

Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N)

Political Programme

September 2019

Part I

Strategic Programme for the Building of New Sudan

This programme is a translation of the vision of New Sudan into applicable medium-and-long-term programmes. For this, specialised workshops or conferences will be held detailing specific areas and fields of specialty.

Chapter I

Definitions

(1) New Sudan Project

It is a political and intellectual project based on the principles of freedom, justice and equality and it aims at achieving voluntary unity, building a secular, democratic state and ending marginalisation by transforming a society of poverty and marginalisation into a society of sufficiency, and then transitioning from a society of sufficiency to a society of well-being, through a comprehensive development programme whose first goal is the man (people).

(2) The Secular Democratic State

It is the state where the reference of rights is humanity and citizenship and not relations of tribe, religion, region or gender. At the same time, it is a state based on the legitimacy of the social contract, and in which the basis of governance is the will of people alone.

(3) Voluntary Unity and Unity in Diversity

In Sudan, we have inherited a state whose borders were demarcated by colonisers, and hence it was based on forced unity. This state remained to be ruled by groups with economic, class, ethnic, cultural, religious and regional privileges inherited from colonialism. These groups continued to confiscate freedoms, practised discrimination on a regional, cultural/ethnic and religious basis, attempted and still trying to impose coercive unity on the basis of unilateral identity and exclusion of others through the practice of oppression, exploitation of religion and class status, which led to civil wars which threatens the unity of the country. The unity proposed by the New Sudan Project is based on new foundations. It is voluntary (optional) and is based on the principles of equality, justice, freedom of choice and partnership in the homeland, and it is based on historical and contemporary diversity.

(4) Marginalisation

Marginalisation is the exclusion of individuals and groups from the acquisition of power and wealth by creating privileges for the dominant social groups and thus constituting hierarchical barriers that restrict the means of power and wealth over others, who are dominated. These privileges and barriers are many and varied. Some of them are economic/class, concerned with ownership and division of labour, and some of which is ethnocultural, and some is religious, and some is regional, and some is gender based. Therefore, marginalisation should not be treated as a single degree. There is the simple marginalisation, and the complex marginalisation that branches out to several degrees in the marginalisation map.

(5) The Map of marginalisation

1. Simple marginalisation:

It is economic marginalisation. It is where people are divided into the haves and have-nots, those who find ease in acquiring their livelihoods and those who have limited means to their livelihoods. It includes all poor people, but these poor people are equal in privileges of ethnicity, culture, religion, entity or gender. When it is said that people are marginalised in all parts of Sudan, and this is true, but it limits marginalisation to only one of its dimensions, namely the economic dimension, and ignores other forms of deeper and greater impact.

2. Complex Marginalisation:

It is divided into several degrees (levels), namely:

(a) Two-component marginalisation:

It is where the economic factor overlaps with the ethnocultural factor. It includes the majority of those belonging to non-Arab ethnic cultural entities. In addition to being poor, they are culturally and racially marginalised and their cultures and races are perceived as inferior, exposing them to negative discrimination. Thus, the factor of race becomes a barrier to power and wealth, and here appears the difference between them and the poor belonging to the dominant ethnicity and culture which are the sources of privilege over them. For example, the de-tribalised, the descendants of freed slaves, Nubians, Beja, Nuba, Fur, Zaghawa and Hausa.

(b) Tripartite Marginalisation:

This is a degree of marginalisation in which economic, cultural and cultural factors are intertwined with religious factors. This type of marginalisation is more profound. In addition to economic, ethnic and cultural barriers, there is the religion factor – for example, non-Muslims belonging to the Nuba and Fung ethnicities.

(c) Quadrilateral marginalisation:

This type of marginalisation involves the regional factor as well as economic, ethnic, cultural and religious factors. An example is the non-natives living in generally marginalised areas.

d. Pentagonal marginalisation:

In this type of marginalisation, the gender factor is added to economic, ethnic, cultural, religious and regional factors. It exemplifies the poor, non-Arab and non-Muslim women living in marginalised areas. When the SPLM-N speaks of marginalisation, it means this map and works through its programme to address all forms of marginalisation.

(6) Poverty:

It is a society where the majority of its members fall below the poverty line according to international standards. Today, Sudanese society is among the poorest according to reliable international statistics.

(7) Society of Sufficiency:

It is the society that provides all its members with their basic needs – such as, food and drink, housing, healthcare and basic education.

(8) Welfare Society:

A society which can provide the majority of its members with more than what they need to meet their basic needs.

(9) Development:

Development is a comprehensive development that combines economic growth and human development. It is a development perspective that goes beyond the issue of oil production, major construction, or the rise or fall of gross domestic product. It is the process of creating an environment that enables people to develop their potential in productive and creative manner according to their needs and interests. People are the true wealth of nations.

So, the basic purpose of development is to expand people's choices. In principle, these options can be limitless, and can change over time. People often value achievements that do not appear at all in income or growth figures. These are increased access to knowledge, improved nutrition and health services, livelihood security, security against crime and physical violence, meeting the need to enjoy leisure hours, and political freedoms, cultural participation and a sense of participation in community activities. In

short, the goal of development is to create an environment in which people can enjoy a healthy and creative life.

Development, in this sense, is not an act of one thing or another, but an ongoing process of improving people's lives. It is a social process that influences and is influenced by the interactions of the prevailing social relations. In its social capacity, it is also a conscious effort aimed at specific ends. As such, they can only be understood by looking at people's real lives, not just reports, slogans, buildings, roads or installations. This is the concept pursued by the New Sudan Programme.

(10) Progress:

Progress, in general, is change or transformation for the better. Social progress is the transformation of a society towards a perfect vision. Progress is achieved by what we make or invent, not by our inheritance from our ancestors; progress is made by science and correct knowledge.

The transition from a society of poverty to a society of sufficiency, and then to a society of well-being, is an example of progress. The transition from the renaissance in Europe to the 'Industrial Revolution', the transition from the 'Industrial Revolution' to the 'Technology Revolution' and the transition to the 'Information Revolution' we are living in today is another example of progress.

However, the essence of the idea of progress is to obtain more freedom, freeing people from the natural burdens by discovering ways to facilitate means of acquiring livelihoods, and from the social constraints of democracy and the consolidation of civic life, *inter alia*, the transition from tradition to modernity.

Chapter II

The Principles

Freedom and Democracy:

Freedom is a situation where a person, whether an individual or a group, is able to act on his or her own will. But acting at will depends on necessities. These necessities may be economic, social, political or combined. A person who does not have power cannot be free. A person who lives in an underdeveloped society cannot obtain his needs in isolation from the group and is, therefore, subject to its laws. Freedom in politics means freedom of belief, freedom of expression, freedom of association and freedom to hold or delegate public office. This is the true meaning of democracy.

Equality:

In the New Sudan perspective, people must be equal in rights and duties on the basis of humanity and citizenship. No distinction shall be made on the basis of religion, race, entity (region) or gender. Groups, whether cultural, ethnic or religious, must have equal rights and duties as legal persons because individuals cannot be equal before the State unless such equality encompasses the groups to which they belong.

Justice:

Justice is an important tool for achieving equality; it has various meanings, but the meaning here is to organise the designated community in ways that ensure equal opportunities for its members and groups. In any existing society there are inherited structural inequalities such as gender-based disparities between men and women, or wealth-based, poor and rich, or racially based, between dominant and one being dominated, or regionally based such that a region that has been more developed than the other etc. Here are also the disparities that exist because of individual differences, whether physical differences such as size, length, colour, etc., or mental differences such as different degrees of intelligence and tendencies or other psychological such as boldness, cowardice, openness to or reticence from others, etc. Therefore, the recognition of equality alone is not enough, but justice must be provided by providing opportunities and taking into account the equal distribution of these opportunities between individuals on one hand and between groups on the other, and between the regions on the other hand, and reparation resulting from historical practices – such as, slavery, colonialism, cultural domination and what resulted from them, for instance, cultural genocide and racism.

Peaceful Coexistence:

For people to live in peace, it is necessary to understand the uniqueness of others and accept them for their differences and recognise the need for mutual respect, participation, interaction, creation of belonging and self-development of selflessness.

In order to coexist peacefully, it is necessary to change the reality that is based on injustice and to consolidate hegemony and racial and cultural oppression, which has led to the consecration of social, economic and political differences through the mechanisms of historical concentration and marginalisation, and replace this reality with a reality based on systems dedicated to freedom, justice, equality and balanced development through pluralist democracy in governance. The right situation that guarantees this peaceful and sustainable coexistence and pushes the movement of society towards positive and comprehensive development is based on the following facts:

(a) Cultural Resettlement:

Providing equal opportunities at the cultural level through the plurality of nationalities and acceptance or tolerance of the other and his choices at the intellectual level and practice, as long as, these choices are not intended to be imposed on others.

