

# The Revolutionary Charter For Establishing People's Power

A copy to the Sudanese people  
January, 11th 2023



# The Revolutionary Charter for Establishing People's Power (RCEPP)

## Chapter 1/1<sup>st</sup> Chapter

### **(1) Preamble:**

The Revolutionary Charter for Establishing People's Power (RCEPP) is a political document for initiating a deep-anchored wholistic political process, with the ultimate goal of formulating a political vision of national unity that digs deep into the very nature of the national state, governance, economy and transfer of power.

This political vision is grass-roots-based and shall be formulated by the Sudanese people, by means of public and open discussions, to be organized by the Resistance Committees; elected trade unions and other revolutionary forces with genuine belief in the necessity of bringing about radical change, in line with the general vision of this Charter.

This Charter is a culmination of decades long relentless struggle and resistance of the Sudanese people which has been going on since the declaration of independence in 1956. In the particular context of the December 2018 Revolution, this Charter is the cornerstone in the process of translating revolutionary action into a clear and coherent vision, as well as launching the process of handing over power to the people by stripping it away from the elitist political club (both traditional and modern) that has always served the proxy alliance of dependency which only promotes greedy foreign interests against the interests of the vast majority of the Sudanese people.

This Charter represents the first step towards transcending the chronic Sudanese crisis which ultimately plunged the Sudan into a degenerate state, marked by civil conflicts; famines and armies of mercenaries, a state completely stripped off its national sovereignty. In the context of the upcoming transitional period, "sovereignty" is to be defined as consolidating a democratic power practiced by the people at all levels and power structures, based on the constitutional legitimacy stipulated for in the transitional constitution that governs and shapes the transitional period.

## **(2) The Political and Conceptual Vision of the Transitional Period Issues:**

### **(A) Introduction:**

The political conflict in Sudan could only be understood within the framework of an in-depth interpretation of the historical context of the formation of the Sudanese state throughout the colonial eras (Turco-Egyptian & Anglo-Egyptian colonial rule in Sudan), whose sole goal was aimed at appropriating and ravaging the national resources, by means of engineering a neo-social fabric to be built on colonial terms, out of the preexisting kingdoms and local states marked by ethnic, religious and cultural diversity. This process was carried out by deliberately dismantling the basic social structures, delineating new geographical borders, coupled with systematic ethnic, cultural and religious discrimination between those social groups, assisted by proxy traditional and modern institutions.

The post-colonial Sudanese state remains as always characterized by its inherently violent nature, based on subjugation, forced fusion, and usurpation policies as well as socio-economic and cultural dependency.

This is clearly manifested in the post-colonial structure of the modern Sudanese state, the functioning of its institutions, monopoly of power, its rentier economy, unequal production relations, as well as perpetual and successive recycling of power among the same monopolistic elites. These features remain an integral part of the state structures.

The hegemony of post-colonial institutions of both traditional and modern elites, such as the army, the civil service, native administration, and other government institutions and judicial systems is attributed to the absence of a national development project, capable of meeting the aspirations of the Sudanese people, as the existence of such a project runs counter to the interests of local elites and foreign capital.

The modern Sudanese state is based on structural impediments (ethnicity, religion, culture, and gender) that were inherited from colonial eras. Altogether, they led to persistent conflicts over land and resources, mainly based on non-recognition of diversity and dismissal of the internal logic that shapes the natural development of populations, which was coercively implemented by imposition of a unilateral identity and Islamization of the state apparatus. All of which resulted in utter absence of a common conscience, accumulation of historical grievances that led to civil wars, displacement, and immigration. As such, major tribal communities were fragmented and scattered among several African countries due to colonial demarcation of political-geographic borders. Tribal violence also escalated and

was further fueled by environmental degradation, waves of drought and cyclical famines, with each famine cycle followed by a massive cycle of violence.

Then there was June the 30<sup>th</sup> coup d'état of 1989 which encapsulates all the salient manifestations of the crises-ridden post-colonial state. With the advent of the Islamist regime, the Sudanese people have no choice other than to keep on their struggle to unchain their state from the shackles of the post-colonial era, once and for all, and aspire to wider horizons of freedom and building a civilian democratic national state.

The continuation of these efforts and relentless struggle made it possible for the glorious December Revolution (2018) to take place, which came as a new epic chapter in the long heroic struggle of our people against all totalitarian regimes. It is an epic event, that helped put us -with its strengths and shortcomings- at the threshold of a new era in which the very basic nation-building foundational tasks are yet to be carried out, coupled with the absence of consensus on a project for nation-building and governance. Similarly, the absence of a vision for achieving a balanced development that ensures equitable distribution of wealth and power continues to put impediments and results in unending repetitive breakdowns of democratic transformations, time and time again. Also, the mishandling of postponed issues of justice continues to unleash official state violence throughout all the political regimes that ruled the country. It also provides for continued persecution, violence and bloodshed that overshadowed the political scene. Absence of true justice also remains the main obstacle to all democratic change efforts.

This time is no exception, as the counter revolution forces staged their military coup against the December revolution to mark another resurrection of totalitarian regimes and block the way for the formation of a state based on the rule of law and establishing viable and credible institutions capable of laying the demarcation line between the state per se, vis-à-vis the ruling regime and serve as a nucleus of state and social stability.

That's why we strongly believe that, as a prerequisite for achieving peace and stability, as well as a full restoration of our national sovereignty, there must be a wholistic national project geared towards economic development, in such a way that reformulates the pillars of the social contract- based on citizenship and equal rights, a project that addresses the root causes of the dilemma of war and peace, solely based on the common interests of the Sudanese people and according them the highest priority over all other interests.

Restoring national sovereignty and the power of the people remains our main battle against this dictatorship because the December Revolution 2018 has not only been exclusively against the defunct regime, or just against its loyal Security

Committee, but also concerned with instating a national transformative project, capable of solidly unifying all Sudanese people, on the basis of state of citizenship and equal rights, a project that enables them to restore their decision and their political and economic independence, in a democratic civil state.

We reiterate our unequivocal commitment to putting an end to all military coups that have shaped most of our political scene since our independence in 1956. We are committed to the immediacy of this battle, while pursuing the path of establishing a genuine national democratic state, free from any partnership with counter revolutionary forces in Sudan, firmly standing for our established slogans: no negotiations over the total exclusion of the military from the political scene; no legitimacy for totalitarian regimes and no compromise on our people's right to decent and dignified life. We call upon all Sudanese people, men and women, along with their vital revolutionary and political forces, in all Sudanese cities, towns and villages, in the east and west, north and south, to join forces, move forward and mobilize their strengths and massive potential, in support of these alternatives. Continued people's pressure by all political means and media outlets is also crucial for achieving those goals whose aim is mobilizing the mass movement and utilizing its full resourcefulness and its well tested, innovative, and peaceful tactics towards building a modern civilian state.

**(b) The general Context:**

We perceive the great December Revolution (2018) as a revolution against both military and civilian totalitarianism, against military coups and all forms of colonial relations of submission. We also perceive it as a cumulative outcome of the decades long struggle of the Sudanese people ever since the formation of our modern nation state.

Therefore, the political prospect of the December Revolution is about a radical transformation of the nature of the state itself, from a centralized elitist state into a development-oriented, civilian and democratic people's state. This answers the question why the December Revolution is faced with so many foes, as it threatens the interests of multiple parties.

The protracted totalitarian experience was certainly a source of untold suffering for most Sudanese people. Nevertheless, it was also a source of cumulative and renewed increasing of political awareness. In consequence, the December Revolution has successfully redefined the very nature of the state and power and the meaning of legitimacy as it stems from the people and their collective will, not from the coercive power of arms and submissive relations of dependency.

The December Revolution has also successfully redefined the legitimacy of the civil society that was based, prior to the revolution, on the monopoly of the socio-

political elite over the privileges of political representation as it continued to benefit from its socio-economic supremacy and the open channels to access to foreign funding and international organizations.

In the aftermath of the December Revolution, popular constituencies have restored their self-representation privileges, in such a way that made it unacceptable anymore for these constituencies to be represented in the political and decision-making processes by entities who lack popular grassroots following.

### **(c) The Current Political Situation:**

After 30 years of military totalitarianism, the revolution finally brought down the leader of that regime by means of peaceful resistance in April 2019. However, it was impeded from reaching its ends due to submitting to a fallacious logic that legitimizes the use of arms and forcefully imposes the participation of the Security Committee in the transitional power (despite its known allegiance to the defunct regime).

On the other hand, the mass movement itself was not well organized and prepared with a political vision that enables the revolutionary forces to eclipse the traditional political elite, who continued to sit astride the seat of power since independence. It is the same elite that colluded with, and conspired against, the revolution by subscribing to the power sharing formula with the Security Committee (SC). This formula itself was quickly ended by the military coup, staged on October the 25<sup>th</sup> 2021 by the same Security Committee. The so-called “partnership period” was characterized by rampant insecurity, worsening living conditions, and economic degradation.

It was only then the resistance movement clearly understood that “partnership” was especially premeditated for the purpose of entirely aborting the revolution itself. This fresh understanding spurred the resistance movement to embark on a wide scale internal revision and recalibration process that involved rethinking of improving and restructuring of aspects of organizational and political vision.

At this moment, Sudan remains a state with no government, a wrecked country, marked by unprecedented levels of economic degradation, spiraling violence, tribal hostilities, continued looting of national resources, and undermined sovereignty due to increasing intelligence interference of the various foreign actors, serving their interests and agenda.

Seeing that this situation cannot be endured any longer, the Resistance Committees shifted roles and positions, from being a political passive observer to the most important political active player.

In this Charter, we adopt dialogue for reaching a consensus on a unified political vision of national unity and a democratic structure, as effective means for reclaiming people's power from the putschists of the Security Committee and political Elites.

Therefore, this Charter serves as a direct answer to the question: "who's the alternative leadership then?" as it provides a political vision for the relevant transition issues as well as providing a leadership structure for the transitional period.

In the context of the internal revision of the ongoing revolutionary process, the Resistance Committees have decided not to be party to the legitimization process of the military coup, by rejecting any form of partnership with the military. To that effect, it raised the slogan: "We're destined to be the generation to pay what it takes to put an end to all military coups; an urgent battle that we do not have the leisure to delay". The (RCs) so decided, because they understood very well that any delay of facing the military coup junta would only raise the cost of achieving democratic transformation.

For the same reason, the (RCs) took up the 3-Nos position:

No negotiation, No partnership, No legitimacy.

This is a position based on the RCs' firsthand experience with the military coup junta, rather than being based on mere presumptions, especially that the partnership experience which emanated from the Constitutional Declaration (of the Forces of Freedom And Change) has provided a concrete basis for testing the rationality and political correctness of partnership with the Security Committee, responsible for staging the military coup against power sharing partnership). From the revolutionary prism and logic, such a partnership is undoubtedly a mere "zero-sum game" as it only took us back to square one by imposing a de facto military coup against which we protested in the first place.

