

**An-Nahdha (Grand
Renaissance) Dam and the
Threats of Water War;
Negligence of the Rulers
and the Duty of the Ummah**

(Translated)

**Hizb ut Tahrir
Wilayah of Sudan**

Dhul Hijjah 1438 AH – September 2017 CE

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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Introduction

Planet Earth, according to reports of varying relevant international institutions, is witnessing dangerous climate changes that threaten the lives of organisms. At the top of these changes is the effect of the rotting capitalist waste, such as the breach of the ozone layer, which led to high temperatures and led to icebergs melting in both the North and South Poles. It has increased the proportion of water in the oceans and the erosion of land in front of this tide of water and sinking many of the islands, and there has been a change in the map of the distribution of rain and the drought of agricultural land, and the destruction of many people, animals and other organisms, and drought and desertification hit many countries throughout the world. As well as the pollution of many waterways by the greed of the capitalist monsters, and irresponsibility, which unleashed its chemical and radiation waste, with indifference to their consequences.

In 1988, there was a serious wave of drought, which wiped out the pastures and the land, including people and animals, this was in several African countries. The problem is that these waves of drought have recurred for many years. This was pointed out by Dr. Kamal Ali, the former Sudanese Water Resources Minister, in a lecture in the Enlightening Knowledge Centre on the the Renaissance Dam (1/6/2015), where he confirmed that experts are deliberating a global drought wave that will fall upon the whole world in 2017.

It is strange that the An-Nahda Dam also known as the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, which has had its share of procrastination in its construction, will coincide with its full launch in the same year as the drought is expected, putting Sudan and Egypt at risk.

Assayha Newspaper, Issue Number 816 on 9/12/2016 reported the following: "According to an international report published yesterday, "Sudan may become an uninhabited country due to climate changes and will lead to an unprecedented temperature rise, shortage in water supply, low soil fertility, drought and desertification, after years of environmental richness and biodiversity." A report by the International Center for Monitoring Displacement (ICDC) noted that climate change will affect more than 1.9 million Sudanese households in the first phase and lead to successive waves of internal displacement; due to famine and lack of food.

"Sudan is facing a highly complex emergency, with worsening drought and desertification, in the northern Savannah belt, which will lead to the displacement of entire villages," CNN, an American news network said. But the head of the World Food Program (WFP) in Sudan, Marco Cavalcanti, believes that the time has not come yet to save Sudan and change the future of the country; because this disaster can be avoided if important measures are taken, saying in statements to CNN: "The crisis needs intensive efforts by the Sudanese government, and the international community to protect farmers, pastoral communities and vulnerable groups from food insecurity." Michelle Yonetani, senior adviser to natural disasters, at the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) stated, 70% of the rural population relies on traditional rain fed

agriculture, while 80 % of the urban population relies on rainwater, and more than 3.2 million people are expected to face severe water shortages, leading to further deterioration in food security, agriculture and health that are already fragile, and thousands may have to travel for miles to find a water point. Yonetani pointed out that Sudan is one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change, which affects the issue of food security and ranks 98 out of 113 countries in the hunger index and is ranked among the top 15 countries in the world suffering from food insecurity.”

There are many effects of the water crisis due to human intervention in the environment and poor distribution and can be summarized as follows:

1. Depletion of groundwater, which leads to a significant decline in agricultural yields.
2. Excessive pollution of water resources and harming biodiversity.
3. Regional conflicts on scarce water resources that sometimes may lead to wars.

Water scarcity and conflict surrounding it led to wars, which made control of water a weapon in itself, and this constituted an effective type of economic siege. Water is the lifeline and there is no life for people, animals or plants without it. In modern civilization, there are multiple uses for water and thus is in great demand, which made wars on water wealth no less dangerous than other wars, so this is why it is called the water war. In late November 1986, a seminar was held on water resources in the Middle East - and for the first time Egypt, the Jewish entity, Turkey, Jordan and America participated at the expert level. Iraq participated with the first secretary of its embassy

in the United States' capital. Syria declined the invitation. This seminar was organized by the Center for Strategic and International Studies... The paper presented by the Director of the Center stated that the issue of water is likely to become in the near future a source of political tensions and military conflicts in this part of the world (the Middle East), where the United States has strategic interests. (Conflict over water in the Nile Basin Who pays the price? Dr. Ibrahim Al-Amin 2010 CE [translated from Arabic]).

Alyoum Altali Newspaper published the following day on 10/11/2016 a warning of the Sudanese Minister of Water Resources, Mu'taz Mousa during the parliamentary session on Wednesday 9/11/2016 as follows: "Mousa warned that the world will witness a water war, calling for its anticipation, and he said: If not we are not preparing for it with four billion cubic meters, so how will we prepare?"

There have been a series of agreements governing the flow of the Nile water in the many tributaries of the Nile Basin countries, which has made the situation stable among these countries for many years, but recently the previous agreements between the basin countries have been broken by new agreements, as the Declaration of Principles on 23/3/2015 in Khartoum... which calls for a bitter conflict around the Nile Basin.

The Great Nile Basin

One of the most important sources of fresh water in the world is the Great Basin, which passes through ten countries, called the Nile Basin States; whether those that the path of the Nile flows in its territory, or those on whose territory are the headwaters of the Nile River, or the territories with rivers feeding the Nile River. The Nile Basin covers an area of 3.4 million sq km from the upstream in Lake Victoria, Lake Tana and the estuary in the Mediterranean Sea.

The Nile River is the longest river in the world, with a length of 6,650 km, running from the south to the north, towards its estuary in the Mediterranean Sea. The Nile originates from Lake Victoria in the south, which covers 68,000 square kilometers, and Lake Tana in the east.

The Kagera River is one of the main streams of the Nile, and one of the largest tributaries in Lake Victoria, and originates from Burundi near the northern tip of Lake Tanganyika, located to the south of Lake Victoria in Central Africa. It runs towards the north constituting the borders between Tanzania and Rwanda, and after heading eastward, it becomes the border between Tanzania and Uganda, and then it flows into Lake Victoria after it has crossed 690 kilometers.

The Ruvyironza River, which is the upper tributary of the Kajira River, also it originates from Burundi, and joins it in Tanzania and is considered the Nile's furthest point in the south.

The average amount of water flowing into Lake Victoria is more than 20 billion cubic meters per year, of which 7.5 billion are from the Kajira River, 8.4 billion are

from northeast Kenya's forest slopes, 3.2 billion are from northeast Tanzania, 1.2 billion are from swamps located northwest of Uganda.

After leaving Lake Victoria, the Nile is called Victoria's Nile, it runs for 500 kilometers through Lake Kyoga until it reaches Lake Albert, which also feeds from the Semliki River, originally from the mountains of the Democratic Republic of the Congo through Lake Edward, and then it is called Albert's Nile.

When it reaches South Sudan it is called the Sea of the Mountain. It is then in a region of lakes, canals and swamps, 400km long, and its current area is 16.2 thousand square kilometers. However, half of the water entering it disappears from transpiration and evaporation.

The draining of these swamps began in 1978 with the construction of the 360 km long Jonglei Canal, to neutralize water from its passage. After 240 km of construction, the work was halted in 1983 because of the civil war in south of Sudan.

After connecting with Bahr Al-Ghazal, the Nile runs for 720 kilometers until it reaches Khartoum. In this path it is called the White Nile, where it blends there with the Blue Nile, which flows from its main tributaries (Dandar and Rahad) from the mountains of Ethiopia around Lake Tana, in the east of the continent 1400 kilometers from Khartoum.

It is worth noting that the Blue Nile constitutes 80-85% of the total Nile water, and this is only possible during the summer season due to monsoon rains on the Ethiopian highlands.

The last of the tributaries of the Nile after the union of the White Nile and Blue Nile in Khartoum to form the Nile River, is the Atbara River, which is 800 km long and also stems from the Ethiopian plateau north of Lake Tana, and meet the Nile north of Khartoum, 300 km away. And the Nile River continues its flow in the Egyptian territory until its estuary in the Mediterranean Sea.

The climate of all these countries is wet and moderate. The average precipitation is 1000-1500 mm/year, excluding the northern part of Sudan and Egypt; their climate is continental, with a rainfall of only 20 mm/year. It is known that the annual rainfall in Ethiopia alone is 900 mm/year.

The annual flow rate of the White Nile before reaching Khartoum is 29.6 billion cubic meters /year, and the Blue Nile in Khartoum is 49.7 billion cubic meters /year, and the Atbara River is 11.7 billion cubic meters / year. The Nile River, before the furthest south point of Egypt, Aswan, reaches 84 billion cubic meters per year or 90 billion if we add the amount of evaporation. This is the result of what remains after riparian countries have exhausted their need for water.

It is worth mentioning that the contribution of Blue Nile is equal to the contribution of the White Nile in the waters of the Nile River (north of the Horn of Khartoum to the estuary in the Delta), but this ratio remains variable, subject to the maximum and minimum rainfall seasons throughout the year. The flow of the White Nile remains semi-stable during the four seasons, so the contribution of Blue Nile is 90% at peak level, while 70% for the first and 30% for the second at the minimum cases, according to FAO estimates.

Most of the riparian countries - except Sudan and Egypt - have their water needs and more in the abundance of fresh lakes and rivers, with heavy rains, while the dependence of Sudan on the Nile River is 77% and Egypt is 97%.