(b) At the economic level:

A minimum level of equal opportunity must be provided, the basic criterion being the ability of a person to work, his talent and experience, and not on the basis of cultural, political, religious, ethnic, regional or gender affiliation as it is prevailing in Sudan so far.

(c) At the social level:

We must resist/fight the ill realities and views that lead to the classification of people into social superiority and social inferiority, by addressing the root causes of these facts whether they originate from the basis of colour, race, religion or social status – such as, the situation of domestic workers, and the bias of educational institutions towards certain cultures, religions and races. In addition, we must stay away from giving titles to things that do not meet the general requirements at the level of language, literature, arts, uniforms, etc. That is, the common must meet the conditions of commonality, and not based on a unilateral vision of a certain religion, culture, gender or region.

Chapter III

The Political Field

(1) Promoting Peace:

The SPLM-N works to achieve the transition from civil wars to peace by:

1. Struggle to reach and implement comprehensive peace agreements;
2. Prevent the causes of civil wars and to end marginalisation, oppression and violence;
3. Address land issues (land ownership and land use) and promote voluntary repatriation programmes and economic, social and cultural rehabilitation; and
4. Solidification of secularism and democracy, the consolidation of the values of civic life and the spread of a culture of peace.

(2) Promoting Freedom:

To promote freedom, the SPLM-N works to:

- (1) Eliminate all forms of totalitarianism and building a secular, democratic system;
- (2) Devoting work to respect human rights by including them in school curricula and giving them priority in the media and other social vessels;
- (3) Eliminate all remaining social conditions resulting from slavery, serfdom and similar relations. There are practices from the remnants of the past – such as, forms of slavery and serfdom that still exist in our society. The State should undertake comprehensive studies in which such practices are closely scrutinised and eliminated immediately;
- (4) Solidify the principle of voluntary unity for all Sudanese peoples by recognising the principle of self-determination as the inherent right of peoples, and the right to exercise it at any time when necessary; and
- (5) Establish the standards of a secular democratic state.

(3) Restructuring the Sudanese State:

The realisation of the new Sudan requires the restructuring of Sudanese state. This means tackling the inherited problems of centralisation, inclusiveness and legitimacy of violence, and the **newly created** problems that can be summed up in the **mono-party** state, the **amplification** of Government agencies, the **consolidation** of legendary consciousness, the **legitimisation** of historical privileges and corruption of all kinds. Addressing these problems requires:

- (a) The establishment of a presidential republic in which the powers are separated;
- (b) Confirm the independence of the judiciary;
- (c) Affirm the rule of law;
- (d) Confirm the professionalism of civil service;
- (e) Confirm the professionalism of the regular forces;
- (f) Establishing standards of civic life; and
- (g) Real decentralisation (decentralisation of the centre).

Today's constitutional structures are structures created by colonialism and distorted by totalitarian regimes and are by their very nature designed to serve centralisation and inclusiveness; the many administrative divisions that exist today are merely a slack in the body of the state to serve the holders of historical privileges and favours or the satisfaction of tribal groups. The New Sudan Programme recognises that the reduction of administrative units in the country is detrimental to two things:

- (a) Increase Government spending at the expense of development; and
- (b) Pave the way for tribal and regional control.

In order to reduce Government disbursement and reduce tribalism and tribal control, it requires dividing the country into small new federal or confederal structures to reduce Government's disbursement and block the possibility of any tribal control considering the historical reality and the requirements of the present. A better conceptualisation of this structure is to re-divide the country into several regions – for example:

- 1) The Northern Region;
- 2) The Eastern Region;
- 3) Khartoum Region;
- 4) The Central Region;
- 5) Darfur Region;
- 6) North Kordofan Region;
- 7) South Kordofan/the Nuba Mountains Region; and
- 8) Fung/Blue Nile Region.

The present states shall be transformed into provinces, and the provinces into administrative units; and there shall be abolished any smaller divisions if they exist within the same region. This division is not arbitrary, but because there are (1) historical bonds (2) and there are common problems (3) and similar demands:

Advantages of this division:

- 1) Reducing Government spending;
- 2) Limiting tribal domination and tribalism;
- 3) Putting similar problems within a single administrative bloc with a common history, which is easy to deal with;
- 4) Facilitate the division of power and wealth and establish balanced development on a clear ground; and
- 5) Facilitate the exercise of the right of self-determination if necessary.

The disadvantages of this division are:

- 1) Its application encounters difficulties due to the resistance of the owners of historical privileges and beneficiaries of the status quo, and the resistance of tribes because of the misconception of the division of power and wealth that has been entrenched by the Khartoum regimes;
- 2) Its implementation also requires a strong, uncompromising political will; and
- 3) Its application requires majorities at the level of legislative councils.

Federalising the institutions:

In addition to the structure, the implementation of the concept of decentralisation of the centre requires the federalisation of federal institutions, the fortress of the centralised fortification, by distributing the headquarters of the federal state institutions to the regions in a balanced manner: if the headquarters of

customs and excise is transferred to Port Sudan in the Eastern Region, the headquarters of taxes should be transferred to al-Fashir or al-Obeid in the Western Region and so forth.

(4) Building a Secular Democratic State:

Building a secular democratic state requires:

Establishing Permanent Constitution:

The first task is to establish a permanent constitution, which must clearly address the following problems:

(a) Solving the problem of citizenship:

Anywhere in the world, citizenship is a precedent for the state and, therefore, the state derives its legitimacy from citizens and not vice versa, but Sudan is almost the only state that considers itself a precedent for citizenship over citizens, so it awards the citizenship to the citizens in the greatest violation of human dignity of the Sudanese people. Elsewhere, citizenships are extracted for immigrants and migrants, and not to citizens. On the other hand, one of the biggest problems in Sudan is that there are citizens whose state does not recognise their citizenship or considers them second-class citizens. In order for things to be erect and to restore dignity to citizens, the existing nationality law must be abolished and replaced by another that obliges the state only to search for migrants and expatriates to obtain nationality.

(b) Solving the problem of the source of rights and duties:

That the Constitution provides for the principle of citizenship as the basis for rights and duties. Its legislation draws on this principle and draws its details from the above principles and facts, in particular, the realities of cultural and national pluralism in Sudan.

(c) The problem of manipulation of rights through formal democracy:

The Constitution must provide the protection of the principles and the system of Governance in the state. Many parties and groups seek a majority to change the system of governance and establish an inclusive religious state.

(d) The problem of cultural and religious unilateralism:

The permanent Constitution must take into account the reality of pluralism and disagreement by allowing the establishment of laws for private entities applied exclusively to these groups. The establishment of general laws – such as, civil marriage laws for individuals and groups who do not adopt religious or traditional patterns in marriage. The constitution should also allow for the establishment of educational institutions for groups whose children want special education – such as, religious schools, schools of cultural groups ... etc.

(e) The Constitution provides for the sovereignty of a secular democratic State over land and other natural resources.

Ownership, whether individual or collective, should be beneficial on the basis of equal rights and the equitable distribution of wealth among citizens. Priority shall be given to direct benefit, which is based on the direct production relationship between the supplier and the beneficiary with the provision to prohibit monopolistic holdings in any way and to prevent the trade in land.

- 1) To build a secular democratic state, the SPLM-N works to consolidate the values of civic and democratic life and to emphasise the will of the people as the sole source of power;
- 2) It works to consolidate human rights; and
- 3) It also works to establish the standards of efficiency, professionalism and fair competition in access to jobs in all aspects of life after providing equal opportunities and bridging the gaps, which have resulted from structural disparities, with positive bias for the excluded.

Chapter IV

Economic Field

The Programme of Development, Renaissance and Progress

In peace and freedom, Sudan shall have the opportunity to liberate the oppressed Sudanese people and free their potentials which are wasted in wars, and use them to create wealth, develop material wealth and achieve social development by:

- 1) Combating the parasitic economy or tribal renter economy; and
- 2) Building a social market economy, which is a modern free productive economy that combines free-market with state intervention to protect producers and vulnerable people.

This requires the following:

(a) Expanding the bases of production and modernising its means by:

(1) Infrastructure Development:

- 1) Transport: Roads, Railways, Airports, River Transport, Maritime Transport;
- 2) Expanding and developing the communication networks;
- 3) Expanding and developing electricity networks;
- 4) Expanding and developing irrigation channels; and
- 5) Construction of labour cities and villages in the areas of production of raw materials.