Within the African continent, Sudan is one of the countries that suffered most from military coups (17 coups and coup attempts) as well as long periods of military totalitarianism, civil wars and ravaging of resources. This socio-political phenomenon has its deep-seated roots in the formation of the modern Sudanese state. Therefore, a full understanding of the Sudanese political crisis necessitates re-reading both previous experiences and modern history narratives to avoid committing the same dire mistakes.

#### **(d) The Origin of the Modern National Sudanese State Violence:**

The modern national Sudanese state is inherently a violent colonial power structure based on subjugation, forced assimilation, and racist policies. In colonial reality, the ferocity of this modern state is even more aggravated as it was imposed by the

power of arms to pillage the national resources of the colonized communities while forcing them to be integrated into the global order. These same colonial powers are dismissive of the inherent logic of local history and are indifferent to processes of historical continuity.

That's why the colonial powers tend to re-engineer indigenous communal structures and fragment the ethnic groups extended across various climate regions. In result, major tribal communities were fragmented and scattered among several African countries due to geographical border demarcation imposed by the colonial authorities. Intra-communal violence also escalated among local groups due to the policies of re-engineering the populations and their resources, especially land. That led to outbreak of civil wars in neighboring Chad, the Central African Republic, the Congo, Djibouti, Somalia, Ethiopia, Cameroon, Rwanda, and other African colonies. Due to the long history of tribal warfare, violence itself has been transformed into an economic source of revenue, even a main livelihood for various groups.

Meanwhile, both modern and traditional colonial elites continued to benefit from and invest in those seeds of discord to ignite full-fledged internal conflicts, to grab and control natural resources, especially gold, rare metals, oil, gum Arabic and livestock. These internal conflicts also enabled the same elites to grab additional revenues from illicit arms trafficking, smuggling four-wheel drive vehicles, as well as looting of crops and livestock from the poor. Warlords also joined the world economy through the gate of violence and mercenary, whereby whole state armies turned into private enterprises that administer bloodshed to serve capital tycoons, as illustrated by the practices of the European Union through the so-called "Khartoum Operation", the Arab Gulf Alliance in Yemen, and the ongoing conflict in Libya. Continued conflicts in Sudan are directly interlinked with local communal points of weaknesses, emanating from decades of long colonial processes that entrenched violence as a means of land ownership in the rural areas and created the vicious linkage between tribal identity and livelihood, including resorting to violence.

Paradoxically, despite the huge contribution of the rural areas to agricultural production and its massive food and livestock supplies to the entire country, the rural areas persistently remained backward, marginalized and underdeveloped throughout successive regimes since independence. In consequence, these underdeveloped rural areas remain an open arena of largescale violence, genocide, civil internal strife, and famines. The current situation of the rural areas is resultant from perpetuating the same colonial policies, the same policies that split the Sudan legally and administratively into two halves: an urban half, governed by law and official governance policies wherein the state contributes with the provision of



some services, economic projects, policing, and judicial institutions, such as courts. The other half is the doomed rural areas governed by customary law and native administration institutions, lacking in basic services, such as formal schools and hospitals, no rule of law or official law-enforcing and security institutions.

This legal, administrative, and security division had paved the way for the systemic degradation of the rural areas which is deprived of basic rights. It was also put on a socio-economic developmental track inferior to that of urban centers. As a result, the food security of rural areas citizens was left to their sole and direct responsibility, but not that of the state.

Driven by multiple factors of environmental degradation and encroaching desertification, conflict over scares and diminishing resources forced itself into a de facto day-to-day reality. As a matter of fact, conflicts erupted, arms proliferated, native administration and small-scale conflicts were politicized, thereby drifting the rural regions into a heightened violence cycle that turned violence itself into the main livelihood via militarization of both rural production and the working rural force. All that was to the detriment of rural women who had to bear the brunt of these worsening economic, social and security conditions. To their plight, they continue to pay the highest price. As of now, the spectrum of a new calamitous famine looms across the Sudan. With every new cycle of famine, as the lessons of history showed, there followed an extended wave of armed conflicts.

Therefore, perpetuating this situation poses a real threat to the stability of Sudan and increases the risks of a total collapse of the state itself. That's why it's mandatory upon us -as revolutionary forces- to speed up the process of decolonializing; that is to dismantle the colonial relations and arrangement that were setup between urban centers and the countryside. Doing so, would necessitate the presence of the state power in the rural areas with preferential development policies, provision of education, health, and communal security services, capable of putting these areas back on track as the leading force of national economic development and the sustainable reservoir of natural resources and work force.

#### **(e) The Sudanese Army:**

The Sudanese army is among the various institutions that were established during the two colonial periods. Formerly, it was known as the "Sudan Defense Force", with the sole task of serving colonial interests. As an integral aspect of the Sudanese state crisis, it needs to be restructured. The Sudanese army has never been nationally restructured since the country's independence in the mid-fifties of the last century. Instead, it continued utilizing the same colonial structures and

military doctrine to wage violence against Sudanese civilian citizens in lieu of carrying out well known standard tasks of all armies across the globe: defending the borders, protecting the constitution, and defending national sovereignty. To perpetuate its “divide-and-rule” policy, the colonial rule had intentionally recruited the army personnel along basis of racial and religious orientations and beliefs. It was thus established and developed, with the aim of keeping it racially and regionally divided.

A crucial factor for colonial rulers was to extend state power and support “colonial peace” to ensure a continued exploitation of resources across the Sudan. These policies had perilous repercussions during the post-colonial era and resulted in shaping the military might and its loyalty to existing post-colonial regimes. The army is closely connected to the political establishment and political processes through its role in maintaining internal security. This is especially manifest in the recruitment of army officers (from among certain social segments and specific ethnic and religious groups).

Thus, the army remains among the most loyal establishments to the colonial regime that ruled the Sudan. Hence, it's no coincidence that since its first military coup in November 1958 (only two years after independence) the army had grabbed and controlled both power and wealth to serve colonial and local elite's interests. This control of power and resources were the main reason behind the development of the Sudanese army as an institution that enjoys a vast and all-embracing social and political power.

Given the former malpractices of the Sudanese army, with its exacerbated current corruption (since the military coup of 1989) that are clearly seen in its monopoly of the defense industries, along with a wide range of strategic trade transactions, along with its involvement in illicit gold exports, we rightfully conclude that the army is no other than an institution especially designed for the sole purpose of serving as a governance tool for former and present colonial rule alike. As such, it continues to control and reproduce the tools of violence and hegemony over the Sudanese people as well as exploiting state resources, instead of acting as an institutional power, designed for defending the people and the natural resources of the country. Therefore, a comprehensive revolutionary change is indispensable for a thorough national restructuring of the army and its military doctrine, as mere cosmetic reforms proved not only inadequate but also harmfully destabilizing.

Based on how the Sudanese military institution was formed, the “No partnership” slogan embodies a deep understanding of the army problem, as any delay of facing

the military junta would only deepen and prolong the problem of state violence. In this connection, practical experience of partnership with the army or power sharing, as provided for in the Constitutional Declaration of August 2019, has made it possible for morphing the Rapid Support Forces militia into a socio-economic institution, with advanced technical, military, and logistic capabilities. It also enabled the army's plunder of the country's economic resources.

Due to that partnership, the revolution ended up having new foes, with the subscription of some former opposition armed forces to the alliance of the counter revolution forces. It also paved the way for another resurrection of the security violence machine, by granting immunity to the National Security Service (NSC) and unleashing its brutal violence against peaceful protestors. All these measures were also complemented with recruiting cadres of the so-called the Popular Defense and Operations Agency and "shadow battalions" into the Rapid Support Forces structure or otherwise collaborating with them somehow within their own previous formations.

Also, practical experience showed that all isolated/nonparticipatory peace agreements ended up in utter failure, as these agreements not only failed to halt the ongoing conflicts, but also led to escalate violence, with the sucking in of new regions into its abyss, such as the recent eruptions of violence in Port Sudan, Kassala, Western Darfur, Western, Northern and Southern Kordofan, as well as in the Blue Nile, and other areas located in the mining belt regions. All of which uncover very clearly the underlying nexus between violence and the scramble over resources.

#### **(f) The Native Administration System:**

This institution is also one of the remnants of the colonial regime's tools for decentralized control, whereby local populations were divided along ethnic lines and indirectly governed by local leaders, based on a legal and administrative system, somewhat different from the one that governs the urban centers, especially when it comes to organizing land and production relations. To curb the aspirations and liberation tendencies of the educated urban elite, which was clearly manifested in the White Brigade Revolution (1924), the colonial administration then decided to build new alliances in the rural regions as part of transforming the governance system to an indirect one by utilizing Native Administration system. The latter institution had enabled local leaders to take full control of local communities, in the areas of their residence, with minimal cost, while establishing strict ties between the individual's ethnic identity and access to basic resources.

The imposed Native Administration on local communities in the countryside was characterized by two aspects.

Firstly: It revealed the patriarchal structure of colonial consciousness as manifested in the selection of local leaders, sometimes, from among tribal leaders by utilizing preexisting clan, ethnic, and local violence mechanisms. Alternatively, in cases where local traditional leaders were not available, pseudo-proxy leaders were especially groomed to serve the interests of colonial exploitation of Sudanese natural resources.

Secondly: Dividing local populations along ethnic lines was an intentional strategy formulated by the colonial regime, then streamed and organized through the Native Administration. That system served the colonial regime to the best in terms of distribution of wealth, rights, and economic privileges, to the interest of the colonial administration. In return, the social stratum of local leaders also accumulated wealth and privileges as they maintained systemic control over resources, based on not only ethnic divisions, but also on binary divisions between the rural areas and the urban center within the national state.

These internal divisions had undermined the Sudanese ability to build the necessary national unity to join forces, organize themselves, and collectively resist the colonial rule. The same divisions also weakened their ability to organize their struggle against subsequent totalitarian regimes in the post-colonial era.

Our vision of the Native Administration System is that the rural regions should enjoy full ownership of their decision-making process and local resources. In general, we take notice of the absence of the rural communities, their social formations and political and economic institutions from the general urban revolutionary discourse, with very few and superficial exceptions.

Therefore, the dynamic engagement of the social rural components in the revolutionary movement is of vital importance for the continuity and success of the revolution itself. Urban centers cannot be developed leaving the rural areas behind. Similarly, this complex problem cannot be solved on behalf of the rural areas, which should be an inextricable component of the December Revolution discourse by means of ownership, coupled with its active presence and participation in charting its trajectory and composing its revolutionary discourse, as it is a revolution of all Sudanese people, men and women, with all their social components and their cultural backgrounds.

We are witnessing nascent engagement of various rural social classes in the revolutionary movement. It is essential to support its expansion within the context of the transitional government. It is also essential to adequately address the

question on the role of Native Administration in the democratization process, which the resistance forces are keen to consolidate.

The contention between modern revolutionary institutions, such as Resistance Committees with traditional institutions, resembled by the Native Administration, is natural in the context of the ongoing dispute over power, interest, and political representation.