The average annual rainfall on the Nile Basin is about 900 billion cubic meters per year, of which the surface flow is 137 billion cubic meters, while the revenues of the Nile (north of Muqran) according to the latest estimates do not exceed 84 billion cubic meters, it comes to 72 billion cubic meters, that is 87% of the Blue Nile that flows from Lake Tana in Ethiopia, while 13% comes from the Great Lakes region, that is about 12 billion cubic meters.

Conflicts and Settlements on Water

The problem of international conflict and its relationship to the conflict over water has received great attention recently at the international level. The water problem imposed itself as one of the main issues that carries the hope of future cooperation or foreshadowing conflicts and war. As well as the fears from the role of international powers it plays in relations within the regional system of the Nile Basin, which has become a concern in the relations of States within the regional system, and hence it is important to know the role played by the international powers in the framework of relations between states.

In the past people fought over water, but the conflict did not take the International dimension except after colonization. In the 18th century, the leaders of the West, the colonizers at the time, with an invite of the king of Abyssinia turned the course of the Nile and competed for the invasion of Egypt from the south. The king of Abyssinia in the beginning of the 19th century sent a threatening letter to Muhammad Ali Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, in which he said: "The means of punishment of the Egyptians is in our hands," prompting Muhammad Ali to launch a campaign after taking permission from the Ottoman Khilafah (Caliphate). He annexed Sudan, secured the Nile southern and eastern head waters in stages, specially the Muslim area of Bani Shengul, located adjacent to Ethiopia on the west side, which the course of the Nile can be changed or tampered with. In the history books, it was emphasized that Muhammad Ali Pasha's motives for the campaign against Sudan were to search for gold in the Bani Shengul area, and to seek potential recruits for his

army. But the main reason, if not the only one, is to discover the sources of the Nile and secure them, in order to preserve the security of Egypt, so he proceeded and sent his son Ismail to the Blue Nile and his son Ibrahim to the White Nile, and he was about to annex Abyssinia, If not for Britain that block him. (Source: Al-Bakbashi A.H: Ibrahim Fouad Sharaf, *Royal Artillery Magazine*, 19 November 1949, Egypt).

The researcher Faraj Kadri Al-Fakharani, a specialist in Jewish and Hebrew studies at Qena University, confirmed to *Al-Ahram Al-Zeraee* that the conflict over the Nile between Egypt and the Ethiopians lasted for many years, because they threatened of filling (with earth) the Nile River to stop it flowing to Egypt before Muhammad Ali Pasha ruled Egypt. This forced the opening of Sudan, to secure the Nile sources against the threats of the Ethiopian side to prevent the Nile from Egypt. (Egyptian *Al-Ahram Al-Zeraee*, 8/7/2016)

A number of agreements have been signed to govern non-interference in the flow of water to Egypt and Sudan in the modern era. When the colonists were strong and the English occupied Egypt and Sudan, the following agreements were concluded:

1. The Anglo-Italian Protocol of 1891: signed between Britain and Italy to determine their respective areas of influence in East Africa. Article 3 of the Protocol states that Italy must pledge not to reside on the Atbara River, one of the tributaries of the Nile, any constructions would have a significant impact on the amount of water of the Atbara River flowing into the Nile, and Italy's pledged here on behalf of Ethiopia.

2. The Treaty between Great Britain and Ethiopia of 1902: signed between Britain and Ethiopia, and between Britain and Italy and Ethiopia regarding the borders. It was signed in Addis Ababa on 15/5/1902. Emperor Menelik II, one of the Kings of Ethiopia pledged in the third article of the agreement to Britain that there will be no construction or allowing projects on the Blue Nile, Lake Tana, or the Subat River that would stop its revenues or discharging its water in the Nile River in agreement with Britain and the Government of the Sudan the Anglo-Egyptian.

3. Agreement between Britain and the Government of the Independent State of the Congo on 9th May 1906: between Britain and the Congo (Zaire) in which the Congo undertook not to establish facilities that may reduce the water flowing into Lake Albert only in agreement with the Government of Sudan the Anglo-Egyptian.

4. The 1925 Agreement (Exchange of Notes): A joint memorandum between Britain and Italy in December 1925, in which the Italian Government recognizes the acquired water rights of Egypt and Sudan in the waters of Blue Nile and White Nile; and pledges to the other contracting parties not to establish in the Upper River Regions, its branches, and tributaries any construction that significantly alters the water levels they carry to the River Nile. The Government of Italy takes note that the Government of Britain intends to continue to respect the water rights of the inhabitants of the neighboring areas in the area of the economic influence of Italy. And the Italian Government undertakes to do as much as possible, in accordance with the interests of Egypt and Upper Sudan, with the vision and implementation of any

project to be carried out to achieve an appropriate degree of the economic needs of these peoples.

5. The Nile Water Agreement of 1929: It is in the form of letters exchanged between Egypt and Britain "as an occupier of Sudan" and the rest of the Nile River countries under the British Crown "Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika." The agreement regulates the control of the use of Nile water in Sudan so as not to affect the right of Egypt Nile water.

6. The agreements signed between Britain on behalf of Tanganyika and Belgium on behalf of Rwanda and Burundi signed in London on 23/11/1934 on the Kajira River, one of the tributaries of Lake Victoria.

7. Mutual memoranda between Egypt and Britain "On behalf of Uganda" between July 1952 and January 1953: on the involvement of Egypt in the Owen reservoir for water generation in Uganda, and the parties agreed to upgrade the Owen reservoir to raise the water level in Lake Victoria - Nyanza, and compensate for those affected.

8. Agreement signed between Egypt and Sudan on 8 November 1959: To ensure maximum exploitation of the Nile waters for the two countries and for the exploitation of water resulting from the establishment of the High Dam in Aswan, the agreement states the recognition of Egypt's rights in the Nile water of 48 billion cubic meters annually compared to 4 billion cubic meters to Sudan. And it also stated the distribution of the net benefit of the High Dam by 12.5 billion cubic meters to Sudan compared to 7.5 per year for Egypt. Egypt's total share is 55.5 billion cubic meters and the total share of Sudan is 18.5 billion cubic meters.

This is the history of the conflicts and settlements, concerning the waters of the Nile, when the old colonial rule had a firm grip on the countries, it maintained its water security, this is in its interest, but when the Ummah was overwhelmed by the agent rulers, they neglected the security of the country and the people!!

Experts from the US Land Reclamation Office, in coordination with Ethiopia, carried out extensive studies and land reclamation in the Bani Shangul area and water projects throughout Ethiopia, and prepared studies for a total of 33 projects, including four dams designed to transform Lake Tana and Abbai valley (the Blue Nile) and an initial water reservoir, and the supply of electricity and irrigation to Ethiopia, while expanding and regulating the amount of water flowing to Sudan and Egypt, these dams are Karadubi with a storage capacity estimated at 32.5 billion cubic meters, and with a capacity of 13.6 billion cubic meters and Mendaia with a capacity of 15.93 billion cubic meters, Finally the dam on the Sudan border, its capacity is estimated at 11.073 billion cubic meters, the total of these dams on the Blue Nile in this study is 73 billion and 103 million cubic meters.

These studies coincided with the idea of establishing the Aswan High Dam in Egypt. These studies took several years since 1958 and were completed in 1964, but Ethiopia was unable to build these dams at the time.

As Ethiopia had planned to control the Nile, Jewish projects had emerged for a share of the Nile. In the mid-1970s, the Jewish entity expressed to Egypt its desire for 10 per cent of the Nile River's revenues which is (8 billion cubic meters). As well as the suggestion of the chairman of Tel Aviv University (Haim Bin Shahr)

that their state seeks to convince Egypt to give them a share of the Nile water transported by pipelines, and if it was not for the public opinion in Egypt that categorically rejected these deals, the Jews would have got what they desired then. Sadat tried to take the green light from the public opinion. Al-Sharq al-Awsat reported in its Issue 11211 issued on 8 August 2009, Anas Mansour wrote: "President Sadat has asked me to publish a news item that is a *test* pilot. It states: President Sadat dreams of the day when the Nile waters reach Al-Quds (Jerusalem), so that the Muslims can use it for wudu' and pray in Al Aqsa Mosque."

In an article in the Lebanese newspaper *Al-Mustaqbal* on October 20, 2010, it stated that "Israel is funding the construction of five dams to store the Nile water in Tanzania and Rwanda following the recent visit by Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman to the Basin states. In the book *Rivers of Fire: The Conflict over Water in the Middle East*, Jewish expert Arnon Soffer acknowledges the existence of an (Israeli) strategic interest, if Egypt suffers water crisis because it will lead to scaling down Egypt's role in the region.

Egypt has recently received a proposal from the Jewish entity to intervene to end the differences between it and the upstream countries over the framework agreement in exchange for Egypt's agreement to allow the Jewish entity to establish water projects in Ethiopia.

Water expert Haider Youssef when asked by the Egyptian Al-Akhbar Newspaper (3/3/2015): "But international law prevents the transfer of river water from one basin to another?" He replied, "This law has been changed to be in line with the Entebbe Agreement, where Article 2 of the agreement of the

Law of the non-navigational uses of watercourses adopted by the United Nations provides that". He means by a watercourse state is a state that is party to this agreement that its territory is part of an international watercourse or a regional economic integration organization established in one or more of its member states as part of an international watercourse", this is the convention in force since August 2014.