(2) Increasing the production of petroleum and other minerals by:

- 1) Improving foreign relations with developed countries and open the door for investment, giving priority to countries where transparency, accountability and the rule of law prevail.
- 2) Directing oil revenues towards development and productive sectors.

The necessity of optimal employment of oil and other minerals according to the following procedures:

- (a) Employment of local oil and other minerals;
- (b) Establishment of a Resource Allocation Commission;
- (c) Adopting a policy that preserves the integrity of the environment, biological, cultural and historical diversity;
- (d) Allocation of proportions of revenue to communities in production areas and the provision of services;
- (e) Involving local communities in contract negotiations for the exploitation of natural resources;
- (f) Not to use environmentally harmful substances in mining operations; and
- (g) Reviewing mining laws and reviewing all oil and other mineral contracts.

(3) Development of Agriculture:

- (a) Employing oil revenues to develop agriculture in quantity and quality; and
- (b) Encouraging investment in agriculture.

According to the following stages:

(a) Self-sufficiency in production and productivity:

- 1) The tendency towards the pattern of mixed farming (ranch system);
- 2) Vertical expansion to preserve the environment;
- 3) Modernisation of the means of agricultural production; and
- 4) Developing agricultural research and introducing technology.

(b) Export phase:

- 1) Increase production sufficient enough for export;
- 2) Establish manufacturing industries that assist in exporting and benefiting from the advantage of exporting manufactured materials instead of exporting raw materials (value added economy); and
- 3) Contribute to solving regional problems – such as, food shortages at home and at neighbours due to drought and desertification.

Animal Production Development:

(1) Traditional sector or mobile grazing:

- 1) Enriching pastures by dispersing seeds;
- 2) Expand or at least maintain rangelands by limiting mobile agriculture;
- 3) Eradicating weeds and harmful trees that reduce the size and richness of pastures;
- 4) Providing water in grazing areas by water harvesting programme and through lakes carving;
- 5) Establishing fodder factories to reduce the deadly need of pastures and ensure the quality of animal food; and
- 6) Establishment of fixed and mobile veterinary centres.

(2) Modern Sector:

Leaning towards modern livestock production as a future alternative to the mobile sector by:

- 1) Use of oil revenues to develop animal production;
- 2) Encourage investment in this sector;
- 3) Linking animal production to agriculture (mixed agriculture) and manufacturing industries;
- 4) Linking it with social development, employing expertise and employing youth;
- 5) Distribution of farms to serve balanced development;
- 6) Increase fodder production; and
- 7) Providing water through large-scale water harvesting programmes, carving lakes, constructing large dams and making the most of the country's share of river water.

Industry:

The strategic objective is to transform Sudan into an industrialised country in the transition from poverty to sufficiency. This requires:

- 1) Increasing the production of raw materials;
- 2) Establishing industrial cities in the areas of production of raw materials;
- 3) Encouraging investment in industry; and
- 4) Attention to technical education and capacity building.

Light Industries:

- 1) Supporting, developing and developing small industries; and
- 2) Establishing transformative industries.

Heavy Industries:

Establishing and developing industries of petroleum, mining, textiles, iron and steel, automobile ... etc.

Trade, Finance and Investment Sector:

- 1) Establishing modern banks and financial institutions and ending the monopoly of Islamic institutions to the banking and financial sector;
- 2) Developing markets by following modern methods of production, supply and marketing;
- 3) Encouraging investment in productive sectors to meet the market needs of local products; and
- 4) Design tax systems to serve production and abundance.

Chapter V

Services and Human Development

Education:

Education is a fundamental pillar of comprehensive, economic and human development.

The specifications and philosophy of New Sudan education:

- 1) Scientific: It adheres to scientific standards and envisages providing the correct information;
- 2) Egalitarian: that is, it is available to all members of society as a means of social promotion;
- 3) Differential criterion: that is, an objective criterion for positive discrimination, and provides an opportunity for outstanding talent and excellence to promote and acquire positions;
- 4) Civilising: It works to move society from the stage of tribal prejudices and religious or regional prejudice to the stage of respect for difference and public integrity, and the establishment of the principle of competence and professionalism to hold mattresses;
- 5) Progressive: that is, it seeks to move society from the stage of underdevelopment to better stages of efficiency and well-being through work and creativity and foresight of the future, not to rely on the remnants of the ancestors;
- 6) Pluralism multi-lateral: It gives the opportunity for multiple cultural groups to take their cultures material for educational curricula, and languages as tools for teaching; and
- 7) Nationalistic: It devotes sense of belonging to the individual and the community to the great homeland and other groups by originality.

General Guidelines for the Education of New Sudan:

- 1) Compulsory and free basic education;
- 2) Free secondary education;
- 3) Subsidised or supported higher education by applying the individual loan system to pay the student loan;
- 4) Expanding the base of vocational education; and
- 5) Bridging gender gaps quantitatively and qualitatively.

The programme:

The public education:

- 1) Rehabilitation and development of education infrastructure;
- 2) Improve and standardise school environments;
- 3) Developing human capacities by developing educational institutes and colleges;
- 4) Develop administrative capacities and return to the system of rotation; and
- 5) Limiting private education to the necessary.

Higher Education:

- 1) Establishing professionalism and independence of universities;
- 2) Supporting higher education institutions to carry out their tasks in the production of knowledge and creativity; and
- 3) Raising the efficiency of higher education.

Scientific Research Centres:

Establishing and developing scientific research centres in all fields and supporting them.

Civil Service:

Reform and restructure the civil service by enacting laws based on standards of efficiency and equal opportunities in employment, with positive discrimination for marginalised areas.

Health:

Based on the fact that the vast majority of the people of Sudan are the main producers of wealth in the country, while the elites enjoy good life, and prevent the completion of economic cycle, where the fruits of the efforts of majority producers in the form of price differences and taxes for the benefit of this elite group does not in any way return to the great majority of people, the state must return the historical debt to its people.

Until the transition from a society of poverty to a society of sufficiency, the state must provide free healthcare to all citizens. We have experience in this where we have thus completed the cycle of the economy, freeing people from some of the requirements of harsh needs and saved time for productive work, so that the elites can pay indirectly through the raised taxes on luxuries and private institutions in the interest of essentials, necessities and public institutions. And that the public health institutions provide the rewarding conditions of service for the workers and a good working environment. Periodic mobility in the public service must be implemented in the health field so that services are not centralised and their level of service is better in other regions. Then it must be set to:

- 1) Provide adequate number of treatment institutions;
- 2) Improve the health environment by providing these institutions with the necessary equipment to operate;
- 3) Provide qualified human cadre;
- 4) Expand programmes to prevent all diseases;
- 5) Provide rewarding conditions of service for employees; and
- 6) Ensure equitable distribution of staff to the country's regions and countryside.

Housing:

Housing and the distribution of residential lands have been the subject of political manipulation and trading in all periods, and remain one of the contributors of corruption due to the absence of vision and comprehensive planning, the prevalence of biases and patronage carried out in official channels stemming from the directions of the state, and the result of the emergence of land trade and falsification of official papers. The radical solution, guided by the experiences of the developed countries, is in the sovereignty of the new state over all lands, considering ownership as a beneficial property, preventing monopoly and trading in lands, imposing increased taxes on unoccupied properties with the minimum requirement of people, and before enacting clear laws that prove the right of everyone that he has the capacity to own a plot of land. Sudan's territory is vast, and strict sanctions must be imposed on the manipulators in this regard. On the other hand, the state should plan for public health and human dignity, continuously monitor housing conditions and assist citizens in building houses. In the process of moving to a society of sufficiency, the state is transforming all labour camps inhabited by the wealth-makers in the production areas into labour villages built with modern specifications and equipped with all services, and the adoption of vertical expansion of housing in cities.

Security and the rule of law:

Security here means everything that preserves a healthy life, including food and housing security and the prevention of infringements on others and money, thought (intellect), expression, culture and legitimate

means of earning. Rights must be guarded by the rule of fair law, sound and impartial procedures, an independent judiciary that upholds the principles of a just constitution, and prevent the interference of military life in civilian life in Sudan.

Chapter VI

Culture and Identity Issues

The state of New Sudan is a secular, democratic state whose identity is based on unity in diversity – both historical and contemporary. It believes in pluralism and the legitimacy of difference and does not allow a group to impose its identity on other groups in the state.