In this regard, intensive and broad experience showed that Native Administration is a non-ideological system. Nonetheless, it inherently tends to ally with all ruling regimes as part of its formation. In turn, ruling regimes tend to establish allies with those Native Administration elites who are ready to speak on behalf of these regimes, while representing sizable population groups, with the purpose of ensuring certain political gains. This reciprocal and binary relation between political power on the one hand, and Native Administration elites, on the other hand, is governed by corrupt relations that provide basic services to local communities, such as water wells drilling, road construction or building schools, as mere bribes intended for buying political loyalty, rather than providing them as intrinsic rights of the citizens of these communities.

Accordingly, our perception of Native Administration may be summed up as follows:

The first step to establish transitional power is to reach mutual understandings with the various social components in the rural communities, based on the latter's interest in democratic change, taking full ownership of their own political and economic decision, as well as enjoying their fair share in their own locally produced resources.

Also, "localization" and reinforcement of a local rule culture would enhance a direct relation between the citizens and government organs, in such a way that leads to a gradual breakthrough in the problem associated with the political representation of the rural communities' components. Since the non-presence of the state in the countryside is the main reason that perpetuates the hegemonic control of the urban elites, herein lies the crucial importance of local councils in establishing new relations between the citizen and the state; relations capable of surpassing traditional institutions such as the tribe and the Native Administration.

Democratic transformation is the only path towards stability, peace, and socio-economic advancement, as the totalitarian state model has proven time and time again that it has no alternatives for the rural communities other than famines, violence, and slow death.

**(g) Traditional and Modern Political Elites:**

Hegemony through the divide-and-rule colonial policies manifested itself further in the politicization of religion. Fear of religious Sufi orders and the prospects of the Mahdists' return prompted the British colonial authority to fuel enmity among the rival religious groups, particularly the Ansar and the Khatmiyah. Loyalty to the sectarian forces became the main condition for lending political support to the major political parties. Even the Sudanese nationalist movement, as represented by the Graduates Congress, succumbed to political and sectarian influence. Having failed to create social incubators that transcended ethno-religious affiliations, that movement took refuge in the social incubators of the two major parties. Thus, the "Center" policy was further embedded through the social relations that developed during the colonial era.

The Sudanese political elite that took over from the British colonial authorities failed to make drastic changes in the colonial economic infrastructure. Far from it, the traditional political parties adopted the same colonial policies to consolidate their power and joined hands with the army to seize power and reinforce their influence. The political elites resorted to that practice because it was in their best interest to maintain the prevalent socioeconomic order. Thus, although political power passed on to the indigenous elite, the modes of production, management of resources, and transfer of power remained unchanged. Exploitation of resources continued in various forms under the neo-colonial powers. This is manifested in the fact that France stands as the largest exporter of gum Arabic although Sudan is the world's number-one producer and that the gum Arabic zone lies exclusively in west Africa.

In line with maintaining the colonial socio-economic order, IMF and World Bank policies have continued to be implemented since the 1970s. Heavy reliance on foreign loans further deepened the class and ethnic disparity, which led to feuds, civil war, and poverty.

Understanding the close ties between the elite parties and the army, on the one hand, and the colonial markets, on the other, will help explain why the majority of the current elite parties and armed forces are still in favour of partnership with the army and continuous reliance on external borrowing.

**(h) National Sovereignty:**

A stable Sudan is in the interest of global peace. But the problem is that the regional and international community can see this stability attainable only under an oppressive military regime that helplessly serves the international agendas, to the

detriment of the Sudanese people's interest. However, the thirty years of the defunct regime, as well as the subsequent three years under the so-called Security Committee, have demonstrated that totalitarianism is the number-one threat to regional and international peace. The defunct regime interfered in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries; harboured international terrorism; orchestrated an assassination attempt on the head of a neighbouring country; engaged in human trafficking; violated the rights of refugees and all international peace charters and committed grave crimes, including genocide and war crimes. All the above atrocities stand as a salient proof that linking stability to totalitarianism is an ill-sighted vision.

On external relations, we affirm our respect of the sovereignty of all nations and our commitment to safeguarding mutual interests and observing all international norms and charters designed to preserve world peace. We also affirm that our relations with all foreign parties will always be guided by our commitment to protecting Sudan's sovereignty and the interest of its people and maintaining balanced relationships. This means that any attempt to exploit or take over Sudan's resources will not be tolerated. It is for the Sudanese people to determine how to manage their resources in a way that serves socioeconomic justice and protects the environment. We should strive to revive the long-neglected relations with African countries and other nations of the South, by facilitating trade and cooperation with them and fostering bonds of popular solidarity.

We in the RCEPP strongly believe that full reclamation of national sovereignty is the first step to democracy and fair development. This is our crucial battle against dictatorship, for the December Revolution was not merely against the defunct regime and the Security Committee. It is a revolution of national liberation whose mission is to regain the independent political and economic will of the Sudanese people.

**(i) Social Justice:**

Another crucial matter that is closely related with other aspects discussed in this Charter is social justice, which is one of the pillars of the revolutionary national development project. It is important to note that the concept of social justice transcends transitional justice to include equal distribution of resources and power among invariably all the components of society. With resources and power having been concentrated, since independence, in the hands of very few elite groups, achieving social justice will necessitate dismantling the model of the modern national state, which has been built on monopolizing resources and revenues. If this is not clearly set as an objective, social justice may be reduced to an individual rather than a societal issue. Placing our focus on criminal justice alone may allow

for some individuals to be punished for their crimes against society but will leave unharmed the same hegemony and oppression regimes who are behind violence and atrocities.





## CHAPTER TWO

### First: The Transitional Revolutionary Legislative Council (TRLIC):

- **Definition:** TRLIC is a revolutionary legislative council to be set up ahead of the collapse of the coup's regime. Its mission is to take up power and run the country temporarily, pending the formation of the local and state-level councils and the transitional national legislative council, which constitute the transitional power bestowed upon them by order of the people as set forth in this Charter.
- **Formation Mechanism:**

The forces signatory to this Charter across all local councils, as well as the other forces that believe in the need for radical change along the lines of the Charter's vision, should embark immediately on setting up "Transitional Revolutionary Legislative Councils". This should be accomplished ahead of the overthrow of the coup regime to avoid repetition of the revolution-kidnapping scenario, which was a result of the political vacuum and absence of representation of revolutionary forces.

  - **National Transitional Revolutionary Legislative Council:**

Three (3) representatives, one of whom from the camps of displaced persons in the State.
  - **State-Level Transitional Revolutionary Legislative Council:**

Three (3) representatives from each local unit
  - **Local Transitional Revolutionary Legislative Council:**

Three (3) representatives from each administrative unit
- The Khartoum State shall be represented in the National Revolutionary Legislative National Council by six members (two for each city).
- **The Revolutionary Council's Responsibilities:**
  1. Naming an interim prime minister, who shall nominate the cabinet, to be endorsed by the Revolutionary Legislative Council.
  2. Endorsing the elections committees formed by the Resistance Committees that signed the Charter, to oversee the formation of the transitional legislative councils.
  3. Enacting the laws governing the formation of commissions and confirming the appointment of the chairperson and members of the commissions, based on the Prime Minister's recommendation.

4. Endorsing the local and state-level legislative councils and the transitional national legislative council, which are to be formed under the supervision of the Resistance Committees and the Charter signatories.
5. Abolishing all anti-freedom laws.
6. Abolishing the position of commander in chief of the armed forces and delegating its functions to the Prime Minister.
7. Appointing a governor for Sudan Central Bank
8. Any other tasks, resolutions, or legislations the Revolutionary Council may deem necessary

● **Revolutionary Timeframe for Building and Activating the Power Structure:**

1. Timeframe for setting up the Revolutionary Legislative Council (local, state, and national levels): 30 days from the date of issue and signing of the IRCIP.
2. From 1 to 15 days; from the date the Revolutionary Legislative Council takes up power: The National RLC names a prime minister and sets the internal bylaws that govern his/her work. The state and local level RLCS name the governors and commissioners and set the internal bylaws that govern their work.
3. 16 to 30 days: The commissions Councils to be set up, and the heads of commissions, the auditor general and his/her board to be named by the RLC. During the same period, the Prime Minister selects his/her cabinet members in line with the competence and revolutionism criterion as set forth in the Charter; the governors/commissioners name their cabinet/administrative staff.
4. 31 to 45 days: The Commission for the Judiciary Reform sets up the supreme judiciary council and the public prosecution council.
5. 46-60 days: Ministers and governors present their recovery programs, in line with this Charter, with detailed timelines, and make them public.

\* Building of the power structure and submission of the executive organ's plan should be finalized no later than two months from the Revolutionary Council's takeover of power, as mentioned above. The revolutionary spirit shall be injected in the state apparatus once the revolutionary structures are in place. The revolutionary grassroots organizations shall vigilantly guard the Revolution throughout the transitional period.

**Second: Overthrowing the Coup Regime:**

- Turning down any invitation for direct or indirect negotiations with the coup authority and continuing peaceful resistance through our tested as well as novel tools.
- Overthrowing the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 2021 coup d'état (the Security Committee's coup), being a continuation of the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1989 (Inghaz) coup, and putting all the perpetrators, both civil and military, to trial.
- Abolishing the Constitutional Declaration Document, including the Juba Peace Accord, and establishing a constitutional status through a RCEPP-based transitional constitution; and reviewing all agreements concluded and decrees issued since the 11<sup>th</sup> of April 2019.

**Third: The Transitional Constitution:**

The transitional period shall be guided by the transitional constitution, which shall govern the functions and performance of the revolutionary government and the state organs. The following provisions shall be vividly incorporated in the transitional constitution:

1. Civil liberties and basic human rights as supra-constitutional principles.
2. The right to have access to clean water.
3. Establishing the RCEPP as a constitutional reference.

The remaining articles of the constitution shall be drafted and approved by the Charter signatories prior to setting up the Revolutionary Council as stipulated in the Charter.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **The Transitional Authority and Governance Structure:**

- Sudan, being a country of multiple ethnicities, religious, beliefs, and cultures, the state shall stand at an equal distance from its people and treat them equally on the basis of equal citizenship.
- A transitional constitution shall be established to serve as a foundation for a decentralized transitional system of government to be run by the Charter signatories, which shall endeavor to achieve the Revolution's objectives and accomplish the transition tasks within a period of two years, which may be renewed by the National Legislative Council for another two years, at most, depending on progress made towards meeting the transitional period objectives.

### **Structure of the Transitional Authority:**

#### **The transitional authority shall be composed of three branches:**

- The Legislative (legislative councils)
- The Executive (Council of Ministers, Governors, and Commissioners)
- The Judiciary and the prosecution

These branches shall act as autonomous authorities without any interference on each other, in line with the separation of powers principle. However, they shall collaborate with each other as a transitional authority.

### **The Legislative Branch:**

An autonomous authority; the Legislative Branch is the supreme authority in the state responsible for legislation and enactment of laws.

The Localities that lie within the camps of displaced persons shall have seats reserved for them until their representatives are chosen through direct voting. This process may take longer than usual in view of the exceptional circumstances prevailing in the camps.