The Jewish state with its economic partnerships with the upstream countries can, through this law, easily obtain Nile water if Ethiopia takes actual control of the Nile. Ethiopia is still determined to add the Jewish entity as an observer state of the African Union!

The Jewish leaders focused on water before the establishment of their entity, their leader Theodor Herzl said: The real heroes of the "Old-New Land" are the water engineers, everything depends on them from draining swamps to irrigated dry areas, and the establishment of electric power plants.

In 1955, David Ben-Gurion told the Knesset: "Water is the blood of our lives and the country has its roots in the water. We are fighting a battle with the Arabs and our victory depends on the fate of (Israel)." Golda Meir said: "Control of the water sources makes (Israel) a country that is not geographically closed".

Thus, we find that ambitions to control the waters of the Nile are not the result of the moment, as revealed by the American political analyst Michael T. Klare, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*, that (Israel) played a large role with the Nile Basin countries to veto international treaties governing the distribution of the Nile water. Adding that (Israel) plays a role among the Nile Basin countries within the

framework of an American plan to extract those countries from Europe. Klare concluded in the coming years, the Nile will become a matter of life and death. The essence of the issue is that 95% of Egypt's Nile resources come from Ethiopia.

Several seminars were held in the West on the Nile Basin issue. Professor Emeritus of Environmental Sciences of the University of Virginia, S. Fred Singer, said that the most effective weapon that can be used against Sudan and Egypt is water, because it is the source of life for them, and it can be a source of death. Lieberman confirmed this in his last trip to three of the Basin states in 2009, he tried to promote for an idea to be presented to the United Nations: The internationalization of shared rivers or the water privatization project studied by the World Bank on the pretext of preventing water wars.

Colonialist's tools continue to give direct support, the World Bank, with the assistance of the United Nations Environment Program and funded by UNDP and CIDA (Canadian), has been supporting the upstream countries since the 1980s: Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, and established with them large investment projects. These countries were supported until the Nile Basin Initiative was launched in February 1999 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to include the Basin countries including Egypt and Sudan.

The following policies have been followed:

1. Encourage a generation of new leaders belonging to minorities in their countries and have close relations with international powers.
2. Besieging of food security in the region, especially in Egypt and Sudan. This reveals the reason

for the failure of agriculture in terms of the colonial plan and the internal implementation by the treacherous governments that are suffocating the souls of their people in Egypt and Sudan (Egypt is receiving American aid and Sudan is importing its food!)

3. Follow the policy of grants and training, with upstream countries.

These included the establishment of new states such as Eritrea and South Sudan, and Avigdor Lieberman's, Minister of Foreign Affairs (Jewish entity), visit to Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya in July 2009 with an army of experts who came in succession.

They brought 400 water experts to Ethiopia and 500 Ethiopian water experts trained in Tel Aviv. According to the Jewish newspaper *Haaretz*, alongside Foreign Ministry employees, Lieberman was joined by a representative of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Ministry of Defense (of the Jewish entity), and representatives of arms dealers and arms manufacturing companies such as Soltam, and the military air industry (Silver Shadow Advanced Security Systems, Ltd.), and ships building and maintenance industry and Elbit for precision electronic industries, and representatives of Jewish infrastructure companies, including the Electricity Company and Elco Ltd.

Therefore, the upstream countries started explicitly to demand the revocation of previous agreements and called for water control, through the Entebbe Agreement, which was not signed by Egypt or Sudan.

The Negotiations' Trap

The idea of negotiations is one of the slyest colonial ideas based on the idea of compromise. In fact, it is not a correct solution; it is a solution that serves the interests of the colonial powers.

The Nile Basin Initiative was the beginning of the process of wrapping the gallows on the interests of the people of Egypt and Sudan, because the idea of negotiation is based on the concession of each party to the other to reach a consensus on a solution, that will ultimately abandon the principles and values that the Ummah believes in and lives upon. It is an effective method, and a poison in which vital interests and all values, even religion is sold!! This concession will benefit only the colonizer, and if there was a loser it is the people of Ethiopia first followed by the people of Egypt and Sudan. Ethiopia will never get rich from controlling the water because its poverty is due to injustice, not because of the flow of the Nile!!

With such colonial negotiations, the Palestine Liberation Organization recognized the Jewish entity, and the Government of Salvation separated from southern Sudan and created the potential to tear up the rest of Sudan, and it impoverished all the people of Sudan in the north and south; and threatened their lives and security in the north and south... With these negotiations, the previous agreements of Nile water were revoked and the Shariah rule that water must be shared among the people is abandoned, this is the rule (*hukm*) of Islam. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, «ثَلَاثٌ لَا يُمْنَعَنَّ الْمَاءُ وَالْكَأُ وَالنَّارُ» **“Three are not prevented**

water and pasture and fire.” (Narrated by Ibn Majah)
The Prophet (saw) said: «النَّاسُ شُرَكَاءُ فِي ثَلَاثٍ فِي الْمَاءِ وَالْكَلِّ وَالنَّارِ»
"People are partners in three in water, grass, and fire." (Narrated by Abu Dawood)

How then if we know that there have been rounds of negotiations beyond the limits of perception, we will mention the words of Dr. Ahmed El Mufti, Sudanese expert in international law and water: "Sudan and Egypt managed through hundreds of rounds of negotiations, consultations and dialogues with the Nile Basin countries, especially Ethiopia, to resolve most of the disputes, which are many, and only three points are left. Of the many points agreed upon in accordance with the Sudanese Egyptian proposal, is the rejection of the principle of selling water, by refusing the stipulation on quotas and the stipulation that water is not only an economic commodity and the use of water in the basin. Although six countries have signed the Entebbe Agreement but the Sudanese proposal that aims to overcome differences and reach a consensus between all the Nile Basin countries, continued until July 2012." (Al-Istishari Magazine, Issue Number 15 August 2013).

Entebbe Agreement

In May 2010, Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda signed the Entebbe Agreement in Uganda - followed by Burundi and Kenya later - but Egypt, Sudan and DR Congo did not sign at the time. Egypt and Sudan withdrew from the new Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA) Nile Basin Initiative that ends their historic water quotas according to the 1929 and 1959 Conventions, Cairo and Khartoum were given one year to accede to the treaty. The withdrawal was too late!!

One of the most dangerous statements of the treaty is the equal division of water and the adoption of decisions in the opinion of the majority and not unanimously as in the past... This means that Ethiopia, which needs 1% of the Nile water, will monopolize water and receive the same amount as Sudan, which benefits from 15% and gets the equal amount of benefit/use as Egypt, which is 59% of the Nile water. Which means that it will sell the difference to Sudan and Egypt or it will keep the water from them or control the timing of its flow without taking into account the need in Egypt and Sudan. But this agreement was an exclusion of Sudan and Egypt and their marginalization and put them in the face of the fait accompli, as the President of Sudan told Sky News Arabic channel, the two countries have no initial positions or principles to fight for, but there are now reports of proposals in the corridors of governance calling for Sudan to join the Entebbe Treaty, and if this is done, Egypt will be besieged from Sudan, equally, as its blockade from the upstream countries, because accession to this agreement means Sudan's withdrawal from all previous agreements with Egypt and in particular the 1959 Convention.

The Sudanese Foreign Minister, Ghandour, said regarding the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam that the

dam is being built on Ethiopian soil. Sudan is not impartial, but it is also not biased, stressing that Khartoum has interests in the case of the dam and is working to preserve it, as Egypt preserves its rights. He pointed out that the interests of Sudan do not conflict with the interests of Egypt, stressing that he is aware of Egypt's rights in water, and that it is the gift of the Nile, so Sudan puts the interests of Egypt in mind, but at the same time seeks to preserve the rights of Ethiopia in development, stressing that the right of any of the three countries must not be forsaken. (Al-Intibaha Newspaper, January 2, 2016). This is a clear hint of the rulers of Sudan committing a crime that is placed in the closet of their terrible crimes against the Ummah, by forsaking its right.

Saifuddin Hamad, the government negotiator did not hide that Sudan stood with Egypt enough (which means the Sudanese government stands with Ethiopia in the construction of the dam). He pointed out in the seminar of the Union of Women on the Renaissance (Nahdha) Dam and its Effects on Sudan on 28/3/2016 that Sudan has made many concessions to Egypt in the Nile water agreements, including the Jabal Awliya Reservoir, which was created specifically for Egypt in Sudanese territory, and that the High Dam is in fact in Sudan and not in Egypt. He added that the Nahdha Dam is in the interest of Sudan, Ethiopia will give us water and electricity, and Allah made Sudan for agriculture, and Allah made Ethiopia to produce electricity, and that they will buy electricity from Ethiopia in which the price of one kilo watt/hour is cheaper than from the Merowe Dam, as he put it.

The Declaration of Principles Agreement and the Neglect of the Rulers

The withdrawal of the governments of Egypt and Sudan from the Entebbe Treaty was a horrendous and exposed theatrics because, on 23 March 2015, the Declaration of Principles Agreement between Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan was signed in Khartoum. It stated 10 articles on the establishment of An-Nahdha Dam, and the division of water between the three countries and the fate of electricity to be generated from the Nahdha Dam, which had gone a long way in its construction at that date. Its construction began in April 2011. The agreement of principles is much worse than the Entebbe Agreement of 2010, because it is the full recognition of Ethiopia's establishment of the dam and the right of Ethiopia to hold back the water from Egypt and Sudan, since the dam was established in it and sovereignty must be equal.