Solutions to the problems of Old Sudan:

- 1) Abolition of cultural unilateralism and exclusion programmes from all state civil and military organs;
- 2) Cultural resettlement of all Sudanese cultures that have been excluded and exterminated;
- 3) Emphasising equal opportunities between individuals and groups;
- 4) Designing and implementing a strategic programme for comprehensive cultural revival;
- 5) Developing cultures and languages and linking them to educational, media and artistic curricula;
- 6) All national media must have equal distribution of opportunities to all cultures; and
- 7) Positive discrimination of marginalised groups and the establishment of special media to support cultural expression.

Chapter VII

Arts and Folklores

Literature:

- (1) Establish publishing houses and encouraging investment in this field.
- (2) Care for creators (innovators) and support their production through institutional discharge and through social security systems.
- (3) Establish a system for excellence competitions and incentive awards.

Audiovisual Arts:

- (1) Establishment of the Sudan Academy of Music and its branches in all regions;
- (2) Establishment of the Sudan Academy of Cinema and its branches in all region;
- (3) Establishment of the Sudan Academy of Theatre and Drama and its branches in all regions;
- (4) Establishment of the Sudan Academy of Fine Arts and its branches in all regions;
- (5) Funding scientific missions to benefit from international expertise;
- (6) Developing the arts, folklores and creativity industries and encouraging investment in this field;
and
- (7) Directing the media to promote community taste.

Chapter VIII

Religion and State Issues

The modern state is inherently secular and cannot be based on religion. The most important thing in the secular democratic state is the identification of areas of concerns: The most important thing is to identify the private and public areas so as not to confuse matters. In modern society, the public is what everyone is equal and is the source of rights and duties within the state: humanity (from which human rights are issued) and citizenship (from which constitutional principles are derived). As for the private, it does not meet the requirements of publicity and is confined to one group and not the other and this imposes the principle that what is limited to this group does not extend to other groups – this is not subject to the majorities and minorities and remains restricted to the public. The secular, democratic state of the New Sudan is therefore guaranteed:

- 1) Freedom of belief;
- 2) Freedom of worship;
- 3) Freedom to spread religious teachings by peaceful means;
- 4) Put religion in its proper place for the state. Its correct position is that it is a special area so it may not be generalised. 'Every religion has a homeland for all;' and
- 5) Prevent the imposition of any religious orientation on citizens through the state because religion is the essence of intentions and faith.

Chapter IX

Gender Issues

The Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), since its inception, has paid great attention to the cause of women and their rights. It encouraged women to be an integral part of the overall liberation process, recognised their role in the national movement, and created the right environment for them to overcome the social constraints, concepts, customs and traditions that stand in the way of their development.

On the other hand, the SPLM charters (the Manifesto, the Constitution and laws) provided for women's rights decisively. Chapter VIII, article 3 of the manifesto states: '**The Movement will build women's capacities and involve them in decision-making positions and institutions.**' The SPLM has already begun to turn this paragraph into reality, with women occupying its position in various organs, including the SPLA and the police. The SPLM also urged women to educate their selves for more rights and to take a leading role in leading society after suffering oppression, marginalisation, injustice and other forms of gender-based discrimination. The time has come to eliminate social beliefs, ideas and concepts that discriminate women and deny them access to education, employment, travel and public office. In order to liberate women, the SPLM relied on all rights enshrined in regional and international conventions, for example:

- (1) Human dignity;
- (2) Equal rights and duties with men;
- (3) Equal pay for equal work;
- (4) Equality before the law;
- (5) Positive discrimination in education and health;
- (6) Right of ownership;
- (7) Women's economic, social, political and cultural empowerment;
- (8) Maternal and child rights in accordance with the law; and
- (9) Establish institutions to protect and supervise the implementation of women's rights.

The SPLM had also recognised the following rights in its charters:

- (1) In Article 98 of its Constitution, it has approved the representation of women at 30% in public bodies and institutions, while retaining the right to compete for the remaining 70% of the remaining opportunities;
- (2) Combating women's customs by education and law; and
- (3) Ending the use of gender differences in justifying the roles of women and men, and in some cases claims that there are major and minor roles.

The SPLM-N believes that the moment is equal to 50% of the society, and that the SPLM-N's call for secularism comes in line with its efforts to combat laws based on religious authority (such as Family Law and Public Order Law) that degrade women and her humanity. At the same time, the SPLM-N seeks to educate men on the need to respect the principle of gender equality in rights and duties because of the importance of this in the process of stabilising the family and society and raising young people on sound bases.

The struggle of women for their rights is an ongoing battle and the road ahead is still long. Women's tools and weapons have evolved considerably through education, awareness, decline of tradition and the activation of laws calling for liberation and full equality with men.

Reality Facts:

- (1) Women have been marginalised throughout history;
- (2) There are many customs and traditions dedicated to the inferiority of women; and
- (3) The New Sudan Project is a project to eliminate all forms of marginalisation and implement the principles of justice and equality.

Programme of Solutions:

- 1) Address obstacles that limit women's freedom;
- 2) Prevent negative gender biases in all organs of the state and public life;
- 3) Empower women through education and positive bias;
- 4) Emphasise equal opportunities in capacity development and holding jobs; and
- 5) Promote modern life and consolidate democratic civil standards.

Chapter X

Youth Issues

The youths are the most dynamic and energetic group to bring about change and shape the outlook for future. They have the capacity to build a strong, stable state, development and well-being. This requires them to make a complete historical break with distorted visions and attitudes inherited from Sudanese elites.

There are currently about 1.8 billion youth in the world: the largest number of young people ever in human history of which 24 million have no access to education. According to the UN, political instability, the challenges of labour market and limited spaces for political and civic engagement have increased the isolation of young people in societies. Youths in Sudan make up more than 65% of the population, and 67% do not find employment.

The regime's repressive practices and economic policies based on the principle of empowering its affiliates have limited employment opportunities for non-affiliates, leading to their displacement and their flight from the country. Some of them became victims of human trafficking gangs, networks of terrorist organisations and drug traffickers, and some have drowned in the seas and oceans. Those who could not escape have become victims of drugs, despair and lethargy.

On the other hand, the agenda of political Islam and the reactionary salvation project with its fundamentalist ideology targeted the youth segment and sought to reformulate their minds and attitudes according to the aspirations of the Islamists, through the mechanisms of intellectual and cultural alienation through the curricula of education and the formal discourse of the media. This has contributed to the breeding of distorted and alienated youth groups, imbued with religious obsession and terrorism.

SPLM-N views young people as a marginalised group, who have suffered from all forms of oppression, persecution and targeting by the ruling regime to kill the spirit of revolution and struggle, distract them from community issues and limit their concerns to the issues of livelihood.

SPLM-N stands with the legitimate aspirations of the youth in a life full of interest and care of the state, in a society that respects and feels its value and ensures opportunities for education, training and rehabilitation, and enables it to participate actively in political, social and economic life with decent representation in decision-making positions.

Through the New Sudan Project, the SPLM-N seeks to make a qualitative leap in the interest of youths and their issues and move them from the ideas and policies of the Old Sudan, which have crippled their energies and detracted them from advancing, developing and rising to the ranks of their young counterparts in developed societies and countries.

SPLM-N Programme for Youth:

The SPLM-N is seeking to implement the following programmes to address youth issues:

- (1) Quality education, training and rehabilitation, and capacity building by establishing scientific research centres specialised in the field of vocational, academic and technical training, and the pursuit of free education for young people;
- (2) Increase production and provide income sources to raise the standard of living and achieve basic needs and remove all economic and social disparities among youth;

- (3) Protection from all forms of negative discrimination, exploitation and enjoyment of social and cultural services;
- (4) Ensuring freedom of opinion, expression and organisation;
- (5) Ensuring the representation of youth in decision-making institutions and positions in society and the state;
- (6) Attention to youth in war zones and rehabilitation and training and enable them to catch up with others through the design of special programmes that address their issues and develop their capacities;
- (7) Provide opportunities for young people in the media to reflect their aspirations and ideas in various fields (sports, cultural, artistic and literary creativity, in addition to research and academic excellence);
- (8) Rehabilitation of youth and students within different civil society organisations (internally and externally) through the approach of transparent competition and equal opportunities, training and scholarships;
- (9) Remove barriers and restrictions on civil society organisations concerned with youth and repeal all laws that impede the establishment and organisation; and
- (10) Restore or abolish all youth and student platforms that have been abducted by the former regime, ensure their regulation by law, and participation through a democratic process.

The SPLM-N, as an effective force, affirms its full commitment to achieving the aspirations and interests of youths, seeks to root out the factors that exclude them from society and marginalise their role from the roots, and enable youths to have all the rights (political, economic, social, cultural ... etc. as part of the requirements for democratic transformation and restructuring of the Sudanese state on new bases.