### ***Mechanism of Formation of Legislative Councils (the people's power):***

This authority is comprised of representatives of the Sudanese people, to be selected on the basis of geographical domicile and trade unions through a popular democracy process, **as follows:**

#### **a. Local Legislative Councils (LCC):**

The local legislative council comprises all representatives of the democratically elected administrative units and trade unions in the local administration.

**Domicile Representatives:**

Residents of the neighborhood/village hold a general meeting and select one of them to represent the neighborhood/village in the general assembly which shall select four from the administrative unit to represent them in the local legislative council (LCC) and one to represent them in the state-level council (SLC). The representatives of the administrative units who are elected for the LLC shall meet and elect one of them to represent them at the national legislative council (NLC).

The representatives of the administrative units shall constitute the general assembly for the local administration. The Signatories to the Charter shall oversee the selection of one of them to represent the local administration in the National Transitional Legislative Council.

**Trade Union Representatives:**

Members of the different trade unions in the Local Administration, who are elected by democratic general assemblies, shall meet to select two of them to represent the trade unions in the local legislative council and one to represent them in the state-level trade union council. The council shall select two members for the state-level legislative council, at least half of them shall be females, subject to the mechanisms they deem appropriate.

All representatives of neighborhoods/villages and trade unions shall lead parades to the premises of the local legislative council (LLC) where they shall meet and set up the LLC structure (chairman- rapporteur). The LLC shall select and appoint a commissioner for the local administration, who shall, in turn, appoint administrative officers pursuant to the civil service act and the revolutionary criterion stipulated in this Charter.

**b. State-Level Legislative Councils:**

The state-level legislative council comprises all the democratically elected representatives of the administrative units and trade unions in the State

All representatives of administrative units (neighborhoods/villages and trade unions) shall lead revolutionary parades to the premises of the state-level legislative council (SLC) where they shall meet and set up the SLC structure (chairperson/speaker- rapporteur). The SLC shall select and appoint two members, at least half of the total number of the selected representatives shall be females, as members in the national legislative council (NLC). The SLC shall then appoint a governor of the state with a two-thirds majority vote. The elected governor shall nominate a state cabinet to be endorsed by the legislative council.

**c. The National Legislative Council:**

The National Transitional Legislative Council (NTLC) shall be composed of 240 members, democratically elected by their respective Localities and trade unions, in addition to representatives of the camps of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) and people with disability, as follows:

- (190) from the Localities (total number of Localities in Sudan)
  - (7) additional representatives for the Khartoum State (one for each local administration)
  - (36) representatives of trade unions (two for each state)
  - (5) for the camps of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Darfur (one for each state)
  - (1) for the camps of the (IDPs) in Southern Kordofan State
  - (1) for people with disability.
- One seat shall be reserved for people with disability at each level of the legislative councils, to be elected by their democratic unions at each level.
  - The camps of the (IDPs) and the forces committed to radical change in each one of the five states of Darfur shall elect four representatives to the SLC and one to the NLC. The (IDPs) camps in Southern Kordofan shall elect one representative to the NLC and four to the SLC.
  - Southern Kordofan State residents in the areas currently under the control of the SPLA- Al-Hilo shall have four seats reserved for them (corresponding to the number of the Localities there).
    - Representatives of administrative units (neighborhoods/villages), guarded by a million-strong revolutionary parade to the NLC, shall meet in the NLC premises and set up the NLC structure (chairperson/speaker- rapporteur). The NLC shall appoint a prime minister with a two-thirds majority vote. The elected prime minister shall then nominate his/her cabinet for endorsement by the NLC.

**Responsibilities of the National Transitional Legislative Council (NTLC):**

1. Nominate, appoint, and confirm a prime minister; confirm, bring to account, dismiss, and monitor performance of, the transitional cabinet.
2. Enact, review, and amend legislations and laws, including:
  - o Legislations for improving the living standards of the Sudanese people by building the pillars of a national economy that is self-reliant, free from external dependency, and immune to waste of resources.
  - o Legislations for establishing a comprehensive peace for all the Sudanese people.

- Legislations for establishing an independent judicial system.
  - Legislations for building balanced external relations that preserve our national sovereignty for the best of our national interests.
  - Legislations for dismantling the legacy of the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1989 regime.
3. Abolish the position of commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and assign its functions to the Prime Minister, who shall deal with the armed forces through the ministry of defense, which shall oversee all the structures of the armed forces. The minister of defense shall be in charge of implementing the national defense policy and managing the armed forces budget.
  4. Endorse the laws of commissions and the recommendations of their conferences.
  5. Endorse the general budget.
  6. Ratify bilateral, regional, and international agreements and accords.
  7. Establish, form, and evaluate the performance of the autonomous commissions.
  8. Nominate, appoint, and confirm the board of the Auditor General's Chamber. The board shall appoint an Auditor General.
  9. Organize and oversee the development of a proposed permanent constitution based on the recommendations of the National Conference on the Constitution. The first elected NLC shall endorse the proposed constitution based on a public referendum.
  10. Endorse by a two-thirds majority vote a recommendation by the prime minister for declaring a full or partial state of emergency. If the NLC is not in session, an extra-ordinary session shall be called. A declaration of a state of emergency shall not be valid until it is endorsed by the NLC.
  11. Nominate, appoint, and confirm a governor of the Central Bank of Sudan.

**Regulatory Matters:**

1. Residential neighborhood/trade union committees in the Localities (and camps of internally displaced persons (IDPs), and states, may replace their incumbent representatives, whenever they elect so, on account of proven alignment with the defunct regime or unsatisfactory performance.
2. No financial provisions shall be allocated for the local councils, apart from group transport and meeting expenses.
3. Financial provisions for the state-level councils shall include a salary, calculated at the minimum wage, plus group transport and meeting expenses.

4. Financial provisions for the NLC shall include basic food and board, plus the allocations of the state-level councils
5. Special organs selected from the Charter signatories shall be created in all Localities to oversee the formation of local councils.
6. Chairpersons at all the three levels of the legislative councils, the prime minister, the ministers, the governors, the commissioners, and the heads of commissions, shall not be entitled to run for elections after the transitional period.

## **2. Executive Authority:**

Is the country's highest executive authority. It consists of the transitional cabinet, commissions, national bodies, governors and commissioners, who are all accountable, and overseen by the Legislative authority.

The National Transitional Legislative Council (NTLC) shall elect the Prime Minister through direct vote from the list of nominees, in accordance with the revolutionary terms and standards agreed upon within this charter.

Cabinet members are nominated by the Prime Minister and approved by the NTLC.

The Executive Authority, including ministries and other bodies, shall be taken over in their current form. However, the Government shall work to restructure these bodies in order to cut financial spending on the state's administrative apparatus; eliminate financial and political corruption and promote the civil services. The number of ministries must be minimized, while reinstating the General Authorities system, such as Railways, Mechanical Transport, River Transport, Telecommunications and Postal Services, Standardizations and Metrology, Medical supplies, Agricultural and Veterinary Research, Water & Electricity, Public Works and Housing, Irrigation and Drilling, Sea Ports, Environment and others. The relevant ministers shall appoint directors for these Authorities, respectively, in accordance with the ministry's regulations and in line with the required qualifications. The Prime Minister shall endorse the appointment of the directors, who shall report technically to their respective ministries and administratively to the cabinet.

## **Independent Commissions:**

To avoid possible failure by the Executive Authority in addressing critical issues during the transitional period, and due to the complexity associated with some tasks, such as peace, justice and regular armed forces, independent commissions must be created to work on those tasks, in conformity with the National



Development Program (and the detailed program of each Commission), as agreed upon within this charter.

The Prime Minister shall appoint the heads of Commissions and oversee their performance. The National Transitional Legislative Council (NTLC) shall provide the mandate and the regulatory framework of each Commission, while approving the appointment of the Commissions' heads and councils.

**The Commissions are:**

1. The Transitional Justice Commission
2. The Peace Commission
3. The Reform and Restructuring of the Armed Forces Commission
4. The Legal and Judicial Reform Commission
5. The Civil Service Reform Commission
6. The Anti-corruption and Recovery of Stolen Funds & Assets Commission
7. The Lands and Border Demarcation Commission
8. The Women and Children Commission
9. The Constitution-Making Commission
10. The Elections Commission
11. The Dismantling of the Repressive Regime Commission

**1. The Transitional Justice Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission made up of legal experts and specialists, with sound experience, integrity and knowledge about justice. It shall have the mandate to pursue true justice and in doing so, the Commission may approach international justice organizations to expose facts and violations; to bring perpetrators to justice; to redress and compensate the victims; to arrange for reparations of the damage inflicted on them and to reach a comprehensive reconciliation.

• **Tasks:**

- a. Enact transitional justice laws to ensure accountability and to end impunity. Special tribunals shall be set up to bring to account all those implicated in human rights violations, war crimes, genocides and ethnic cleansing, since independence, through to the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1989 regime and beyond to post 11 April 2019, in addition to the sit-in's massacres in Khartoum and other states and all crimes committed by the 25 October 2021 coup regime, up to the date of their downfall;

- b. Have access to the victims of abuse, protect families of the martyrs and victims of wars, conflicts and torture and protect witnesses from threats and reprisals;
- c. Conduct investigation on various crimes and conflicts that led to illegal expropriation of resources, and to allowing opportunists and warmongers to significant wealth, thus, placing a top priority for such investigations as a tool for reparation of damage and restoring the rights to their owners.

## **2. The Peace Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission tasked with peace-related issues and addressing of historical injustices. The Commission shall endeavor to provide solutions to maintaining developmental, social and political justice in marginalized areas and hotbeds of conflicts and wars. It shall also work to examine and address the root causes of conflicts and to provide reparation for damages, based on the principle of affirmative action in conflict areas.

### **• Tasks:**

- a. Identify the current and potential war and conflict areas as well as the affected people;
- b. Arrange for and organize peace conferences which are preceded by preparatory grassroots conferences for local issues and for laying the foundation for building peace across the country;
- c. Commitment to implementing the outcomes of grassroots conferences for local issues and peace foundation.

## **3. The Reform and Restructuring of the Armed Forces Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission mandated to reform the security and military sector and shall be made up of retired and abusively terminated army and police officers, with a good reputation, integrity and independence and of the military personnel who are still in service and who wholeheartedly support the December Revolution agenda, as well as civilians to carry out the Commission's tasks and responsibilities.

### **• Tasks:**

- a. Overall reform and restructuring of the armed forces, including review of its laws, tasks, responsibilities and force size, resulting in a unified and professional national army, capable of playing its main role of safeguarding the people, the constitution and the country's borders;

- b. Reform and restructuring of the police force to ensure professionalism and independence in law enforcement and in maintaining security and stability.
- c. Restructure and rebuilding the National Security agency and bringing to justice all those indicted. The National Security tasks shall be limited to collecting and analyzing information;
- d. Disband the Rapid Support Forces and all militias and armed movements, in line with the international standards and guidelines for Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR).

#### **4. The Legal and Judicial Reform Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission with a mandate to reform and restructure the judicial system and prosecution and is made up of experts and specialists in legal and judicial fields.