Sudan has sovereignty similar to Egypt and Ethiopia. With this signing-betrayal- all the previous agreements are revoked, that prevented at least the outbreak of wars between these countries because of the sharing of the Nile water, and prevented them from tugging each other in water rights, because the agreement did not mention and did not guarantee the previous agreements, which means cancellation in accordance with the laws of the United Nations, and the principles declared differed from the previous ones and it recognizes the right of Ethiopia to establish this disasterous dam.

On December 29, 2015, the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia signed an agreement they called New Khartoum Agreement. The agreement document included full compliance with the Declaration of

Principles signed by the heads of state of the three countries.

In March 2015 in Khartoum, and it set a period of time to implement An-Nahdha Dam studies in a period of five months to a year, and it selected the French company Artelia for the participation of the French office BRL to carry out these studies.

The Sudanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ibrahim Ghandour, said at the end of the meeting after the signing of the agreement, stressing that the New Khartoum document is a legal and binding document for the three countries after it was signed today, pointing out that it included a response to all the concerns raised by the three countries during the meetings, in an atmosphere of confidence to discuss the details of these concerns, describing this document as historic and comes as a complement to the Declaration of Principles Agreement.

Egypt's Foreign Minister Sameh Shoukry said: "We reaffirm our full commitment to the legal framework governing the relationship with regard to An-Nahda Dam, which is the Declaration of Principles signed by the three Presidents in Khartoum last March".

Shoukry confirmed that a document was signed to abide by the Declaration of Principles signed by the leaders of the three countries last March, pointing out that they are working with every effort to build confidence and reach an understanding to achieve common interest, noting that there is reassurance on what was reached, a document that confirms a full legal framework, which is the Declaration of Principles, adding at the press conference: "We are taking confident steps and working to achieve this strategic goal, and seek further understanding." This confirms Sisi and his government's agreement to build the dam.

The lies of rulers of Egypt and the Sudan are exposed to the peoples by holding meetings of six-member and technical committees that meet, disband and travel once to Addis Ababa and several times to Khartoum, under the pretext of agreeing on two French companies, BRL and Artelia that carry out a study of the impact of the Dam on the two countries where the Nile flows (headwater countries). There is no benefit of the study after the full construction, it must be before the construction. The Minister of Irrigation, Water and Electricity of Ethiopia, Motoma Mikasa, said: "The studies carried out by the consulting companies on An-Nahdha Dam are not binding on his country." (Al-Mijhar Newspaper Issue: 1335, 19/2/2016). The Minister himself said before that that they would not wait for studies, they will fill the dam directly when construction is complete. (Al-Youm As-Sabi' Newspaper website, 29/12/2015).

Moreover, the Dutch consulting company Deltares, which has been working for years in Ethiopia and has interests there, and which was supposed to work alongside the French company, which to be the leader, has withdrawn from consultation according to Al-Youm At-Tali. The newspaper said the following: (Informed sources in the Ministry of Water Resources and Irrigation of Egypt, said in statements in yesterday's newspaper (Wednesday) that the Dutch office rejected the conditions set by the Tripartite National Committee and the French office BRL, saying that "they do not give a guarantee to conduct studies impartially and with high quality". (Al-Youm At-Tali 17/9/2015) It is clear from all this the futility of these studies and that it is only for covering up and deception.

The signing of the Declaration of Principles on 23 March 2015 by Abdel-Fattah el-Sisi, the ruler of Egypt and Omar al-Bashir, the ruler of Sudan, and the Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, was even stranger

than fiction, due to the history of the conflict over water in the region and its international dimension in the past and the present. Officials in water ministries, water and international law experts in Egypt and Sudan have been shocked, because of the forsaking of the water of the Ummah, and wasting the wealth of the Ummah, and the threat to the security of the Ummah, instead of preserving its wealth and security!!

The rulers of Egypt and Sudan dared to revoke all previous agreements that ensured the flow of water to Egypt and Sudan. They replaced it by giving Ethiopia the right to establish what it wants of projects on the Blue Nile, even if it leads to the control of all the Blue Nile River, the main tributary of the Nile with a rate of 84%. The Declaration of Principles - a disasterous agreement - threatens the security of Egypt and Sudan and the security of the whole region, which is a violation of the Ummah's right, a disgrace and shame by the governments of Egypt and Sudan. They have forsaken what does not belong to them, they forsaken what they must give up. This agreement is a betrayal in every sense of the word. By this agreement the construction of the huge dam was agreed, built by Ethiopia and named An-Nahdha (Grand Renaissance) Dam... although the opposite situation is quite appropriate to protect the Ummah's resources and wealth. In order to clarify this, we will mention in the coming pages the text of the Declaration of Principles Agreement and include our comments to explain its reality.

Text of the Declaration of Principles

Valuing the increasing need of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Republic of the Sudan for their over-border water sources, and realizing the importance of the Nile River as a source of life and a vital source for the development of the people of Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan, the three countries have committed themselves to the following principles concerning the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam:

1. Principle of cooperation:

- Cooperation based on mutual understanding, common interest, good intentions, benefits for all, and the principles of international law.

- Cooperation in understanding the water needs of upstream and downstream countries across all their lands.

2. Principle of development, regional integration and sustainability:

The purpose of the Renaissance Dam is to generate power, contribute to economic development, promote cooperation beyond borders, and regional integration through generating clean sustainable energy that can be relied on.

3. Principle of not causing significant damage:

- The three countries will take all the necessary procedures to avoid causing significant damage while using the Blue Nile (the Nile's main river).

- In spite of that, in case significant damage is caused to one of these countries, the country causing

the damage [...], in the absence of an agreement over that [damaging] action, [is to take] all the necessary procedures to alleviate this damage, and discuss compensation whenever convenient.

4. Principle of fair and appropriate use:

- The three countries will use their common water sources in their provinces in a fair and appropriate manner.

- To ensure fair and appropriate use, the three countries will take into consideration all guiding elements mentioned below:

a. The geographic, the geographic aquatic, the aquatic, the climatical, environmental elements, and the rest of all natural elements.

b. Social and economic needs for the concerned Nile Basin countries.

c. The residents who depend on water sources in each of the Nile Basin countries.

d. The effects of using or the uses of water sources in one of the Nile Basin countries on another Nile Basin country.

e. The current and possible uses of water sources.

f. Elements of preserving, protecting, [and] developing [water sources] and the economics of water sources, and the cost of the procedures taken in this regard.

g. The extent of the availability of alternatives with a comparable value for a planned or a specific use.

h. The extent of contribution from each of the Nile Basin countries in the Nile River system.

i. The extent of the percentage of the Nile Basin's space within the territories of each Nile Basin country.

5. The Principle of the Dam's Storage Reservoir First Filling, and Dam Operation Policies:

- To apply the recommendations of the international technical experts committee and the results of the final report of the Tripartite National Technical Committee during different stages of the dam project.

- The three countries should cooperate to use the final findings in the studies recommended by the Tripartite National Technical Committee and international technical experts in order to reach:

a. An agreement on the guidelines for different scenarios of the first filling of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam reservoir in parallel with the construction of the dam.

b. An agreement on the guidelines and annual operation policies of the Renaissance Dam, which the owners can adjust from time to time.

c. To inform downstream countries, Egypt and Sudan, on any urgent circumstances that would call for a change in the operations of the dam, in order to ensure coordination with downstream countries' water reservoirs.

- Accordingly the three countries are to establish a proper mechanism through their ministries of water and irrigation.

- The timeframe for such points mentioned above is 15 months from the start of preparing two studies about the dam by the international technical committee.

6. The Principle of Building Trust:

- Downstream countries will be given priority to purchase energy generated by the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.

7. The Principle of Exchange of Information and Data:

- Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan will provide the information and data required to conduct the studies of the national experts committees from the three countries in the proper time.

8. The Principle of Dam Security:

- The three countries appreciate all efforts made by Ethiopia up until now to implement the recommendations of the international experts committee regarding the safety of the dam.

- Ethiopia will continue in good will to implement all recommendations related to the dam's security in the reports of the international technical experts.

9. The principle of the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the State:

The three countries cooperate on the basis of equal sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the state, mutual benefit and good will, in order to reach the better use and protection of the Nile River.

10. The Principle of the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes:

The three countries commit to settle any dispute resulting from the interpretation or application of the declaration of principles through talks or negotiations based on the good will principle. If the parties involved do not succeed in solving the dispute through talks or

negotiations, they can ask for mediation or refer the matter to their heads of states or prime ministers.

This Agreement was signed on the Declaration of Principles in Khartoum, Sudan on 23 March 2015 between the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Republic of Sudan. (Source: Al-Ahram 139 No. 46859, 24 March 2015)

The Facts of the Agreement

The danger of this agreement lies in the fact that it represents a violation of the previous agreements, a revocation of the acquired rights, and a green light for Ethiopia to build the Nahdha (Grand Renaissance) Dam. After studying the text, the following facts emerge:

1. The three countries have committed themselves to the following principles on the Nahdha (Renaissance) Dam: this commitment is in its weakest tone, the unilateral will, which means that Ethiopia can disengage from the agreement after its practical objectives are implemented on the ground, and all promises will be just be on paper implicating the people of the region in the so called de facto policy.