Youth and Sports:

Sport is an essential part of human, physical and psychological development. In the comprehensive concept of sport in the New Sudan, all people should find the opportunity to participate in various activities and find the opportunity to develop their abilities and competition in all fields. The programme proposes the establishment of Sudan Olympics as an arena to train the competitive Sudanese talents in various activities to represent the country in international fora, emphasising the participation of women in all activities and in the manner practiced anywhere in the world.

- 1) Work on the discovery of talent early by providing a complete school environments;
- 2) Provide qualified manpower from training and management;
- 3) Development of sports infrastructure;
- 4) Development of sports industries;
- 5) Motivating youths to practise sports and achieve accomplishments;
- 6) Taking care of retirees through the development of the social security system;
- 7) Attention to building the capacities of young people in all scientific and creative fields and preparing them to compete in the modern world; and
- 8) Establishing, developing and qualifying sports clubs.

Chapter XI

Foreign Policy

Since independence, the reality of Sudan's foreign policy has been dedicated to the following of Arabophone countries, and thus driving Sudan towards Arab identity and Arabism without the insight or the consideration of the interests of Sudan; a reality which has greatly affected Sudan.

The right orientations in foreign policy stem from the right orientations in domestic politics, which must take into account multiculturalism, historical diversity and contemporary diversity. The relations of the future Sudan, the New Sudan, must be based on the principle of independence and cooperation among all peoples within the framework of peaceful coexistence and common interests.

- 1) After rebuilding relations and affirming good-neighbourliness, Sudan seeks to develop its relations with its neighbours in a way that supports stability in the region, and cooperates to fight poverty and hunger in order to reach sufficient communities by opening common markets and benefiting from the comparative advantages of any country;
- 2) Restoration of Sudan's natural status and its African affiliation as a civilised leader;
- 3) Developing Sudan's relations with developed countries to take advantage of its scientific potential and benefit from the amount of transparency it has in order to protect Sudan's interests and open investment opportunities for its companies to serve common interests;
- 4) Stay away from harmful alliances and axial policies which lead the country to unnecessary hostilities; and
- 5) Establishment of a Pan-Africanism platform.

Part Two

Provisional Programme

(a) The Fundamental Problem of Sudan – the Old Sudan:

The fundamental problem of Sudan is that the state, since its establishment, has followed contradictory policies against the realities and the interests of people. This has been demonstrated by concentrating power and wealth in the hands of ethnic, regional groups and entities which are considered an extension of colonisation that practised the marginalisation of others. These groups were, and still are, poised to foist a project of one-sided identity and culture, denial, snobbery and the practice of religious, ethnic, gender and regional discrimination through the organs of state, and working to enforce all these by force through the systems of Government violence on the majority of Sudanese people, in addition to enacting racial legislations and religious laws.

Monolithic

(b) The Solution of the Problem – the Alternative: the New Sudan:

The alternative for the Old Sudan is the New Sudan. The SPLM-N has adopted the vision of New Sudan that is based on justice, equality, freedom, voluntary unity which is also based on contemporary diversity and history. Since the Sudanese state throughout its history has been based on legislating violence, and since the dominant groups in the Sudanese state, which form the centre, only believe in violence, the SPLM-N has been forced to lead the longest war in Africa in order to force these dominating groups in the centre to review their policies. Throughout its different means of struggle, the SPLM-N has managed to force the successive Governments in Khartoum to negotiate on the issues that affect the majority of Sudanese people in general, and the interests of marginalised people in particular, especially the interests which are championed by the project of New Sudan.

(c) The price was, and is still, expensive:

While the SPLM-N is presenting its programme, we should remember that the price has been a very expensive one. On its long road for struggle for the New Sudan, millions of victims have fallen, and millions more of our people are forced into displacement and refugee camps; the war has left in its wake millions of widows and orphans.

(d) Now, it is time to return the rights to their owners:

The dignity should be returned to the people through a comprehensive peace agreement which will fulfil the demands of constructing the New Sudan. The most objectives that needed to be achieved and considered by the SPLM-N as the first basis of New Sudan are: taking the will of people as the only source of power and rue and through free and democratic elections, and closing the door for ever against the legality of violence, domination, oppression and the negligence of people's interests.

(e) While the SPLM is presenting its programme, it is absolutely aware that:

The incoming elections will be the most important ones in the history of Sudan for the following reasons:

- (1) These elections will not be like the previous ones because competition has gained a new element, that is, the SPLM-N, which is capable of rivalry and with root changes that are biased towards the marginalized; and
- (2) All opinion polls indicate that the success of the SPLM-N is a great indicator towards the unity of Sudan and its stability in future.

Based on all this, the SPLM-N – while aware of its historical responsibility, presents to the Sudanese people its programme, and it has no doubt that it will be accepted by the majority of people, and it will fulfil the aspirations of the marginalised.

The programme is divided into two complete parts:

(1) Provisional Programme:

It presents plans to deal with current issues which cannot sustain postponement, and others which are related to the transitional period – that is, the comprehensive peace agreement. The provisional programme also contains the plans of removing the obstacles of the Old Sudan and establishing the right basis to spearhead the execution of the programme of root changes – the Programme of New Sudan.

(2) Strategic Programme:

It is a programme that presents the plans of action for the long term, helps to achieve the transformation into the New Sudan, the programmes and plans of comprehensive renaissance and, therefore, a progress to reach the advanced nations.

The Provisional Programme

Firstly, despite the efforts that stand behind it, the change cannot be achieved within a day. This is because change contradicts with the interests and privileges of groups which still have the capability to resist, the entrenchment of the numerous habits of totalitarianism in the structures and institutions of state and, above all, the weakness of political awareness among the great sections of society which can be deceived, especially in the name of religion.

Secondly, there are a lot of existing problems in Sudan. They are fundamental problems that need to be challenged, and programmes and plans are required to salvage the deterioration and remove the obstacles which can be placed on the way by those who have privileges and are benefiting from the current situations. It, therefore, introduces the way to vital root changes towards the best. Also, this programme concentrates on issues that cannot tolerate postponement; it is sustained by the strategic programme, which is part of it.

The General guidances of Provisional Programme

This programme is based on the following guidanaces:

- (1) Achieving a comprehensive peace agreement to resolve the root cause of the Sudanese problem, commitment to it and working to execute its prerequisites;
- (2) Drafting a democratic, transitional constitution and commitment to it;
- (3) Commitment to transitional, constitutional structures and working through them until they are replaced by a permanent constitution according to what is laid down by the strategic programme which is devised from the vision of New Sudan on permanent constitution;
- (4) Cooperation with the marginalised forces, the forces of New Sudan and the democratic forces in the centre; and
- (5) Commitment to the outcome of people's will.

Aims and Means:

The aims and means of this strategic programme are:

- (1) Annulment of Islamic *Shari'a* laws as the first step towards paving the way to a comprehensive peace and resolving the root causes of the problem;
- (2) Convening a national, constitutional conference to discuss the fundamental issues (identity, relation between religion and state, the system of governance, the administrative structures of state and so forth). Consequently, drafting and endorsing the permanent constitution of the country, and achieving the democratic transformation;
- (3) Honouring the other prerequisites of peace which will be agreed upon during the comprehensive peace agreement, and the voluntary unity will be the top priority;
- (4) Ending the spread of arms outside the organised forces;
- (5) Getting rid of the militias either through absorption or disbandment;
- (6) Reinforcing the programme of voluntary return to allow the internally displaced persons and refugees to return to their homelands in the shortest time possible;
- (7) Preventing the economic deterioration, banning monopoly and nepotism and directing economy along the right path as it is explained by the economic vision of New Sudan in the strategic programme;
- (8) Reforming the civil service and the organised forces, and rearranging them on the basis of proficiency and professionalism;

- (9) Reforming the judiciary and guaranteeing its independence in order to play its role in a secular, democratic state;
- (10) Reinstating those who were unlawfully dismissed;
- (11) Freedom of trade unions and guaranteeing the rights of workers;
- (12) Starting immediately to establish institutions to address the social welfare of the poor – for example, the old, disabled, children, and orphans; developing the current institutions and establishing others to carry out their responsibilities;
- (13) Combating fatal and endemic diseases, and developing medical-care programme;
- (14) Immediate reform of public and high education based on the scientific and democratic principles;
- (15) Rehabilitating foreign relations with neighbouring countries and the rest of world states, which were antagonised by former regimes; this should be on the basis of shared interests;
- (16) Eradicating psychological shock and building social peace;
- (17) Reviewing the Sudanese nationality and passport;
- (18) Solving the issues of new settlers in the areas of native population; and
- (19) Reviewing and revising the planning of cities, contracts and land leases.