- **Tasks:**

- a. Formulate policies, plans, programs and arrangements to reform, rebuild and develop the legal and judicial system;
- b. Set the criteria for joining the legal and judicial system;
- c. Review and examine the legal status of all the staff of the legal and judicial system and take necessary actions accordingly;
- d. Dismantle the basis for empowerment of followers of the defunct regime in the legal and judicial system, according to the regulatory laws pertaining to this task;
- e. Lay the foundation for broader cooperation and coordination among the legal and judicial system, in such a way that ensures supremacy of the rule of law and efficiency of justice;
- f. Proceed with drafting laws pertaining to legal and judicial affairs and reform the laws that regulate the legal and judicial system.
- g. Organize conferences, forums and training courses on legal and judicial affairs;
- h. Approach the legal and judicial system to collect information, data and statistics and create a special database;
- i. Review and examine the administrative, organizational and functional structures of the legal and judicial system and issue the relevant directives on them;
- j. Any other tasks or powers necessary to execute its duties.

## **5. The Civil Service Reform Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission with a mandate to rebuild, reform and restructure the civil service based on transparency, decentralization and qualification, in line with the provisions of the transitional constitution. The Commission shall be developed as part of the National Development Program to address the structural issues facing the civil service since the Sudanization process during colonial times. Issues of redundancy, lack of accountability and inefficiency must be addressed, while maintaining neutrality of the civil service as a national asset.

- **Tasks:**

- a. Collate and review files of all civil servants
- b. Set strategic plans for managing civil service and for developing capabilities of the staff;
- c. Set development plans with the aim of building a modern and efficient civil service;

## **6. The Anti-corruption and Recovery of Stolen Funds & Assets Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission with a mandate to fight all forms of corruption and recover all funds and assets stolen from the state treasury during the era of the defunct regime; the post 11 April 2019 period and until the fall of the 25 October 2021 coup. The Commission shall bring to justice those who have been engaged in financial or institutional corruption. The Commission shall also review the laws and regulations pertaining to public and private sectors (and all ratified conventions and treaties since 30 June 1989), while laying the foundation for preventing corrupt practices and for ensuring transparency and accountability.

The Commission shall be comprised of specialists in anti-corruption, administration, governance, digital economy and auditors who shall adhere to the principles of transparency and accountability. It shall work on fighting corruption, retrieving, in retroactive manner, all the stolen funds and assets and dismantling, in coordination with the relevant Commissions, the political empowerment of the followers of the defunct regime in all economic, security, military, civil service and judiciary sectors.

## **7. The Land and Border Demarcation Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission with a mandate to address all matters related to land in Sudan and issues related to border demarcation.

- **Tasks:**

- a. Collate and establish boundaries of all public, agricultural and residential lands under the government control;
- b. Review all land laws and draft a new land law;
- c. Review laws pertaining to lands located near borders with neighboring countries.

#### **8. The Women and Children Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission mandated with issues of women and children;

- **Tasks:**

- a. Endeavor to protect women and children through local laws and compliance with relevant international laws and conventions
- b. Review all laws discriminating against women and children;
- c. Work to empower women in all political, economic and social domains
- d. Promote affirmative action for women in war and conflict areas;
- e. Repeal all laws, measures and practices that promote repression of women;
- f. Protection of children's rights through national laws and the state-ratified international conventions and treaties;
- g. Prohibit military recruitment of children and child labor.

#### **9. The Constitution-Making Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission mandated to draft a permanent constitution by way of convening constitutional grassroots conferences (at the levels of administrative units, local units, state units and national units) that define the relationship between the state and the citizens. The constitution must guarantee equal rights to all citizens, uphold human rights and basic liberties and regulate relations among citizens on national basis.

- **Tasks:**

- a. Establish dialogue, meetings, seminars and constitution-making conferences across the nation;
- b. promote awareness about constitution-making;
- c. Summarize the outcomes of the constitution making process, transform them into recommendations and submit them before the constitutional conference as a draft for a permanent constitution.

#### **10. Elections Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission mandated to draft elections law and to supervise population census, allocation of constituencies and running and monitoring the elections by the end of the transitional period. The Commission shall guarantee the honesty and viability of the electoral process and its contestants through regulations that prevent political corruption, particularly the use of funds to influence the voting process.

### **11. The Dismantling of Repressive & Dependency Regimes Commission:**

This shall be an independent national commission mandated to end cultural, economic and political dependency on foreign powers and to enhance the spirit of confidence and independence.

- **Tasks:**

- a. Developing educational curricula that reflect the diverse cultures of Sudan and promote pride in the Sudanese identity;
- b. Review foreign and locally funded organizations to protect the national identity and the natural evolvement of society in Sudan
- c. Set policies that reflect cultural diversity through the national radio, TV and all available media;
- d. Promote and develop local languages.

### **3. The Judicial Authority:**

This is a national authority mandated with the implementation of the constitution and law and is established by the Legal and Judicial Reform Commission, which is also tasked with the appointment of the Chief Justice.

The Public Prosecution: A national legal body that serves the community's public rights. The Legal and Judicial Reform Commission shall be responsible for the appointment of the Prosecution Council and the Prosecutor General.

### **Revolutionary criteria:**

The terms and standards of revolutionary competency shall apply to all candidates for any position within the executive, legislative and judicial authorities, in line with the structure laid in this charter:

1. Competence and experience.
2. Non-affiliation with the previous regime or any of its fronts
3. Submission of an annually renewable clearance certificate by a relevant court.
4. Revolutionary personal history and evidence of unflinchingly standing against the defunct regime before its downfall.

## Chapter Four

### Governance issues:

- Adopt a decentralized system of governance during the transitional period to guarantee broad powers to the various states of Sudan. The local government system represents a level of power that is directly related to the citizens and services provided. It is the entry point of the grassroots to exercise power, and citizens to make the decisions related to the legislative, political, and economic matters at the local level. The constitution must provide for the democratic level of local government, in which citizens set up their local bodies and hold them accountable directly. Sources of revenue, commensurate with the responsibilities entrusted to the local government, shall be allocated. Local governments shall be restructured in accordance with the reality of each locality to enable localities, especially in rural areas, to equitably benefit from their local resources and powers. By the end of the transitional period, a governance system shall be established through conferences on governance issues in such a way that promotes national unity.
- Expand the base of popular participation in conceptualizing the governance system and the local government law ensuring the transfer of central state powers to the local government level.
- Radically change the corrupt and ineffective governance systems as well as public policies, allowing the participation of local communities in decision-making, policy formulation, implementation, and monitoring, in a manner that guarantees strengthening of the values of participation, accountability, transparency, participation and all the values of good governance. This shall contribute to resolving the historical dilemmas of the state's relationship with society, allowing the process of governance to become a strategy for both political and economic societal transformations, built on the cooperation between the state and society and based on the political, cultural, and social realities of the Sudanese communities.

### The issues of the transitional government revolve around the following:

#### 1\ Retribution and transitional justice:

- The Sudanese state has been characterized by the absence of justice, including failure to enforce the existing criminal law, which has resulted in pervasive impunity. The Transitional Justice Commission (TJC) shall bring

those responsible for the 1989 coup to trial before a court of law. Accountability shall include individuals who organized and participated in war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocides and ethnic cleansings in Darfur, the Nuba Mountains, the southern Blue Nile, South Sudan, eastern Sudan, Khartoum, and other parts of the country. All individuals who participated in the crimes during and after the December Revolution shall be brought to trial inside Sudan and by the Sudanese, in accordance with the Interim Constitution, which shall stipulate for the legal process of the trials through establishing special immediate trials.

- Transitional justice shall seek to ensure remedies to the victims of systematic violence and human rights violations and recognize the violations and grievances against citizens, since 30 June 1989, which were committed through direct and indirect violence. The process shall emphasize that transitional and criminal justice are the guarantee for a successful political and social transition, building state organs, based on equal citizenship in accordance with the relevant international conventions. Transitional justice process shall be linked with the peace process as well as the reform and restructuring of the judiciary, and the prosecution. It is imperative to put in place proper conceptual, legal, logistical, and administrative frameworks to start the transitional justice process that begins with criminal justice, to break the cycle of violence and impunity, which encourages the perpetuation of violence. Transitional justice also includes broad community reconciliation processes between various social components.

## 2\ All Inclusive and Sustainable Peace:

- Establish comprehensible peace that is inclusive to all Sudanese through a national conference, preceded by grassroots and local conferences that establish a Sudanese/Sudanese dialogue. Such dialogue shall originate from within the IDP camps, to involve all political, professional, civil, and indigenous forces, and undertake a radical review of the issues of war and peace, including land issues, *hawakir* and land law. All participating forces shall be considered equal partners in the deliberations and in the implementation of the agreed outcomes.
- Address the causes of internal displacement of persons and wars and ensure the participation of the (IDPs) in the peace process. Reparations for the displaced, their safe and voluntary return to their original areas, and addressing the *hawakir* problems in cooperation with the Land and Transitional Justice Commissions, shall be ensured.



- Manage the peace process through a Peace Commission (PC) comprised of specialists and stakeholders selected on the basis of efficiency and integrity, with full transparency in the management of the peace process.

### **3\ Security and military structures:**

The first step towards the reform of the security and military sector is to bring all security and military organs as well as their reform processes under the control of the legislative, executive and judiciary powers. It is necessary to reform the armed forces, the police, and the intelligence corps; remove political empowerment within this sector; and reinstate the arbitrarily/abusively dismissed members, to ensure that these forces are national, professional, and independent. The combat doctrine shall be reformulated according to new foundations to ensure respect to the citizens, protect their lives and maintain their dignity and freedoms. They shall be restructured to create a unified Sudanese military institution with a national military doctrine and professional efficiency that works for the respect of the Sudan constitution, democratic system, people and borders. Restructuring the regular forces and defining their mandate in accordance with the transitional constitution ensures bringing the state of insecurity under control, reducing violence, controlling small arms proliferation, and preventing the possession of weapons by militias and informal forces.

### **4\ Legal and justice structures:**

- The current judiciary is dysfunctional and unable to achieve justice. It shall be restructured to ensure its independence, to eliminate its subjection to ideological or political influences, or private or political party interests.
- Set up a Commission of Legal and Justice Reform (CLJR), comprising experienced and impartial legal professionals who believe in the cause and objectives of the December Revolution; also, reconstruct and enhance the capacities of the National Judicial Service Commission (NJSC) to undertake its roles in reforming justice practice, remove political empowerment within the judiciary and justice system, ensure reinstatement of those arbitrarily dismissed from the judiciary, and mobilize all national resources and competencies to the advantage of the reform process.
- Reform the legal and justice system and mobilize national competencies to set up the High Judicial Council (HJC), the Constitutional Court (CC) and the Supreme Council of the Public Prosecution (SCPP), provided that the CLJR/Commission supervises and monitors the formation of the HJC and the SCPP.