2. The Principle of Cooperation: If we link it with Article 9 on the principle of equal sovereignty, we find that this cooperation is a mere deception. It states: The three countries cooperate on the basis of equal sovereignty, territorial integrity of the state, mutual benefit and good will, in order to reach the better use and protection of the River Nile.

So how can cooperation be governed by the sovereignty of any country's territory when it does what it wants?! For example, it is known that Ethiopia is the regulator at the source (upstream). If it had established the principle of sovereignty by holding back the water for the purposes of the first to refill, no one will have the right to intervene in order to prevent it according to the Principle of Sovereignty. Also this cooperation is open and general and unlimited, therefore it is not binding.

3. The Principle of Development, Regional Integration and Sustainability: This principle sets out the purpose of the dam, which is the generation of electric power and regional cooperation, but what happens in terms of investment deals on lands around the dam from many countries, the Jewish entity being first on the list, which raises question marks on the goal of the establishment of the dam is to generate electricity. The inclusion of regional development is just for deception. Development does not mean that it will be in all regions, and what if development is limited to the country that created the dam and did not go beyond it? This is expected according to water experts, who emphasize the damage of projects in Egypt and Sudan from the first filling of the Dam's Lake, but from the existence of the dam as a whole.

4. The principle of not causing significant damage: Here is the damage located, since the size and type of damage is not specified. What is the significant and insignificant damage, and the third disaster, is that the state causing the damage is compensated. For example, if filling up the reservoir's lake will cause damage and reduces Egypt's share, Ethiopia will compensate it, but what is the size of the compensation? This is left for non-binding negotiation, and perhaps the compensation is not appropriate for damage. This phrase mentioned: "compensation where appropriate".

What if it was not appropriate? The text has not been written to remove the damage completely. As stated (significant damage), who determines that? Ethiopia may see the damage as insignificant!

5-"Principle of fair and appropriate use": The equitable and appropriate use of water resources has

been mentioned here and no standard has been specified. Ethiopia claims that it is harmed by old agreements that do not permit it to build any dams on the Blue Nile flowing from its territory, perhaps it sees the building of the dam as appropriate even if the technical results are not encouraging, although Egypt and Sudan may find it inappropriate to build the dam. So the use of the word “appropriate” is unclear.

6. Principle of Cooperation in the first filling and Dam Operation Policies: “To apply of the recommendations of the International Technical Experts Committee and the results of the final report of the Tripartite National Technical Committee during the various stages of the project”

This is deception because the information available for the government of Ethiopia is sufficient and does not require any other committee. It reveals the reality. It is submitted by local civil society associations that conducted adequate studies; but because the results were negative, the harsh repression of every opinion contrary to the opinion of the state was used since the results of these studies brought out by international committee composed of international non-governmental organizations, including the International Rivers, which commissioned local researchers to conduct research; but because the political climate is not encouraging, it did not publish information on these studies. The reports of the International Rivers Organization have leaked that the energy sector plans are risky; but as a result of a policy of gagging.

The Ethiopian journalist Riut Ilimo was jailed in June 2011 and sentenced to five years in prison in Kaliti prison. The staff of International Rivers received death threats in 2012. (Wikipedia)

7. The Principle of Building Trust: Downstream countries will be given priority to purchase energy generated by the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. But will this be observed, or will it be available in the event of expected differences as a result of inevitable damages?

8. The Principle of Exchange of Information and Data: Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan will provide the information and data required to conduct the studies of the national experts committees from the three countries in the proper time. As mentioned in the sixth item at the top, the information is available to the Ethiopian government, which indicates the great dangers of the dam, so will the Ethiopian government provide it?

9. The Principle of Dam Security: This principle states: "...Ethiopia will continue in good will to implement all recommendations related to the dam's security in the reports of the international technical experts." Despite the availability of information that the safety rate of one of nine, that is, as if the dam was created to collapse, i.e. flooding of the entire Sudan, and it is not hidden that this region has been subjected to fast and slow movements of land.

10. Principle of Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity of the State: This item gave Ethiopia the full right to establish the dam in its territory without any right of any other State to object to it, in accordance to the principle of sovereignty. Thus, previous agreements have been revoked and abandoned.

11. Principle of Settlement: The Declaration did not contain any mechanism for dispute resolution, but rather referred the whole matter to negotiation or

mediation, and finally referred it to the signatories [Heads of State]. This does not involve any coercive mechanism. Knowing that the final downstream country (Egypt) is the weakest link that necessitates guarantees and a binding mechanism, Ethiopia has insisted on using the word "respect" rather than "binding". The only obligation is to accept the fait accompli, the construction of the dam. And from now, some have nominated international organization tours of downstream countries to regain their share!

12. The agreement does not mention the control or joint administration of the dam, which is the minimum level of reassurance to Egypt and Sudan; which means it gives Ethiopia the upper hand in the management and operation of the dam, to achieve what it wants directly after its deception regarding the selection of the advisory office, and its declaration of its Military agreement with Turkey. So General Sisi traveled to Ethiopia in a desperate attempt to get some guarantees, but he returned with nothing.

An-Nahdha (Grand Renaissance) Dam and its Dangers

Less than a year after the Entebbe Agreement, Ethiopia has already laid the foundation stone for An-Nahdha Dam, which was called the Millennium Dam, and then it called it the X project. On 2/4/2011, the former Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Meles Zenawi, placed the foundation stone for An-Nahdha Dam. The Egyptian Embassy in Addis Ababa was notified in 9/8/2011 after four months, although the historical agreements, states that Ethiopia must not establish any project without prior notice. Sudan was sent a letter via Minister of Irrigation and Water Resources from the Minister of Water and Energy of Ethiopia on 4/10/2011, informing him of the same subject; after six months! (Al-Istishari Magazine Issue Number 15, August 2013)

The laying of the foundation stone for An-Nahdha Dam indicates that Ethiopia has completely disavowed all previous agreements and international norms governing the common international waters. However, it was not concerned about agreements/norms because it relies on its friends and those who stand with it, who change international laws for their own interests, while establishing agreements and initiatives that give legal cover to their plans.

The dam is located on the Blue Nile (the main tributary of the Nile) at a distance of about 20 kilometers from the Ethiopian border with Sudan. The dam's construction was considered in 1956, and in 1964 the final location was determined by an American experts' house without reference to Egypt according to the 1929 agreement Which gives Egypt the right to

object in the event of the establishment of any projects on the river and its tributaries.

But the project did not begin in certainty until 2010 when the final design of the dam was announced.

On 31 March 2011, one day after the project was announced, a contract of \$4.8 billion was started, i.e. total cost of the project. The Ethiopian Government has indicated that it will finance the project from its own resources, through the issuance of bonds to Ethiopians. However, the economic situation inside the country separated the citizens from bonds, while abroad instability in the region reduces the chances of buying bonds. But it is certain that the bonds were presented in the Jewish entity, and most of them were bought. The Italian company Salini Impregilo is building the dam, and European companies are expected to sell equipment and mechanical operations to Ethiopia. Ethiopia plans to complete the dam in 2017, it will be the largest dam in Africa; the tenth largest in the world.

The dam is 145 meters high, while the dam will hold 62 to 74 billion cubic meters of water. This amount is more than twice the amount of Lake Tana (32 billion cubic meters), just under half of the lake of the High Dam (which is 162 million cubic meters of the). The dam is expected to generate 6,000 megawatts of electricity when completed four to five years after the start of implementation, more than two and a half times the electricity of the Aswan High Dam.

Expected Risks from the Dam's Construction according to experts specialized in the following

First: Dam's security

Security studies conducted on dams have shown that the safety factor of the Ethiopian An-Nahdha (Grand Renaissance) Dam is only 1.5 degrees from 9 degrees. This is explained by Dr. Nader Nouredine, Professor of Water Resources and the World Water Expert, that the Ethiopian dam can collapse in five minutes if exposed to any attack, which will cause the flooding of the whole of Sudan, and the facilities located on the Nile bridges and dams to be fully submerged, and therefore the cities and villages on the riparian of the Nile, and nearly 6 million people will be subjected to cases of forced displacement from the North Delta and South Upper Egypt, in addition to the rise in droughts from six years to thirty years, in which the Egyptian economy will lose billions of pounds; which prompted many experts to demand military intervention to stop the construction of the dam, and pushed the former Egyptian President Muhammad Morsi to threaten with military intervention.

Studies on the safety of dams confirm that there are 340 dams in the world, from them a total of 300 dams have collapsed. The large proportion of these dams were large dams of the size of the Ethiopian dam and the High Dam, but the possibility of collapse of the High Dam is unlikely because it is a rocky dam, made of rocks accumulated in layers on top of each other.

Some are covered with cement, however An-Nahdha Dam is made from concrete and at risk of collapsing, and there is no chance of its maintenance at all, unlike the rocky cumulus dam, which can be repaired in a few months.