Chapter I

Democratic Transformation

The most important principle which will be agreed upon in the comprehensive peace agreement is the establishment of a democratic system of governance based on cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity; equality between males and females among the Sudanese people and prohibiting all laws that restrict freedoms.

The SPLM-N considers the democratic transformation as the cornerstone of any change in the interest of Sudanese people in general and the marginalised population in particular. It, therefore, works for winning the coming elections to achieve the followings:

1. Separation of Powers:

The implementation of the principle of separation of executive, legislative and judiciary powers, and affirming the independence of judiciary.

2. Guaranteeing the Freedom of Organisation, Political and Civil Activities through:

- (a) Annulling all laws that contradict the secularism of state and limit the freedom of political activities; granting freedom to political parties, civil society organisations and groups with peaceful aims; guaranteeing all civil freedoms. This shall be specified in the transitional constitution which must include all human rights;
- (b) Directing the police to keep law and order and protecting the freedom of parties, organisations and groups and supporting them to carry out their activities in various ways, including the right to demonstrate by peaceful means;
- (c) Restructuring the security organs and forcing them to stick to the constitution, which should specify their role in collecting information, analysing it and advising the Government in order to serve the interests of people and not the interests of the ruling party or Government;
- (d) Returning the property of groups whose belongings were damaged or confiscated because of their political affiliation, or compensating them favourably;
- (e) Expurgating the bill of parties and political organisations, banning every party that is formed on a religious basis and legislating a new law; and
- (f) Establishing the commission of census and another for elections.

3. Freedom of Expression:

If it wins the elections, the SPLM-N will do the followings:

- (a) Annul all laws that restrict the freedom of press, and enact laws which will grant freedom to the press to obtain information and publish it;
- (b) Ban the monopoly of fora, restructure the media corps that belongs to the state on the basis of professional and efficient criteria in order to serve the people as to their political, cultural, religious and creative diversity, and not for the interests of Government, or the ruling party, or the culture, language, religion of dominant groups; this should be done with the provision of all resources and means of training capable personnel and salvaging the workers from the habits of totalitarianism; and
- (c) Guarantee the freedom of establishing private media institutions in order to serve the issues of peace, creativity and progress.

4. Women's Freedom:

- (a) Annulling all laws that restrict the freedom of women as to their movement, study and work (the Personal and Family Law, Public Order Law and so forth);
- (b) Expurgating all laws that dictate women dress code and appearance;
- (c) Legislating laws and forming the mechanisms of monitoring them in order to protect women against molestation and exploitation;
- (d) Endorsing the international treaties concerning women's rights – for example, CEDAW;
- (e) Empowering women in all fields of civil livelihood through positive discrimination, and expanding the opportunities of restructuring capabilities, promotion and closing the gender gap;
- (f) Combating harmful habits and traditions which degrade women; and
- (g) Guaranteeing the actual partnership of women in public life in order to participate in the building the New Sudan.

5. The New Sudan Child:

The education should be directed as follows:

- (1) Developing the character of children, their talents, mental and physical capabilities to the utmost resources;
- (2) Developing respect for the rights of children as pronounced by the international covenants and charters;
- (3) Developing the respect of children's cultural and linguistic identity, and their private values with the respect of others;
- (4) Developing national education for children, and informing them about the value of homeland, territorial unity, the diversity of its religions, the people's skin colors and respecting this diversity and glorifying it;
- (5) Equipping children for life in order to feel their responsibility in a free society, and with the spirit of understanding, forgiveness and equality among the males and females, and friendship among peoples and different groups;
- (6) Developing respect for environment and sustaining it; and
- (7) The education should be directed towards developing a wide number of human and aesthetic values.

6. The Freedom of Trade Unions:

- (a) Annulling the current trade unions system, which is based on forging the will of workers through confusing the issues, and replacing it with a democratic one which will be the real expression of workers' will; and
- (b) Guaranteeing and enforcing the rights of workers, including the right of strike.

7. Transitional Justice:

- (a) Guaranteeing the prosecution of those who committed genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity;
- (b) Removing all forms of historical injustices which have befallen the marginalised groups and regions;

- (c) Implementing transitional justice and historical restitution on those who committed material and moral violations against the Sudanese peoples and compensating all the victims of historical abuses and injustices, including the damages caused by bondage and slavery; and
- (d) To implement this, it is imperative to establish the mechanisms of truth and reconciliation.

8. Human Rights and Guaranteeing the Rule of Law:

The democratic transformation cannot be achieved without upholding human rights, guaranteeing the rule of law, removing the habits and traditions of totalitarianism and its laws that abuse human rights and impinge on the rule of law. This can be seen in the daily life in the form of demolishing houses, forcible removal, rounding up of citizens and transporting them in a humiliating manner, illegal confiscation of property, and beating up and insulting people in police centres and security offices. The SPLM-N does not accept any of these acts, and it will ban them completely and replace them with plans to regulate professions, markets and housing; the law-breakers will face judicial rules with the complete guarantee of human rights as pronounced by international charters, affirming the rule of law and commitment to the correct arrangements.

9. Commitment to the Criteria of Secular and Democratic State in Drafting Laws and General Guidance

The basic measures or standards defining secularism are citizenship and humanity; they are not based on the criteria of tribalism, regional orientation, religion or any other affiliation or classification. Commitment to secular life means the dependency on the shared principles of equality and the spirit of justice as to encourage good behaviour and the respect of freedom of others, regardless of their differences; cooperation and honourable competition, adopting the criteria of professionalism and efficiency in upholding posts and avoiding nepotism and incriminating it. Also, the state should desist from legislating religious laws regarding public life, places and institutions which belong to the state (for instance, forcing women to wear veils). Moreover, the state should protect citizens against material and ideological terrorism, and against all forms of molestation.

Chapter II

Peace and Resettlement

1. Honouring the Agreed Peace Prerequisites:

In spite of numerous peace prerequisites in previous peace agreements, the execution of most of them remained unfulfilled because of lack of desires from the incumbent parties and by fiddling with them. The SPLM-N will implement all the prerequisites with dithering and the most important ones are:

(a) Preventing the Spread of Arms outside the Regular Forces:

In order to maintain security and for the state to exercise its sovereignty and achieve the general will of people, the SPLM-N, if it wins the trust of people, will prevent the spread of arms outside the regular forces with great determination.

(b) Disbanding Militias:

After banning the spread of arms outside the regular forces, the SPLM-N will work to disband militias throughout the entire country, either by absorption or disbanding in compliance with consideration to fair and just compensations, and resolving the conditions which led to the creation of these militias.

(c) Providing Mechanisms for Conflict Resolution:

This will be done through executing crash/swift programs/plans to enrich pastures and provide sufficient water resources in the areas of conflicts; establishing monitoring centres equipped with trained police capable of preventing the breakout of disputes and able to intervene immediately in case of breakout of conflict.

(d) Resolving Land Issues:

The SPLM-N works to achieve the recognition of the customary land tenure, land-use and, consequently, the recognition of tribes' rights to their lands with the possibility of state to utilise these lands for public interests in accordance to just laws.

The SPLM-N endeavours to achieve the development of marginalised societies and relieve them from the complete dependence on land as the only resource of livelihood and subsistence, and affirms the optimal/best land-use.

The SPLM-N will legalise and regulate the relationships between different groups through the proclamation of just laws that preserve economic, social and political rights to everybody, with the development of structures and institutions charged with regulating land-use and strengthening them legally to promote sustainable development and resolve the problems of environmental deterioration.

(e) Enforcing the Programme of Resettlement to allow the Displaced and Refugees to Return Home:

The SPLM-N is aware that resettlement cannot be achieved unless security is provided and sustained, start removing the vestiges of war (landmines, improvised explosive devices (IED's) and so forth) and the provision of the best means of livelihood for the internally displaced persons and refugees.

Also, the SPLM-N is aware that with the return of the displaced and refugees there will be a lot of benefits, including the increase of production and reducing the pressure on cities they have left behind, which hardly have any means of production.

In order to provide the best means of livelihood, there should be services and in better conditions than those which they used to get in the places where they moved to in the past so that these new services can act as communal compensation.

