,
Abdel-Aziz Adam Al-Hilu
Long live the Sudan People's Liberation Movement
Long live the struggle of the Nuba people
Long live the New Sudan