An-Nahdha Dam is a bomb that will come into effect in 2017 due to the huge amount of water estimated at 74 billion cubic meters. This is after filling the gaps because the water will be spread over vast areas other than the reservoir's water. There are many huge cracks in the land of the dam, which will inevitably absorb much of the Nile water, and will affect the nature and stability of the earth. The dam is at a height of 505 meters above sea level (Al-Istishari Magazine), which is higher than the Nile level in Khartoum, which is 378 meters above sea level (the conflict over the water, Dr. Ibrahim Al-Amin), i.e. the dam is higher than Khartoum by 127 meters. An-Nahdha Dam is close to the Sudanese border, only 20 kilometers from the border (Al-Istishari Magazine, Issue 15, August 2013). This situation makes Ethiopia safe if the dam collapses, the dam is on the border and Ethiopia lies at the summit of the plateau.

Therefore, Ethiopia will be safe if the dam collapses. Ethiopia has already built several river dams, three of them collapsed because of the difficulty of the nature of the area and the force of water rushing and the steep slope down, and because of the weakness of the land on which the dams are built. An-Nahdha Dam is more likely to collapse. Experts said the dam was created to collapse. The safety of the dam is very low, as mentioned. This means that any earthquake will destroy this dam due to the weight of the water behind

it, and the weakness of the area in general, and it is a seismic zone adjoining the African groove.

This change to nature can move the earth's crust, although many developed countries prevent change in nature to preserve the environment and humans. A German, expert who was part of the international experts' delegation to the Dam, said to the minister of water then, **Hailemariam Desalegn** before becoming the prime minister, on the dam's construction studies: "These designs would put you in prison if you were designing a tower in Hamburg." (Elaf Sudanese Newspaper No. 554, 13/1/2016)

Yes, this is the truth of the crime committed by the rulers of Sudan and Egypt towards their people, despite their knowledge of the danger of the dam.

If this dam collapses, including all the trapped water, it will wipe out all the dams on the Nile... Al-Rusayris, Sennar, Merowe, and the High Dam. Each time it will add new water from each reservoir. This will include huge mud (heavy weight, high speed and force) that will destroy the strong dam - the High Dam - which means the destruction and flooding of all cities and villages on the Blue Nile, Khartoum and the whole of the north threatening the lives and wealth of 70 million people of Egypt living on the banks of the Nile... The only thing that may stop the water from reaching the High Dam and destroying it completely, is if the devastation in Sudan is greater, and if the water is dispersed east and west of the Nile destroying everything around it completely, it will reach Egypt with less force.

An-Nahdha (Renaissance) Dam in fact is a terrifying strategic weapon when it is full, and perhaps

the governments of Egypt and Sudan will deploy soldiers to protect it from collapsing or being destroyed!

However, the expert and government negotiator, Saif al-Din Hamad, in a lecture on 28/3/2016 at the Women's Union headquarters: that the dam will not collapse, and that the Sudanese technical and engineering delegations were keen to check in person and modify the plans to the level of safety that will protect the dam for ten thousand years. The Foreign Minister Ghandour assured the media that the dam would not collapse and if it collapses, Sudan would not flood. All these statements prove the possibility of the collapse of the dam, especially when the source is the puppet rulers, liars, treacherous to their Ummah! And they are contrary to the experts' estimates as mentioned above.

Second: Damages Caused by the Dam

The height of An-Nahdha Dam is 145 meters long, 1800 meters long and a storage volume of 74 billion cubic meters of water, this dam of this size was not included in any of the Ethiopian project proposals in 1964, nor did it appear in the proposed projects submitted by the Ethiopian government to the Nile Basin Initiative in 1999. The Ethiopian projects that were previously presented, studied and accepted are: Kordubi, Mabel, Mendaya, Bordar or Finca Dams, all for the purpose of producing electricity, which together produce about 5,570 megawatts of electricity. (Al-Istishari Magazine, August 2013)

Dr. Kamal Ali, former Sudanese Minister of Irrigation, said that all the agricultural projects in Sudan

on the Blue Nile will fail as well as on the Nile. Agricultural lands were sold to investors but are lands without water (The Enlightenment Knowledge Center's Seminar, 1/6/2015). He said that the water that Ethiopia said it will deliver 130 million cubic meters daily, will not be enough to fill the dams of Sudan!! (Elaf Newspaper Issue (554), 13/1/2016)

This in turn will lead to the displacement of millions of farmers in Egypt and Sudan, thus increasing unemployment, and unfortunately it is expected that the Mediterranean will engulf the fertile Nile Delta, which will destroy agriculture in Egypt, which is what Egypt's Delta suffers from even before the dam's construction.

The Nile, despite the greatness of its body, it does not give much water, such as the Amazon River, for instance. This is due to the great loss of its water. The Nile basin countries' demand 136.4 billion cubic meters of Nile water, and the Nile gives it only 84 billion cubic meters of water. This is a deficit of 52.4 billion cubic meters of water, and the most affected by the current deficit before the construction of the dam are Egypt and Sudan. And this number is not fixed, before the flood in 1988, Egypt was in a deplorable state of water shortages and in Sudan there was drought and desertification. Experts say the Nile's rate will descend at least five meters to stay at the bottom, meaning thirst and death.

It is important to note that An-Nahdha Dam is not the final project, the Ethiopian plan is to add three more dams: Karadubi, Pico Abu and Mendaya with storage capacity of 200 billion cubic meters; An-Nahda Dam of 74 billion cubic meters and the other three dams reach 126 billion cubic meters, which means that the Nile

water will definitely be kept away from Egypt and Sudan.

With the construction of the dam there will be no flood and no silt. It is known that the silt is the natural fertilizer of the soil, this dam will hold the silt behind him, which means reliance, will be only on harmful industrial fertilizers to human health, and this in turn will lead to the destruction of agricultural soil, and Sudan will be deprived of flood water that nourishes wells and groundwater, and fertilizes the soil. In addition, it deprives Sudan of its strategic water reserves, which is used at the time of drought, as happened in 1948, which will be repeated in the coming days due to the climate changes that indicate the lack of water revenues from the Ethiopian plateau by about 20% of its quantity. Sudan knows that the Nile cycle is twenty-one years: seven years with full flow, seven with medium flow, and seven with little flow, thus losing any supply of groundwater, and there will be changing lifestyles. Farmers will abandon their land and look for other works. In addition, the loss of flooding and silt will increase the depth of the river, as in the Hoover Dam in America, and therefore water will be accessible only by lifting.

This is on the one hand, on the other hand, the water held back would dry the water in the High Dam and even reduce it in Sudan's reservoirs; Al-Rusayris and Merowe, which means that many, if not all, turbines will be shut down and therefore a continuous power outage because the electricity production will decrease to 33% as mentioned by Dr. Kamal Ali, former Minister of Irrigation (Elaf Newspaper Issue 554, 13/1/2016), which explains the government's rush to the electricity of An-Nahdha dam to be built.

The lack of sale of water reached by the Sudanese negotiator has already been dissipated. Al-Tayar Newspaper (9/8/2016), and several media outlets reported the following: The World Bank will host, for a week, water ministers in Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia to participate in workshops on joint administration and sharing of river waters. The Bank is organizing a series of workshops and lectures on water fields and on benefit sharing issues and water resources infrastructure management, and interviews with experts in the Colorado River Authority, followed by meetings in Washington with representatives of the Bank to discuss its activities on Transboundary Rivers elsewhere.

The expert in international law, Dr. Ahmed Al-Mufti confirmed that this invitation from the World Bank is to promote the idea of selling water, which is rooted in the American experience.

So it is subjugation of these agent rulers to accept the purchase of the Nile water that was and still is, and will remain, Allah willing, a gift from Allah Ar-Razzak the Strong and Powerful.

Accordingly, damages can be summarized as follows:

First, a deficit of 15 billion cubic meters of Egypt's 55.5 billion cubic meters share.

Second: Reducing the agricultural area by 1.5 million feddans in Egypt.

Third: Reducing the electric power produced by the High Dam by 20%. The Egyptian Ministry of Electricity announced that the dam stopped electricity production in June 2016, before the construction of An- Nahda Dam. What then after its completion and its inauguration.

Fourth: The impact on Sudan is devastating, although politicians talk about the organization of the stream after the establishment of the dam, and reduction of the floods, and Sudan's gain in getting priority to purchase of electricity at cost price, but they disregard Sudan's coastal nature, which is closer to the dam in the direction of water's steep decline, which means unprecedented flood, and inevitable losses that outweigh all imaginations.

Fifth: The report of the Tripartite Committee that assess An-Nahda Dam (composed of two members from Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia and four international experts) states the following observations:

- In the light of the modifications made to the design of the dam in the past two and a half years, the present report is partially deceptive.

- The design did not take into account global warming, which could cause floods (climate change).

- No information was provided on the nature of the flow towards the downstream countries and how to control it.

- No information was provided on the impact of the dam on agriculture on both sides of the river in Sudan and Egypt.

- The most important impact of the dam in Egypt is to reduce the capacity of the High Dam to generate electricity due to lack of water in Lake Nasser.

- There are errors in the dam's design and the Committee recommended (to make adjustments in the current design and change the dimensions and size of the dam; but who will ensure Ethiopia's commitment, which is building the dam alone, and will operate it alone).

- The Committee also recommended (to carry out extra studies to ensure the safety of the dam and increase its rate of safety).

Sixth, Ethiopia controls the flow of the Blue Nile water, which affects Egypt and Sudan, especially in the five-year period of filling the reservoirs. In this period, Egypt will lose 12 billion cubic meters, and Sudan will lose 3 billion cubic meters annually, leading to the dryness of millions of fedans, and the displacement of millions of farmers in both countries, in addition to the direct impact on electricity generation in both countries

Seventh: The dam will cause a wave of drought that will affect all Sudanese Northern territory, which benefited from the seasonal flood of the river, which will stop after building the dam, and will adversely affect the environment in the region and its population who will be forced to migrate.