**5\ Economy and the development vision:**

- Economy is a key factor in building the Sudanese sovereign state as it is linked to the resources' ownership and other socio-political factors. That is why we deem it critical to restructure the economic system in accordance with what agreed on in the economic program and in the framework of a national development scheme. The National Transitional Legislative Council (NTLC) shall develop agreed measures and solutions for land ownership, *hakoura* system, taxation, banking system as well as relations of production in the rural and informal sectors. Necessary foundations shall be laid, and decisions and measures shall be made to change the nature of the economy from a rentier economy to a vibrant developmental one.
- Combat all practices of corruption, recovery of looted public funds and assets, and restore privatized companies through a Commission of Combating Corruption and Recovery of Looted Public Funds and Assets.
- Develop a national economic program that strikes necessary balance between management of public debts (review and monitor the public debt and basis of negotiations with the international financial institutions) and economic development programs based on mobilizing internal resources that integrate public, private, and cooperative sectors. In this program, the state shall lead the economy by controlling the strategic and vital sectors and provide social services, thereby lays the foundations for a robust social welfare system. The national economic program shall address the structural economic imbalances and prioritize budgeting for improved agricultural and industrial productive sectors with affirmative action and preferential policies for war-affected zones. The banking system and Sudan Central Bank shall be restructured through laws and regulatory measures developed during the transitional period; and the mandate of the Ministry of Finance shall be extended to all expenditures and receipts of public funds including the companies and institutions owned by regular forces and take stock of their activities in military and defense industries as well as 'grey' and telecommunication businesses. All forms of setting public funds aside by individual government units shall be banned and the recovered resources shall be directed to an Economic Recovery Program thereby contributing to the promotion of the rule of law, institutionalization, and good governance
- Abandon structural adjustment programs (SAPs) to ensue focus on development and social justice; embrace recovery plans and programs to address the shortages of basic needs; and recover industrial enterprises and land that have been privatized to be run by the state. Rescheduling of Sudan debts shall be dealt with in accordance with the debt relief requirements

stipulated in the preferential policies based on the extra ordinary circumstances of the debtor states as these requirements apply to Sudan in addition to embrace a development that depends on the fair, systematic and corruption-free exploiting of the multiple local resources.

- Endeavor to organize the informal sector in the form of associations, public companies legally established on by laws and legislations defining their relationship to the state and the localities to safeguard their rights, especially women workers in addition to banning child labor.

#### 6\ **Foreign relations and national sovereignty:**

- Adopt balanced foreign policies based on the sustenance of national sovereignty to ensure safeguarding the country's interests and its independent political and economic decisions as well as solidarity with peoples seeking national liberation and democracy.
- Develop a detailed comprehensive framework for external relations through a national conference that discusses the related issues, including migration, borders, dams, ports, development, investment, economic interests, etc.
- Clear delineation and demarcation of the country's borders through the Commission for the Demarcation of Borders and Territories, and work to solve border disputes with neighboring countries and recover the occupied and appropriated lands by peaceful means and all other available means.
- Withdraw all Sudanese forces involved in Yemen war; review all agreements related to the participation of the Sudanese forces in combat operations outside the country and ensure that the Sudanese Armed Forces shall not be engaged in any combat operations beyond the borders, without the approval of the TNLC.
- Review the national ID number records and the procedures for granting Sudanese citizenship as well as all citizenships granted since 1989 until the fall of the October 25 coup.

#### 7\ **Civil Society:**

Acknowledging the role of civil society in shaping public policies and building a civil state, work must be carried towards achieving the following:

- Prohibit the formation of political parties on a religion, tribal, regional, or ethnic basis. Rather, political parties are to be based on national programs, a provision that must be adopted as a supra-constitutional principle.
- Develop regulatory laws for unions, cooperatives, non-governmental, civil and human rights, and voluntary organizations in a way that allows the

widest sectors of civil society to coordinate, work and advocate to achieve their different agendas and demands based on their various interests.

- Put in place regulatory rules for the process of building a broad civil society through developing a democratic political parties' law that consolidates institutionalization, internal democracy, and stipulates for the obligation of holding regular party Congresses.
- Contribute to building and promoting the civic space and civil society through building cooperative, civil, cultural, voluntary, demand-based, human rights and civil society associations, to strengthen the values of civil awareness as well as the concepts of democracy and citizenship and building the broadest grass-roots incubator and social base supportive to democratic transformation.
- Dissolve the National Congress Party (NCP), ban the activity of its fronts, and enact a political isolation law that criminalizes and prohibits the participation of its members who held constitutional offices and led any of the NCP bodies in political life.

#### 8\ **The Civil Service:**

- Reformation of the civil service system by establishing the civil service commission and change of the rules and laws governing it, envisaging new more democratic visions and dismantling the political grip of the defunct regime followers on the existing civil service at all levels and restoring of the civic service institutions' structure as well as recruiting committees and service departments linked to it. The reformation shall be done in a way that guarantees its impartiality, professionalism, independence and link it to the issues of development, technology, and good governance to constitute the spearhead of the building of a modern, democratic national state.
- Enaction of democratic and flexible laws and regulations for the trade unions, engaging the stakeholders in putting forward their concepts regarding these laws in a way that allows all the workers to organize themselves; spearhead processes of institutional reformation, defend their rights and participate in making public policies within their different sectors in order to guarantee the transformation of the trade unions into a key actor, giving voice to people's contribution in major policy making processes and to break the inherited governance cycle of the post-colonial state.

9\ **The rights and freedoms:**

- Abolition of all freedom restricting legislations and providing for supra-constitutional safeguarding of public freedoms and fundamental rights in accordance with international human rights principles.
- Absolute confirmation that Sudan is a national democratic state where rights and duties shall be based on citizenship without discrimination, regardless of race, faith, culture, gender, color, social or economic status, political opinion, disability, geographical affiliation, or any other reasons, in addition to devising a conceptual framework for the supra-constitutional principles that guarantee the survival of the state; its integrity and cohesion of its social fabric, prior to holding the proposed national constitution conference, as well as commitment to respecting human dignity, diversity and cementing justice and equality; safeguarding of human rights and basic freedoms and striving hard on protecting, boosting and advancing them. Additionally, implementation of the rule of law and application of the principles of accountability, addressing social injustices, responding to grievances and restitution, whether from individuals, official authorities or otherwise.
- Emphasizing women's rights and advancement of their participation in all spheres of activities, especially within the political sphere; enacting the principles of equal opportunities; encouraging women's role in policy making and implementing them at all levels, including the executive, legislative and judicial institutions; establishing the proposed women and children commission to set up relevant policies , especially the one concerned with preferential policies and initiating projects in support of women and their participation in decision making.
- Enhancement of youth participation at all domains; especially the political one, in addition to their fair and real representation in all the structures and institutions of the state, broadening their opportunities in all fields and ensuring their effective participation in setting up plans and programmes as well as their implementation,
- Enacting legislations and laws that support economic, social and political rights for those with disabilities in a way that ensures preventing negative discrimination against them; reinforcing their opportunities in the labour market and employment, ensuring fair access to services, public utilities as well as their effective participation in setting up plans and programs that address their concerns and help in implementing such plans and programs.

- Reviewing the legislations that support Children's rights and the rehabilitation of parentless children and the homeless, in addition to initiating institutions to care for them and emphasize their social role.
- Enacting Legislations for the right to access data act at all levels of the state structure as well as endorsing relevant international conventions in addition to guaranteeing transparency as well as dissemination of facts via various means of media.

#### **10\ The Constitution and Elections:**

- Agreeing on the pillars and foundations of the comprehensive national development project that constitutes the basis for a permanent, democratic national constitution in order to establish a civil, democratic and legitimate state, and a long-term project for bringing about a national development renaissance that achieves social justice within the frame of a state with full-fledged national sovereignty.
- Organizing grassroots discussions and conferences that allow for the largest participation of Sudanese men and women to give voice to their conceptions and visions for drafting a constitution that reflects the entire spectrum of the people of the Sudan and safeguard their basic rights, which will be brought before the proposed all-inclusive comprehensive constitutional conference, to be entrusted with the task of drafting a proposed permanent constitution that would clarify the nature of the state, its structures, the method of its administration and the modalities of governance. This process shall be supervised by the proposed Constitution-Making Commission and its local branches that shall organize, supervise and monitor these discussions.
- Rebuilding and rehabilitating the existing Central Bureau of Statistics in a way that ensures its independence in accordance with international standards of census at the beginning of the transitional period.
- Legislating for the general election act to be endorsed by the transitional legislative council and the formation of the Electoral Commission, to be tasked with implementing the election act and organizing and conducting regular, free and fair general elections.
- Organizing the general elections by the end of the transitional period under public, regional and international supervision, following the accomplishment of comprehensive peace, voluntary return of internally displaced and refugees to their lands and villages, the completion of census and endorsement of the election law.

## Chapter Five

### General Provisions:

#### 1- The forces to whom this charter is presented:

1-1 This charter is presented by the coordination bodies of the Resistance Committees in the different states of the Sudan, inviting the deliberation and suggestions of alternation and development and, finally, endorsement by means of signing it by the Resistance Committees in different Sudanese states and all professional organizations, trade unions, demand-driven organizations, women organizations, IDPs camps organizations, workers, students, and the factional unions; the political and revolutionary organizations which are relentlessly opposed to the militarization of the political life and endeavored to overthrow the coup; provided that the Resistance Committees shall take control of the whole process of deliberations, suggested amendments and final signatures.

#### 2- Exemptions and conditions:

2.1 All political forces who participated in the 30<sup>th</sup> of June coup and those which were party to the defunct regime until the moment it was overthrown are not allowed to be signatories to this charter. The same applies to the forces that supported the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 2021 coup and the forces which participated in the October 25<sup>th</sup> coup authority until the moment of its downfall.

2.2 The civil and political forces which accepted and participated in the negotiations that led to the creation of the partnership with the Military Council and the political settlement in 2019 ought to issue a written self-criticism to the tactic on which they based their evaluations of engaging in the negotiation and partnership with two consecutive military coups. They also have to undertake a methodical review of their political practices during the transitional period, followed by announcing such criticism and review publicly before signing the charter.

#### 3- Signatory Regulations:

3-1 The signature of the charter by all Khartoum Resistance Committees' coordination bodies shall be on individual basis, which means that collective signing by all Resistance Committees of the city is not allowed.

3-2 The signature of the charter by the Resistance Committees' coordination bodies in the various states of the Sudan shall be endorsed in accordance with the organizational level that represents them in each state.

3-3 The signature of the charter by the Resistance Committees' coordination bodies and the organizations of the IDPs in the camps will be by a

representative to be named to sign and delegated in writing by his/her coordination body or his/her organization.

3-4 The signature of the charter by professional organizations, trade unions, demand-driven organizations, women organizations, student unions, factual organizations shall be through a representative nominated and delegated in writing by the given organization or union, and in case of bloc or collective signature, the nominated representative shall be delegated in writing by each of its components.

3-5 The professional organizations, trade unions, demand-driven organizations, women organizations, student unions, factual organizations, the refugee camps and the internally displaced coordinating bodies, wishing to sign the charter as part of any bloc have no right to sign again whether individually or as members of other blocs.