The Plan of Resettlement:

(a) On the Short-Term:

Establishing service centres – for example, medical clinics, schools, police stations, civil administrations on the ground to help the returnees build their houses in a way that does not harm the environment, provision of drinkable water, supporting them to restore the means of their livelihood through the development of agriculture and letting them own poultry which they used to breed in the past before displacement. This can be attained through cooperation with the NGOs which possess experience, resources and acceptably required transparency.

The civil administrations should oversee and monitor the voluntary return on the ground, and they should be supported by local chiefs' administrations.

(b) On the Long-Term:

The SPLM-N will endeavour to achieve the slogan of moving the city to the village, through the development of services, expanding the basis of production and linking the new generations with the culture and history of their people to attract citizens to the village.

Chapter III

Voluntary Unity and the Exercise of the Right to Self-Determination

The SPLM-N Vision:

- (1) Establishing the New Sudan, that is, a secular, democratic state which is based on voluntary unity; and
- (2) The exercise of the right to self-determination for all marginalised groups, which desire to exercise such a right.

Chapter IV

Economic Reform

In spite of so much talk on economic growth and festivals which are held to celebrate an infrastructure or another, or those carnivals which are held to celebrate the extraction of oil, the undoubted reality is that the daily life conditions are extremely deteriorating and it continues to deteriorate further day after day. Also, the credible and documented statistics indicate that the rate of poverty in Sudan increases because of in-kind commodity handout, or what is called parasitic economy or the existing Islamic economy in Sudan. This type of economy concentrates wealth in the hands of coterie minority and dominant region, which controls power in the totalitarian state and protects it through the expenditure on its security organs where 70% of the annual budget of state goes to security and defence.

The Vision of New Sudan:

The vision of New Sudan is constructed on two parts:

- (a) Removing coterie economy, parasitic economy or Islamic economy and its totalitarian state; and
- (b) Replacing it with social market economy, which weighs between market mechanisms and the intervention of state to protect the national currency, productive forces, the poor and reduce the expenditure on the organs of violence through the establishment of secular, democratic state and the implementation of comprehensive development, that is, the development that is reflected in the daily life of citizens through transfer from the society of poverty to the one of sufficiency and hence from the society of sufficiency to the one of welfare.

The Current Problems of Economy Today:

- (1) The prevalence of coterie economy, parasitic economy or Islamic economy which neglects production;
- (2) The weakness and backwardness of productive base;
- (3) Corruption and nepotism (regional and ethnic policy);
- (4) Concentration of people in cities that lack productive means; and
- (5) The bad distribution of resources and capital.

Provisional Plan:

- (1) Removing coterie economy and replacing it with productive, social market economy;
- (2) Establishing modern, economic organs based on international criteria;
- (3) Borrowing the system of corporate economy and the state should participate in it;
- (4) Directing oil resources towards development and production;
- (5) Positive discrimination for the groups which have been subjected to marginalisation;
- (6) Combating corruption and nepotism;
- (7) Benefiting from the experiences of other countries in the systems of funding small productive sectors;
- (8) Activating the programmes and projects of water harvesting;
- (9) Rehabilitating the destroyed agricultural schemes, and developing them to increase production and achieve food security and exports' development;

- (10) Forming the principles of establishing industrial renaissance which is based on establishing factories in the areas of producing raw materials, and restarting all factories that have been stopped due to negligence and wrong policies;
- (11) Organising markets;
- (12) Strengthening the systems of monitoring quality control;
- (13) Protecting local products against inundation;
- (14) Prohibiting monopoly;
- (15) Designing programmes for rural development and linking them with voluntary return in order to become the basis of comprehensive development;
- (16) Building infrastructure according to priorities and the vision of positive discrimination for producers; and
- (17) Building roads to link regions with national highways, establishing and renovating the railway lines and nationalising the means of transport.

Chapter V

Services

Security:

The first base of stability and development is the prevalence of security, especially in the marginalised areas which were, and are, the scenes of armed conflicts and spread of arms, because they have become a stumbling block for stable life, production and the reception of services. This has led to the displacement of people into cities or displacement camps. The urgent solutions have already been provided in the Second Chapter.

Food Provision and Drinkable Water:

The scarcity of food and drinkable water is not only a problem in the displacement camps, but there are also a large number of citizens suffering from the shortage of food and drinkable water in all parts of Sudan. The Government should help to provide food to its citizens.

The Urgent Plan of Food Provision:

- (1) Removing the taxes on basic food commodities – for example, sorghum, wheat, flour, meat, milk and its products, vegetables and fruits;
- (2) Increasing the taxes on non-essential commodities in order to fund the basic food commodities;
- (3) Directing investment and encouraging the increase of food products, especially sorghum, and protecting market fluctuations and its tricks;
- (4) Creating strategic depot which the state should distribute them all over the country to close food gap, and funding them to reach the needy with affordable prices; creating a system of borrowing to close food gaps during critical times until the start of harvest season. And by this, food dependency can be rooted out;
- (5) Supporting citizens to achieve food sufficiency through the extension of the basis of production, modernisation and the encouragement of adopting mixed production through the distribution poultry to citizens for reproduction and then collecting the assets after a reasonable period;
- (6) Developing rural and urban water companies and funding them financially and supporting them with human resources to execute the programme of drinkable water sufficiency in five years' time;
- (7) Utilising the modern way of water purification in areas where surface water are existent – such as, rivers and lakes; and
- (8) Where underground water is existent, open wells should be replaced by water pumps – such as, donkeys and tanks – and health monitoring, quality sustenance and pollution avoidance are required.

Healthcare:

- (1) Increasing health budget;
- (2) Training and qualifying human cadres;
- (3) Rehabilitating hospitals, health centres, clinics and modernising them;
- (4) Modernising public hospitals and funding them;

- (5) Rebuilding and rehabilitating rural dispensaries and reopening them, especially those which were destroyed or confiscated during the period of war;
- (6) Building qualified health centres in rural areas in order to provide free services to citizens, support the programme of voluntary return and the transfer of city to village. Good and free medical treatment will support the aims of increasing production, bearing in mind that diseases increase in the season of agricultural production – for instance – malaria decreases the forces of production since patients will be invalid and their relatives will fail to treat them;
- (7) Combating epidemic diseases and aids by scientific methods and adopting transparency in dealing with these diseases;
- (8) Return to the system of rotation in the civil service so that regions could benefit from all qualified cadres and the best qualified ones; this will maintain the justice of qualification distribution all over the country;
- (9) Adopting the system of providing incentives to qualified cadres to encourage them to serve in rural areas; and
- (10) Designing and executing the projects and programmes of peripatetic medical camps.

Education:

Education is considered to be the cornerstone of development and progress. It has been subjected to deterioration and, recently, to deliberate destruction. In order for education to become a civilised one according to the vision of New Sudan, root reforms are required in its constrictions and meaning as it is explained in the Strategic Programme. Before beginning to introduce the long-term plans of reform, education needs an urgent programme to prevent it from sliding into deterioration and destruction process.

Firstly, Preventing Deterioration:

In order to prevent deterioration in education, the educational curricula which were introduced by the Inqaz regime for general education (primary and secondary) must be removed and replaced by the curricula of New Sudan. The education system must be temporarily replaced by adding a fourth year to the secondary level until students spend 12 years in general education as it is a practice in most countries in the world, especially the advanced ones. This should be the case until a national conference on education is held to address the issues of general education and finding solutions for the problems of education and how to develop it. The education curricula in the system of New Sudan, on the other hand, should be developed to fulfil the recommendations of Rumbek Conference of 2004 in order to give an opportunity to the experience of New Sudan to develop and become a role model.

As for the high education, there must be strict measures so that the high education can be the basis of the country's progress and not the field of marketeering, which does not care for qualification or the fundamentals of science. There must be a review of the curricula of high education to abide by the conditions of science and forcing universities and colleges to follow the international criteria and enter into the international network of education systems until the country's education regains recognition, which used to have before being ruined in the last years.

Secondly:

- (1) Developing education to be compatible with the country's needs and, therefore, increasing education budget to achieve this objective;

- (2) Extending the base of education and modernising it through following the system of two (double) periods if needs be;
- (3) Expanding vocational education; and
- (4) Extending adult education (alternative education) to eradicate illiteracy and giving opportunity to those who have missed the opportunities of education for one reason or another.

Thirdly, the General Guidance of Education until the Achievement of Comprehensive Reform:

- (1) Teaching sciences and presenting the right information;
- (2) Awareness of cultural, linguistic and religious diversity.
- (3) Spreading the values of peaceful coexistence and civil values;
- (4) Consolidating positive values and rejecting negative ones as far as women are concerned.
- (5) Respecting professions and productive work;
- (6) Removing issues which contradict general guidance; and
- (7) Removing the condition of pass in Islamic education and Arabic language as a prerequisite to obtain Sudanese Certificate (Secondary Certificate).