Thus, the thirst and failure of agricultural projects, environmental change from the lack of groundwater, the threat of sanitation, the spread of diseases, and the reservoirs' stopping from the production of electricity, will be the master of the situation after the dam's establishment.

These are some of the negative effects of the construction of Ethiopia's An-Nahdha Dam, which is sufficient to take decisive positions towards it, but the governmental positions in both Egypt and Sudan show the shameful level of neglect taking place and are not giving the subject the attention it deserves, even if it was the destruction of the people and the destruction of the country.

Sudan's Position of the Dam

When colonialism divided the Islamic world to entities linked to nationalistic bonds, it did not do so in vain, but to separate the Ummah from each other, but to fight each other, for example, Halayeb, it was neither Egyptian or Sudanese before but Islamic, and it did not follow any administration, but after the separation of Sudan from Egypt, the colonialist made Halayeb and Shalateen hot spots that are fueled from time to time, and rulers and nationalists get lost in the question if they are Egyptian or Sudanese?! How many holes were dug by colonialism to occupy the Ummah in conflicts to the point of fighting, for a map drawn for this purpose!

The consolidation of the nationalistic bond, replacing the Islamic creed bond, and the bond of Islamic brotherhood, has enticed enmity, hatred and selfishness among Muslim countries.

This includes the repeated complaint of politicians in Sudan against the injustice of the rulers of Egypt in the division of water, and deducting the share of Sudan, which is 18.5 billion cubic meters, while Egypt's share of 55.5 billion cubic meters... That is Egypt's share is three times the share of Sudan. Together with deducting the evaporation of water in the reservoirs, with Sudan not getting its full share, but 12 billion cubic meters only and the rest goes to Egypt and stored in the High Dam. This is with the presence of the High Dam in Sudan and the displacement of 50,000 people of Halfa for this dam, Jabal Awliya Reservoir was also built for Egypt, and so on.

Yes, there may be a great injustice in the division of this water between the Muslims in the two countries,

because the division was in the reigns that ruled with other than what Allah has revealed, and Allah (swt) says: ﴿وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ﴾ **“And whoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed- then it is those who are the wrongdoers”** [Al-Ma'idah: 45].

If there is injustice, in origin, the Muslims must refer to their Deen to solve their problems, not to conspire against one another in negotiations and unjust agreements such as the Declaration of Principles signed in Khartoum.

And in origin they should consider the issue of water as a Shar'i law related to the matter of money and water; money that must be divided according to Shariah.

But it seems that the rulers of Sudan are begging for their interest and that they want to work for their benefit, even at the expense of their brothers in Egypt, it became clear from the statements of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the President and the government negotiator Saifuddin Hamad, that the dam is in the interest of Sudan, and that Ethiopia will supply Sudan with water and electricity generated from the dam! However, this will cause Egypt to lose water and will lead to the dryness of the water reservoir of high dam. In May 2016, the High Dam officially stopped electricity production, as declared. This means the dangerous level of water shortage in the dam. Experts have warned of the dryness of water of the High Dam, is it in our interest that the people of Sudan drink while the people of Egypt are deprived?! Are the not brothers in the creed?! Did not Allah (swt) say? ﴿إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِخْوَةٌ﴾ **“The believers are but brothers”** [Al-Hujurat: 10].

Did not the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: «الْمُسْلِمُ أَخُو الْمُسْلِمِ لَا يَظْلِمُهُ وَلَا يَخْذُلُهُ وَلَا يَحْقِرُهُ» **“The Muslim is a brother of a Muslim he does not oppress him, or disappoint and despise him”**. Until he said: «كُلُّ الْمُسْلِمِ عَلَى الْمُسْلِمِ حَرَامٌ» **“The blood, wealth and honour of the Muslim are sacred to all Muslims”**.

Isn't the water a wealth for us and our brothers in Egypt?

What is this rotten nationalism that colonialism has brought to divide us!

The Government of the Sudan has already become more inclined and supportive of the Ethiopian schemes, but confirms that Ethiopia has the right to the dam and development!! Isn't this a support a participation of injustice in the region and support for it?! Is this at the expense of the security of Sudan and Egypt!?

Nationalism is a non-Islamic idea as well as a measure of interest.

The Islamic criterion is the measure of halal and haraam and not interest. The interest in Islam is in following the Shar'iah not to follow the desire.

What interest do we want from unjust plans and malicious plots? Are not the rulers of Ethiopia America's military tool in the regions, who are spiteful people of the cross who killed thousands of Muslims in Somalia, in the Somalia's war against America? Did they not cut water from the Shebelle River in Somalia until it totally dried up!?

Which mind believes their statements that they will not harm us, they will never give us electricity at a cheap price, and will not give us water free of charge and they do not honour covenants.

Did not America lie when the Naivasha Agreement was drawn up and said it did not want to separate the South? But it separated in the most abominable way?! Didn't the Governor of the Bank of Sudan, Dr Saber, say that the price of the pound will not be affected after the separation, and the opposite happened?! It has also been said that the secession of the south will not affect the economy and is in the interest of Sudan, but it destroyed the economy of the two countries.

What interest are they talking about?! Doesn't our Deen instruct us not to depend on the oppressors? Did it not order us to beware of the enemy? Do these politicians not read the Qur'an? How do they trust the enemy? Isn't this foolishness? But it is betrayal, how can we put our hand in the hands of the people of the Cross and allow them to betray us and our brothers?! Isn't this a betrayal of the Government of the Sudan to the people of Egypt?

Shariah Rules for Dealing with Rivers

In Islam, there are solutions to every problem that had occurred, is happening, or will happen. Allah (swt) has completed this Deen ﴿الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتَمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ﴾ **“This day I have perfected for you your religion and completed My favor upon you and have approved for you Islam as religion”** [Al-Ma’ida: 3] and obliged us to refer to Allah’s law in every issue, minor and major. Allah (swt) says: ﴿وَأَنِ احْكُم بَيْنَهُم بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ وَاحْذَرْهُمْ أَنْ يَفْتِنُوكَ عَنْ بَعْضِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ﴾ **“And judge, [O Muhammad], between them by what Allah has revealed and do not follow their inclinations and beware of them, lest they tempt you away from some of what Allah has revealed to you.”** [Al-Ma’ida: 49] and the word "Ma" as is known is from the general formulations, Allah (swt) obliged the reference to the rules of Islam in every issue, without exception, and not to take parts of Islam and leave others; ﴿وَاحْذَرْهُمْ أَنْ يَفْتِنُوكَ عَنْ بَعْضِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ﴾ **“...and beware of them, lest they tempt you away from some of what Allah has revealed to you.”** [Al-Ma’ida: 49]

Allah Almighty, the Wise, did not leave any problem that faces people in this world, without showing its solution in Islam, in text or from extracting the evidence (istinbat) according to the fiqh Shariah rules. Allah (swt) created us and showed what works for us, Glorified is He, the Most Gentle, the Expert: ﴿أَلَا يَعْلَمُ مَنْ خَلَقَ وَهُوَ اللَّطِيفُ الْخَبِيرُ﴾ **“Does He who created not know, while He is the Subtle, the Acquainted?”** [Al-Mulk: 14]

Therefore, there are Shariah rules for dealing with rivers, whether inside the Khilafah state (Caliphate), or those passing through it and in other countries... Some of these things can be mentioned:

1. The great rivers are a public property and fall under two types of public property, it is on the one hand within the community facilities, which is indicated by the saying of the Messenger (saw): «الْمُسْلِمُونَ شُرَكَاءُ فِي ثَلَاثٍ: فِي الْمَاءِ، وَالنَّارِ، وَالْأَكْلِ» **“Muslims are partners in three: pasture, water, and fire”** (Narrated by Abu Dawood); which are also property whose nature of composition means that individuals are prohibited to own them. This is taken from the Hadeeth of the Prophet (saw): «مِنَى» **“Mina is the resting place of the one who reaches first”** (Narrated by Tirmidhi).

2. Muslims were aware from the Prophet (saw) to this day, that the great rivers such as Tigris, Euphrates and the Nile are a public property that no one privately owns or uses it. The state was able to use the great rivers for drinking and domestic use and watering the animals (called Shafa); and to water the cultivated land (called Shirb) and to travel and transport... and the state used to arrange the banks of rivers and clean rivers (called kari) for people to benefit from... All this is clear when reviewing the books of history and Islamic jurisprudence... Some of the fiqh texts can be mentioned that indicate the interest of Muslims on the subject of the major rivers and easy access to them:

- In the book “Tuhfat Al-Fuqaha” by Samarqandi who died around the year 540 AH, it reads:

“The great rivers such as the Euphrates, Tigris, Gihon and others, no one has the right of its private ownership, but it is the right of the public. Anyone who is able to water his lands from them can, as well as

setting up mills and irrigation canals, etc. This is if it will not spoil in the great river, but if it will lead to the spoiling of the river then this will not be allowed. And then the “Kari” of the great rivers is by the Sultan, from the money of Bait ul Mal, because its benefit is due to the general public, so it will be from the public money, which is the money of Bait ul Mal.” End of quote.