3-6 The signature of the charter by organizations including political parties and armed struggle forces shall be on individual basis only; signing as a bloc or an alliance shall not be accepted.

3.7 The signature of the charter by individual organizations, political parties, and armed struggle forces shall be by a representative delegated by the party body entrusted with political decision-making, with writing his/her full name as well.

#### **4- General guidance:**

4-1 This charter aims to unite the revolutionary forces therefore, any declaration of a position or announcement by any leader of any of the signatory parties, deemed to be an outright violation of its provisions, shall render that party accountable.

4-2 The charter serves as a political point of reference in the event any discrepancy in viewpoints or positions, among the forces and parties signatory to the charter, arise. The organizational- co-ordinational structure binding the signatory parties to this charter, represents the organizational and regulatory point of reference, in case of violations or coordination inconsistencies arise between the signatory parties. This organizational- co-ordinational structure shall be prepared by the Resistance Committees.

4-3 Signing this charter entails agreement and commitment to its provisions as well as striving to achieve its goals.

#### **5- Amendment and Development of the Charter:**

This Charter shall only be amended and developed by the Resistance Committees utilizing the same mechanism whereby it was drafted, starting from grassroots Committees up to the municipal and state level coordination bodies and ultimately to the national level.



## Chapter Six

### Appendix (1)

#### The Economic program:

It is key to recognize that the economy is the main pillar of the national security of the Sudan. This is achieved through making it a national duty to achieve economic independence, stability, a balanced developmental approach, as well as the full utilization of human resources. A comprehensive and independent economic development plan to prepare Sudan to be well-placed amongst developed countries can only materialize by achieving the highest standards of stability and economic well-being for its citizens. As such, the transitional government is committed to recognizing and implementing the following:

1. The right of the Sudanese people to freely determine their economic future and accompanying systems, to preserve human dignity of the Sudanese people. This is achieved through free and independent national economic policies, that depend on the mobilization of Sudan's national resources.
2. The right of the Sudanese people to achieve their ambition to enjoy full sovereignty and freedom to utilize their wealth and resources. This is to take place without any compromise to the international economic cooperation agreements and exchange, based on the principles of equity, fairness, and mutual benefits to all involved. Thus, revisiting all international agreements to support and promote the best economic interests of the people of Sudan, is key. This also entails assessing all investment decisions taken during the last thirty years of the dictatorship period. Such agreements were made against the will of the Sudanese people, and their legislative and oversight bodies.
3. Adopting a self-reliance program, mobilizing national economic reforms to utilize resources, with the aim of ending the economic crisis. Such an independent development approach is to be led by the public sector, that coopts the public, private, mixed, and cooperative sectors.
4. Prioritizing the role of the State in carrying out its duties towards the Sudanese people, securing basic commodities such as fuel, bread, medicines, transportation, and others, at affordable prices.
5. Achieving economic reforms, by relying on the inherent capabilities of Sudan, and mobilizing national resources. Hence, bridging the budget deficit in the trade balance, as well as stabilizing the exchange rate, and in accordance with what is stipulated in the article subtitled: the increase of exports, a decrease of imports, and with the exchange rate.
6. Increase provisions for education, health, agricultural and industrial production during the transitional period and beyond, by allocating the bulk of budget resources for development spending, rather than wasteful expenditures of discretionary funds, on the country's sovereign institutions.

7. Establishing a capable cooperative sector to aid with the high cost of living, and improve living conditions for the people of Sudan, on an ongoing basis. Providing radical solutions to resolve the transportation problem by providing sufficient means of transportation, rehabilitation of roads and infrastructure, and an increase in infrastructure provision in the general budget.
8. Employing the young people of Sudan, in productive projects and in the state institutions, and solving the problem of unemployment, based on realistic plans, that are subject to careful follow-up, and fighting poverty.
9. Establishing peer relationships with international and regional financial institutions to obtain aid, relief debt, and granting loans when needed, on the basis of respect for the right of the Sudanese people to choose their own developmental path independently, without preconditions and restrictions imposed on their national sovereignty.

**Urgent Requirements:**

1. Reducing the financial hardship of the Sudanese people, by avoiding economic policies that lead to the worsening of living conditions, especially those related to the 'shock' policies that burden the citizens. Exploiting the capabilities and resources that Sudan has, in a sound manner to reduce public expenditures; increase revenues; fighting corruption; supporting production and emphasizing the role of the state in fully performing its duties.
2. Restructuring and revolutionizing the Ministry of Finance in accordance with the issues raised in this Charter, by disempowering and removal of those belonging to the dictatorship era. Reviewing the workings of the ministry and all its bodies and institutions through merger, reform, or liquidation.
3. Working on the currency reprint, as a top priority, to be done according to a plan that preserves the largest part of the monetary mass within the banking sector, while accelerating the familiarizing of electronic payment methods, to reduce the volume of money printed and circulated outside the banking sector.
4. Establishing the Ministry of Developmental Economy, independent of the Ministry of Finance, to improve the allocation of material and human resources for sustainable development, by adopting the principles of economic planning as one of the basics of sustainable economic development.

**In the field of the Ministry of Finance's mandate over public money, tax revenues, and customs:**

1. Preventing and criminalizing offshore banking, adopting the unified treasury system, and transferring all Funds set aside in the previous period to the Ministry of Finance.
2. Incorporating governmental, military, and security companies into the Ministry of Finance's mandate, hence, terminating their privatization. Such companies should either be managed by a public joint stock company; through the creation of a sovereign fund for the state or managed by any other form determined by the National Transitional Legislative Council, based on the recommendations of the Council of Ministers.

3. The use of electronic Form (15) as the main method of revenue collection for government agencies, hence, activating government electronic payment methods for all government-related transactions and platforms.
4. Reforming the tax and customs systems; restructuring agencies belonging to them; reforming their laws; and regulations; fighting corruption; **removing empowerment** in the two agencies and halting tax and customs exemptions.
5. Levying specific and progressive taxes on institutions with large cash flows, such as telecommunications companies, and others.
6. Raising the efficiency of tax collections, fighting tax evasion, and expanding the tax collection scope, to include sectors that were not included previously.

**In the field of the state budget:**

1. Drafting budget guidelines based on the general objectives of this charter.
2. Addressing the living conditions of citizens, while emphasizing the role of the state in providing basic goods; strengthening the national currency; fighting corruption; reducing and controlling government expenditures; increasing revenues; supporting productive sectors and supporting health and education. Employing young people and fighting poverty are to be among the main objectives of the budget.
3. Departing from *budgeting by items* to *budgeting by programs* and basing funding on real resources that are readily available through self-reliance.
4. Adopting a balanced developmental approach, amongst the regions of Sudan, with an equitable distribution of developmental projects, and adopting preferential measures to the benefit of the least developed regions. Launching major developmental projects in those areas, thus attracting and pulling the labor force back to those regions.

**In the financial and banking sector:**

1. Restructuring the financial and banking sector through the removal of empowerment of followers of the defunct regime through legislation, policies, financing solutions, the application of the dual banking system and harnessing the financial and banking sector resources to finance the productive sectors.
2. Obliging banks, through a monetary policy, to finance small and medium-sized enterprises, especially those with a social impact directed to contribute towards addressing the issues of poverty, unemployment, and youth employment.

**In the field of recovering the people's looted money and properties and transferring them to support the budget:**

12. The recovery of looted property, money, real estate, and assets located within Sudan and abroad, through the Anti-corruption and Recovery of Stolen Funds & Assets Commission. Appropriating all production institutions, and sale centers, that have been retrieved from the previous regime to the Ministry of Finance. Cash flows realized by those institutions shall be transferred to institutions of the Ministry of Finance.

### **In the field of attracting the savings of expatriates and Sudanese immigrants:**

1. Involving expatriates in the dialogue of rationalizing economic policies related to their savings and investments, and all issues related to the national economy.
2. Adopting a policy to attract the savings of expatriates and encourage them to open foreign currency accounts in Sudanese banks. Working to establish a bank for expatriates to attract their savings, investing it to their advantage, financing their projects, and providing excellent banking services.

### **In the field of production support, productivity, and production for export:**

1. Reforming the infrastructure of the transport and communications sector: railways, rivers, air transport, roads and bridges and communications.
2. Reforming investment laws, and prioritizing investments in accordance with development plans. Limiting foreign investments in certain fields, to serve the national economy in accordance with approved developmental plans.
3. Strongly supporting the agricultural sector, by making provisions for the seasons of irrigated and rainfed agriculture, while obliging banks to specify a percentage of their financing ceiling for agriculture, in addition to supporting the efforts of the Agricultural Bank to research problems of national agricultural projects (Gezira- Al Rahad- Al Suki-Khasm al-Ghirba ( New Halfa)- Tokar- Al-Gash- Nuba Mountains), and working to solve such problems and support the agricultural sector in All states.
4. Building capabilities to develop the gum Arabic belt, paying attention to horticulture and supporting it for domestic consumption as well as for export.
5. Addressing the problems of livestock in production areas and enhancing the infrastructure for its exports.
6. Supporting industrial production; resolving the problems of suspended factories; facilitating, and allowing factories to own the latest technologies, to increase production and productivity, while encouraging small and medium industries, and industries that produce substitute goods for imported goods. The expansion of animal and vegetable related agricultural manufacturing, for the purpose of local consumption and for export.
7. Planning production for the purposes of exporting and supporting the export of crops financially and technically.

### **In the field of combating smuggling, realizing export earnings, and establishing stock exchanges:**

1. Establishing exchange platforms for valuable Sudanese products, such as gold and agricultural crops, with the gradual introduction of more exports into the stock exchange, in order to ensure earnings of foreign currency.
2. The government shall control the production of gold, by buying it, exporting it, as well as keeping part of the production as reserves, to guarantee financing and developing the mining work in all minerals, in a way that confirms the sovereignty of the people, and their optimal use of their wealth.

3. Take the necessary legal, regulatory, and security measures to combat gold and agricultural crops, and commodities smuggling through all ports.
4. Issuance of a legislation to regulate the flow of export earnings through official channels, increasing foreign exchange reserves.

### **In the field of increasing exports, reducing imports, and dealing with the exchange rate:**

1. Issuance of the necessary legislation and incentives to increase exports, while controlling exports and imports and supply of necessities, such as: fuel, wheat, gas, etc. through contracts signed directly between the Ministry of Finance and main sources, while doing away with the intermediaries and brokers.
2. Restoring institutions and public joint stock companies that work in the field of crop exports, and flagship products, with all their privileges.
3. Limiting imports to production inputs, and capital goods and prohibiting unnecessary goods, based upon a carefully itemized list.
4. Strengthening the exchange rate of the national currency by achieving abundance in foreign currencies and not through floating the exchange rate or trying to keep pace with the parallel/black market.
5. Increasing exports through general concession companies and controlling the proceeds of exports through Stock Exchanges and accompanying laws.
6. Prohibiting brokerage through import and export firms, for basic cash commodities and replacing them with public joint stock companies.
7. Encouraging expatriates to attract their savings into the country.
8. Issuing and implementing the necessary legislation to combat illicit currency trading in the black market.
9. The Ministry of Finance shall have full jurisdiction over the foreign exchange earnings of the Sudanese authorities (Aviation Authority - Civil Sea Ports - Authority Revenues from the South's oil transit - Revenues from foreign transfers - revenues from exports of the Military Industry Corporation).
10. Influencing the demand for foreign exchange currency by reducing the import bill and banning and reducing the import bill of certain goods.