Transport and Communication:

The SPLM-N Vision:

The vision of SPLM-N is that the facilitation of transport and communications is one of the most important measures of progress in the modern world. In order to build a modern state in Sudan, the means of transport must be modernised according to the programme of parallel development, positive discrimination and decentralised highways. This includes internal transports within cities, intra-transport between cities and rural areas, transports within villages, transports between one city to another and transports between Sudan and its neighbours.

Problems facing Transport and Communications Sector:

- (1) The weak infrastructure in transport in Sudan;
- (2) The existing roads are centralized;
- (3) Uneven roads in most regions of Sudan, which render these regions inaccessible and subject to suffering, especially in autumn;
- (4) Weak transport increases the cost of living through the high prices of commodities in the marginalised areas; and
- (5) Wrong policies have led to the destruction of railway lines and, thus, the high prices of transport and general damage to economy.

Solutions:

- (1) Increasing the budget of transport and communications;
- (2) Encouraging investment in the transport and communications sector;
- (3) Extending and modernising the infrastructure through building roads and bridges bearing in mind the prerequisites of even development;
- (4) Decentralisation of roads to serve, at the start, the programme of resettlement and rural development;
- (5) Rebuilding, rehabilitating and modernising railway lines;

- (6) Improving the existing airports and building new ones in the outskirts of cities according to the programme of resettlement and even development;
- (7) Rebuilding and rehabilitating maritime and river transport;
- (8) Cooperation with neighbouring to build intra-continental roads;
- (9) Giving maximum priority to the roads which link the marginalised areas to national roads;
- (10) Building roads according to the international criteria;
- (11) Improving transport in cities through establishing general companies for transports by municipal councils with high capacity – for example, buses and metro lines as they exist in the cities of modern world;
- (12) Replanning transport stations and routes by sticking to the system of decentralised stations and circular routes; and
- (13) There must be a national transport to monopolise the roads.

Communications and Information:

The world has gone through three stages of progress: the age of agricultural revolution, industrial revolution and technological revolution and, now, it is going through the age of information revolution.

- (1) Information transfer has a pivotal role in increasing production, a great success in managing local and foreign markets, participating in modernising education and learning and raising the standard of living in general; and
- (2) The vision of SPLM-N is to transform Sudan into an advanced state and liberate the Sudanese people from the chains of nature and the hurdles of social backwardness. The SPLM-N is aware that this cannot be achieved without science and technology and correct knowledge, which requires Sudan to catch up with information technology revolution. This can be attained through:
 - (a) Developing the infrastructure of the means of communication and information technology through establishing networks that cover all parts of the country: cities as well as villages. Again, this can be achieved through
 - a) Increasing the budget of communications and information technology, and encouraging investment in this field;
 - b) Encouraging companies to provide the best, cheapest and environment-friendly services – for example, landline telephones and fixed cables in public and private offices/establishments;
 - c) Encouraging companies to provide telephone services, radio, television and the internet in rural areas;
 - d) Providing telephone services, radio, television and the internet as part school environment, especially in rural schools; and
 - e) Reviewing tariffs between the communications' companies.

Urban Re-planning and Urbanisation:

- (1) There must be a re-planning of cities through modern methods which allocates numbers to streets and houses, and every house or building a clear address which is easy to reach without using fixed conspicuous signs or landmarks for description. The clear addresses have become an important element in dealings throughout the modern world, especially in the process of delivering commodities and services – such as, mail, telephone cables and buying merchandise

through the internet. In addition to its importance in applying for activities, universities and other things, which are indispensable in modern life; and

- (2) Annuling all laws related to land registration and legislating new bills.

Mail Services Development:

After the commencement of sales and purchases through the internet, the modern life requires the presence of advanced mail services. The SPLM-N, therefore, will review urban planning through rehabilitating the mail service and developing it according to the international criteria so that the Sudanese people can benefit from this service, which has become very important in all parts of the world.

Cleaning Services and Environment Protection:

- (1) The vision of New Sudan is that the Sudanese citizen should live in a clean and healthy environment. But the reality is that the cities in Sudan appear to be the dirtiest ones in the world, full of wastes, building materials leftover in the streets, plastic bags everywhere, and streets and houses without trees and plants. In addition, the existence of pits and ponds in autumn causing a number of diseases, especially the epidemic ones. One reason is that the houses are built on natural drainages and lack of alternative drainages, or being built in a way that does not comply with the right criteria;
- (2) The existence of industrial and cars by-products, and random garages which are sometimes constructed in the middle of the road;
- (3) The heavy use of plastic tools without any significance for this massive use – for instance, bags; and
- (4) No recycling services.

Action Plan:

- (1) Legislating bills on cleaning and environment protection;
- (2) Forcing municipal councils to provide all prerequisites of cleaning and environment protection, including recycling services;
- (3) Promoting afforestation by planting trees and care for the general appearance of cities;
- (4) Organising activities, which produce harmful materials to the environment – for example, industrial and cars by-products;
- (5) Implementing strict rules to the criteria of drainage and sewage systems;
- (6) Spreading civility or civic culture through all social institutions: official and non-official;
- (7) Eradicating the use of plastic bags;
- (8) Prohibiting the dumping of building materials in the streets;
- (9) Granting commensurate offers to cleaning companies;
- (10) Monitoring the police to ensure that they are doing their job properly;
- (11) Monitoring legislative bodies; and
- (12) Monitoring media and civil society organisations.

Social Welfare, Supporting the Disabled, Elderly and Orphans:

- (1) The vision of New Sudan is to move the country to the society of sufficiency through work and production. But supporting the disabled, war victims and orphans is the responsibility of the

whole society on the basis of 'justice before benevolence', and it is their right that the Government should provide them with the dignified means of living. They should not be left to the benevolence of benefactors, because their dignity is the dignity of the entire population and degrading their humanity is an insult to the whole humanity. The world cannot respect a people whereby their disabled, elderly and children are begging tourists in the streets;

- (2) Promoting the centres of social welfare and establishing new ones as required;
- (3) Establishing centres for training and, rehabilitation, qualify the disabled to enable him/her perform/work;
- (4) Creating a system of social security to support the orphans until they grow up to look after themselves, the disabled until they are trained to profess an occupation that earns them money and the decrepit for all their life; and
- (5) Looking after low income people and supporting them.

Power Services:

- (1) Electricity is very important and vital in today's world, and it is indispensable for anyone living on planet earth;
- (2) Electricity is important for the programme of rural modernisation (service centres: schools, dispensaries, police stations, courts, civil administrations, cultural and sports centres); and
- (3) Provision of power services in villages, especially the productive areas, in order to participate in extending and modernising the base of production.

Practical Plan:

- (1) Improving city network of electric grid;
- (2) Inclusion of a large number of villages in the national network;
- (3) Increasing the production of hydroelectric power and building new stations for solar energy; and
- (4) Distributing solar energy stations in villages, and enacting policies for the maximum utilisation of solar energy.

Chapter VI

Monitoring Performance and Combating Corruption

- (1) The biggest problem facing the country today is corruption, for Sudan occupies the third place in the list of the most corrupt countries in the world, and that is according to the reports of Corruption Perceptions Index;
- (2) Corruption is the major stumbling block of development, because it squanders resources in the wrong areas and makes the role of Government in securing loans from the international funding institutions difficult as one of their conditions is to stamp out corruption. It also narrows the opportunities of investment and receiving aid, in addition to its ability to create parasitic classes which increases marginalisation and ruining social life, spreads envy, increases the rates of crimes and, eventually, contributes to instability which brings more catastrophes and wars; and
- (3) Combating corruption is the utmost priority to achieve the project of New Sudan.

Action Plan:

- (1) The legislative bodies should legislate deterrent laws and form parliamentary committees for monitoring performance;
- (2) Affirming the independence of judiciary;
- (3) The Government should form persecution institutions, special courts for combating corruption and facilitating judicial procedures;
- (4) Popular monitoring and combating corruption;
- (5) Establishing a national commission for transparency;
- (6) Strengthening civil society organisations to play their monitoring role;
- (7) Affirming information freedom and its publication in the media; and
- (8) Awarding whoever discovers corruption and protecting them.

Chapter VII

Foreign Policy

- (1) Removing the policies of Old Sudan which were based on creating animosity with neighbours, and creating alliances with totalitarian regimes;
- (2) Improving relations with neighbours; and
- (3) Improving relations with all countries which were antagonised in the past in a way that it did not service the shared interests.