- The Kuwait Encyclopedia of Fiqh states the following:

“Kari: the removal of mud from the land of the river and digging banks and repairing its banks.”

“Kari: the removal of mud from the land of the river and digging it and repairing of its banks, and the provisions of the kari and all the necessary repairs is from Bait ul Mal of the Muslims, because it is in the public interest. If there is nothing in Bait ul Mal, the Governor will force people to repair the river if they refuse, this is to ward off the damage and achieve the interest of the Public. Kari of public rivers such as the Nile, Tigris and Euphrates are on the Sultan of Bait ul Mal of the Muslims, because the benefit of the kari is for the general Muslims, so its expenses will be from Bait ul Mal, because the Prophet (saw) said: «الْخَرَجُ بِالضَّمَانِ» **“Kharaj is by a guarantee”** and if it is feared that these rivers will flood then the Sultan must prepare it from Bait ul Mal.”

- In the book “Durar Al-Hukam Fi Sharh Majalat Al-Ahkam” it states:

*Article 1238: Public rivers that are not owned

Article 1238 – Public rivers that are not owned – are the rivers that do not flow in a stream that belong to the community – they are also permissible like the Nile, Euphrates, Tuna (Danube), and Tunca) - Public rivers that are not owned – are the rivers that do not flow in a

stream that belong to the community such as the seas and lakes, but are permissible, therefore everyone can benefit from it on the condition that it is not harmful to the public as shown in Article 1254, because someone has the right to open a canal and to bring water to his land, to water his land, to build a mill and irrigation canals and a water ways (for drinking) (Al-Bahja).

But if it is harmful to the public; such as floods and spoils the rights of people or to prevent the passage of ships, all people have the right to prevent it, this is regarding the rivers. As for the sea it is used for benefit even if it harms, Al-Quhstani stated this and it will be discuss in the explanation of Articles 1263 and 1264 on this issue.

All people in these public rivers have the right to them whether it is harmful to the public or harmless, and the public rivers that are not owned such as the Nile River that flows in the Egyptian and the Euphrates river that flows in Iraq and the Tigris (and it is read by kasra or fatha on the letter dal), Shatt Al-Arab (which forms at the meeting of the Tigris and the Euphrates), the Tuna (Danube), part of which is located in Romania and the Tunca River, also called Al-Merich River which flows in the city of Edirne. These major rivers do not belong to anyone, because according to Article 1239 ownership is achieved by gaining and placing control over them, and gaining these rivers and laying hands on them is not possible therefore they are common among people according to Article 1234, and this confirms that all people have the right to use it according to Article 1265. (*At-Tanweer wa Rad Al-Muhtar fi Awa'il Ash-Shurb Wa Az-Zayla'l Fi Ash-Shurb*).

[Article 1265: Everyone has the right to water his lands from rivers that are not owned]

Article 1265 – Everyone has the right to water his lands from rivers which are not owned. He may open a canal and a course to irrigate his lands and build a mill. However, it is necessary not to harm others; therefore if flooded and it harms the people or the river dried up or the ships were not able to sail, then this is prevented.

Everyone has the right to drink and use the rivers that are not owned, that is they can irrigate their lands. If a person irrigates a barren land near the mentioned river, he can dig a canal allowing river water to flow in the barren land that he irrigated. (*Sharh Al-Majma' Fi Ash-Shurb*)

Or to irrigate the barren land or to irrigate the land and build a mill, if he had a canal has three outlet, he can add four or five outlets (*Al-Hindiya Fi Al Bab Ath-Thani Min Ash-Shurb*). Also if a large river is not owned in the vicinity of the vineyard of one, the owner of the vineyard wanted to set up a canal on the river to water his vineyard, and there was no damage to others. The owners of the vineyards and the canals under his vineyard can not prevent him from doing so because of their dissatisfaction.

It is known that “Majalat ul Akham” was implemented in the Ottoman State, meaning that the rules mentioned above were implemented and adopted by the State, all of which shows how the Islamic State dealt with the issue of benefiting from the major rivers.

3. If the major river, from its source to its estuary, falls within the Islamic state, there is no problem in benefiting from its water and to travel on it in accordance with the Shariah rules, which we mentioned some at the top... There is no problem if the river flows

on in multiple wilayahs (provinces) that are all within jurisdiction of the state and its division within certain geographical boundaries is administrative... If the use of great rivers requires the existence of certain arrangements between the various provinces, the Khaleefah takes administrative coordination measures to ensure access to the various provinces, in the best possible manner.

4. If the regulation of the use of the major river and the use of its water requires that the State intervene in a detailed regulation, the State will establish administrative regulations regulating watering, transportation, etc. In light of the current material technological development, it is more likely that the State will organize the access of irrigation and water to the houses and farms and organizing the movement of travel and navigation in rivers... The State may draw fees on these uses and to facilitate the resulting profit in Bait ul Mal of the Muslims, under the section of imports of public property.

5. If parts of the major river are located outside the jurisdiction of the Islamic State, the State shall, if necessary, conclude bilateral agreements with the relevant State in accordance with the Shariah rules to regulate the use of the river without violating the interests of the Islamic State and in accordance with the Shariah rules relating to public property... if other countries violated this by preventing the water of the major river from the Islamic state or exploiting it to the level that is detrimental to the interests of Muslims, the state will take political, economic and military measures to enable the lifting of damage by other countries even if it reached to retain its right by waging a war against the aggressor states.

6. What should be noted is that riparian states on great rivers that were not in previous eras preventing each other from using the major river water (The international river). All the riparian states benefited from the river without problems... The problems of international rivers appeared only in the age of Western colonialism, which was adopted as a means of colonialism and to exert political and economic pressure on other countries.

7. The right to public property is for the citizens of the Islamic State and not for other countries. Therefore, the State imposes fees on the use by other countries of the rivers within the jurisdiction of the Islamic State and it may sell them from its waters or from the electricity produced therein or so. The profits will be deposited in the Bait ul Mal to be spent in the manner permitted by the Shariah rules.

8. The State shall take into account the regulations which it establishes for the use of the great rivers and the division and movement in its waters. As long as rivers or their streams are not dried up, polluted or damaged, and it will endeavor to remove any damage caused unintentionally. The state will adopt equitable water policies based on the division of water quotas while at the same time preserving these water resources in the best possible way. All this is not separate to the general economic and environmental policies drawn by the State.

9. In addition to the above-mentioned system of the State, is the utilization of fishing resources in the major rivers and to enable people to fish and so on.

Conclusion

Water is vital, and people can not live without it. It is a vital need for which there is no alternative. This threat to this facility would not have happened if the Muslims had a Khaleefah led by the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger (saw), who will protect them and repel the aggression of their enemy.

The collusion of the rulers of Egypt and the Sudan to allow the construction of An-Nahda (Grand Renaissance) Dam is a violation of the interests of the Ummah which contravenes the Shariah rules for the following:

1. It prevents people from getting water, which water is forbidden. The Prophet (saw) said: «ثَلَاثٌ لَا يُمْنَعَنَّ الْمَاءُ وَالْكَلْبُ وَالنَّارُ». **“Three that are not prevented: water, pasture and fire”** (Sunan Ibn Majah). He (saw) also said: «النَّاسُ شُرَكَاءُ فِي ثَلَاثٍ فِي الْمَاءِ وَالْكَلْبِ وَالنَّارِ» **“People are partners in three: water, pasture and fire”**.

The Nile water are not the property of the American administration or of a Jewish state, or Ethiopia, to hold it back from the people, and it is not the property of the governments of Egypt and Sudan to forsake it. It is a public property that is prohibited to be prevented.

2. It enables the people of disbelief (Kufr) to control us more than their current domination. This is prohibited and must be prevented. Allah (swt) says: ﴿وَلَنْ يَجْعَلَ اللَّهُ...and never will Allah give the disbelievers over the believers a way [to overcome them]” [An-Nisa’: 141].

There is no doubt that this dam was established to further subjugate the people of the region and bring

them into conflict, and for the Kaffir colonizer to lead this battle. And on the other side it enables the Jewish state to secure water from the Nile, this will further the control of the Ummah and this is forbidden in Shariah

3. There are damages that may be difficult to count because of their number and many have been mentioned, and this harm is haram and should be removed, the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: «لا ضَرَرَ وَلَا ضَرَارَ» .**“There is not to be any causing of harm nor is there to be any reciprocating of harm”**.

If the Sudan and Egypt were part of the righteous Khilafah state, these insignificant, tools of colonialist, countries would not have dared to threaten the vital interests of the Khilafah, out of animosity of Islam and the Muslims. The Khilafah state is an ideological state seeking to regain its leading status in the international position. This is why the list of vital interest of the righteous Khilafah state have not limit, and countries do not dare to threaten these interests from the start.

The history of the Khilafah is rich in lessons on its integrity and its preservation of the interests of the Muslims, by the strength of its political work, the elevation of its negotiators and its diplomats, their pride and their forbearance, and their waving and actual use of military force. It is sought by millions of men who aspire to die for Allah, it is the state of dignity and power; that every Muslim must work with the workers, to establish it, for a good life in obedience to Allah (swt), that the inhabitants of the heaven and earth are satisfied with.

**Dhul Hijjah 1438 AH
September 2017 CE**

**Hizb ut Tahrir
Wilayah Sudan**