### **In the area of people's living conditions:**

1. Not to impose any increases in the prices of fuel, gas, bread, and electricity, under any labeling and to work gradually to reduce their cost, restoring the policy of subsidizing commodities instead of subsidy in the form of direct cash payments.
2. Adopting policies in the pharmaceutical sector, that are based on allocating a percentage of the export proceeds to drugs and subsidizing national pharmaceutical industries.
3. Supporting the plans of the Ministries of Industry and Trade to establish productive and consumption cooperative societies, which will help to control prices, and restore the commodity control law on those goods.

4. Addressing the transportation crisis and the traffic jams within cities and inter-state transport, by importing enough public transport vehicles, determining the transportation tariff and controlling its application accurately, and electronically adjusting fuel distribution
5. Improving and developing water and electrical supply, hygiene and health, and environmental projects in the capital city, the states, and production areas.
6. Supporting and financing small and medium enterprises for the youth and introducing training and rehabilitation programs in various fields and specializations; combating unemployment; expanding job opportunities for the youth, women, and pensioners; introducing an unemployment insurance system and applying it in all states.



## Appendix (2)

### Revolutionary Resolutions:

1. Removal of political empowerment in the civil service system; dismissal of all NCP members who have been appointed and promoted in violation of the Civil Service Act; prosecute those who participated in this violation; imposition of fines on the corrupt officials for the funds they embezzled and bring them before the anti-corruption court.
2. Review all employees' files (vetting) within one month, fully implement the Civil Service Act and regulations. All new appointments to fill vacancies in the ministries, their departments, and agencies, shall be carried out through the National Civil Service Recruitment Board.
3. No spending shall be allowed without documentation in an electronic receipt.
4. Place all state -owned enterprises (SOEs) as well as those owned by the military, intelligence and police services under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
5. Link all procurement and contracting departments through a central electronic system.
6. Develop a genuine budget in which spending is based on programs not items.
7. Allocate and disburse funds for education in accordance with this economic program.
8. Prevent financial institutions from funding the services sector and direct funds to production and industry sectors.
9. Amend the Civil Service Act regarding anti-corruption to include fine, imprisonment and death penalties.
10. Adopt a Primary Health Care program at the Federal level.
11. Restore the administrative and operational responsibility of the MoH on the Medical Insurance as a sole health service provider.
12. Provide free health care for children and the elderly as well as prenatal and postpartum care at both primary and secondary levels.
13. Prohibit licensing of private clinics, medical centers and hospitals owned by the cadre employed by the governmental health sector and vice versa.
14. Reduce the service fees of the privately owned hospitals and develop a legislation for pricing such services.
15. Increase the number and quantity of medical items delivered by the National Medical Supply Fund (NMSF), by including them in the public sector manufacturing or importing processes, and subject them to close control.
16. Ban investment by government institutions in health sector.
17. Ban export of livestock
18. Create a governmental National Commodity Exchange platform to protect small producers and farmers.
19. Restore public sector trade companies, including Sudan Oil Seeds Company Ltd.- Sudan Grains Company Ltd.- Sudan Cotton Company Ltd.- Sudan Guar Company Ltd and Gum Arabic Company Ltd.
20. Create a National Commodity Exchange for grains, vegetables, fruits, oil seeds, and gum Arabic.

21. Restore funds to the Agricultural Research Corporation and reform its law immediately, in a way that supports development and protection of production.
22. End deforestation.
23. Direct the Agricultural Bank to fund farmers through forward purchase of their crops, based on the National Commodity Exchange prices.
24. Prohibit the import of luxury goods and those goods that can be locally manufactured, including cosmetics, shoes, garments, candy, and toys etc.
25. Obligate export companies to fully return export proceeds to the Sudan Central Bank (SCB) in hard currencies.
26. Reform the Sudan Competition and Antitrust Act and stipulate for a compulsory price tag on the products.
27. Restore and reform productive and consumer cooperative unions.
28. Reform the control over strategic and consumer goods.
29. Prohibit import of equipment, tools and vehicles that can be assembled locally.
30. Direct the Industry Development Bank to fund small and medium-sized enterprises as well as heavy industry, at low interest rate.
31. Reduce electricity price for the industrial sector.
32. Establish Industrial cities.
33. Reduce the value of industry tax.
34. Recover Sudan assets abroad.
35. Fair distribution of scholarships, training and cultural opportunities among Sudan regions.
36. Establish special courts for the *Ingaz* regime crimes, including the dispersal of the sit-in on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2019; the 25<sup>th</sup> of October 2021 military coup and all crimes and violations committed after the coup.
37. Prohibit conscription of those who have not obtained secondary school or university qualifications.
38. Prohibit payment of government fees in cash and link payment for all services to an electronic system.
39. Prohibit the maintenance of setting aside funds and accounts (*tajneeb*) by government units and enact a law that provides for penalties that amount to imprisonment and death penalty for such crimes. All police companies as well as direct and indirect commercial investments shall be transferred to the MoF.
40. End selling residential plots on commercial basis.
41. Restore housing planning schemes.
42. Invalidate all decisions related to purchasing, selling and ownership of public squares and parks as well as governmental premises.
43. Maintenance of all national highways and neighborhood service roads and streets.
44. Restore the Sudan Telecommunications Co. Ltd.
45. Restore the National Bridges and Roads Co.
46. Rebuild and maintain all railways and their maintenance workshops.
47. Restore the National Post and Telegraph Corporation.
48. Restore the Local and National Transport Co.



49. Restore Sudan Irrigation and Water Resources Co.
50. Prohibit investment in tertiary and public education.
51. Restore students' accommodation (student hostels) and dissolve the National Fund for Student Welfare.
52. Immediate rehabilitation of the university's environment.
53. Review all post graduate dissertations and degrees.
54. Prohibit any type of investment out of the MoF's jurisdiction.
55. Review the curricula and end teaching of the so called 'university requirements' (Arabic language and Islamic studies).
56. Ensure full freedom of research and provide compulsory free primary and intermediate education.
57. Convene an Education Conference to approve a national curricula and discuss education and teachers' issues, within three months of the government appointment.
58. *Khlwa* (Quranic schools) shall be affiliated with the Ministry of Education and their performance shall be reviewed in terms of curricula, teachers' qualifications, environment, and licensing.
59. Create a Nomads' Education Administration tasked with developing plans and programs within three months.
60. Prohibit profit-driven investment in public education, close private schools gradually, review all investments in schools within three months and enact laws that prohibit undermining school environment.
61. Restore all national secondary schools.
62. Return all school dormitories to the MoE and provide school meals.
63. Provide free school textbooks to all students.
64. Restore school libraries and science labs.
65. Prohibit artisan mining and treat all mineral and oil resources as national resources that belong to the state.
66. Introduce alternative and renewable energy companies.
67. Review all contracts of oil extraction, export and transportation within three months.
68. Restore fuel, gas and electricity subsidies.
69. Restore the National Electricity Corporation.
70. Prohibit any investment in energy and mining that is not subject to the supervision of the MoF.
71. Heightening the Gebel Awliya and Ar-Rusayris dams.
72. Mass media outlets shall be national institutions that reflect cultural diversity.
73. Introduce educational TV channels to disseminate knowledge.
74. Restore, develop and support cinemas, theatres, and public libraries.
75. Extend medical insurance coverage to include all Sudanese.
76. End the official circulation of Friday preaching statements to the *Imams* by the authorities and prohibit the malpractice of appointing Imams on political grounds.
77. Prohibit and criminalize child and forced marriages.
78. Bring all social support funds and their investments under the MoF.

79. Enact a Local Government Act, to be endorsed by the National Transitional Legislative Council, the (NTLC).
80. Enact a Local Government Public Officers (administrators) Act to be endorsed by the NTLC.
81. Issuance of a decision to ensure reclaiming of the ownership and management of local resources by the localities themselves.
82. The Secretary Generals of States' governments shall be appointed in accordance with the Local Government Act.
83. Implement the Forests Act.



## Appendix 3

### Definitions

1. **Structural Barriers:** The obstacles embedded in the very nature of the system that governed Sudan since its independence in 1956. These include the nature of the state's economic dependency as a result of the agreements that divided former colonies, designed the civil service, as well as the military and public policies that perpetuate racism and the uneven distribution of resource revenues.
2. **The Development Project:** The Project stipulated for in this Charter, which aims at realizing balanced sustainable development that guarantees the rights of present and future generations.
3. **The National Islamic Front (NIF):** The organization that was established by Hassan Al Turabi in the early 1960s which has later split up to several political organizations including the NCP, PCP and *Al Islah* Movement.
4. **The International Order:** The order that emerged during the post WWII, which perpetuates the exploitation of the resources of impoverished nations for the benefit of the great powers and transnational corporations (TNCs).
5. **Rentier Economy:** An economic system that depends on selling raw materials and resources instead of added values to them to gain more revenues for the benefit of the population.
6. **Radical Change:** is a concept that translates the call of genuine revolutionary forces for implementing the slogans and objectives of the December Revolution, including the complete abolishment and uprooting the old regime , which was maliciously implanted by the colonial powers and their followers, with the goal of establishing a new governance system that puts Sudanese interests first, irrespective of the interests of the international powers and institutions.
7. **Counter-Revolutionary Forces:** The forces that strive to prevent the implementation of the Revolution goals and seek to sustain the defacto preexisting existing regime with only cosmetic changes.
8. **Supra-constitutional principles:** A set of rules and provisions which are considered of a supreme status far beyond the constitutional provisions. Therefore, these principles are deemed absolute, unamendable, and well protected against annulment, or suspension. Constitutional provisions shall not conflict with the supra-constitutional principles and the Constitutional Court is obliged to observe and implement these principles.
9. **Public Freedoms:** Includes the right to freedom of expression, the right to association, the right to non-interference with a person's privacy and the rights to the freedoms of thought, belief, conscience, and dissemination of information.
10. **Fundamental Rights:** The rights included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).
11. **Revolutionary Forces:** The forces that agree with the goal of realizing a radical change that leads to abolishing the old regime and establishing a new one that achieves the revolution goals of freedom, inclusive peace and social justice.
12. **Peoples' Power:** is The Government established by the people of Sudan who enjoy the right to replace it and take it accountable in accordance with a clearly stipulated mechanism.
13. **The Khartoum Process:** The process announced by the EU in 2014 which allows channeling of funds and training to the Rapid Support Forces (RSFs) to combat illicit migration to Europe
14. **The colonial patriarchal Structure:** a sociological concept that's not restricted to the hegemony of men over women, but also denotes a set of values and perceptions towards the other and the entire world that's centered around the natural masculine parent whether in the household or in a wider social context.

Glory be to the Martyrs of the Revolution...