

Recommended **Sudan Policy**

February 2017

Introduction

On February 3, 2017 in Washington, DC, thirty-two Sudanese and friends of Sudan gathered for a Sudan Advocacy Workshop to discuss Sudan policy recommendations for the new leadership at the United Nations, the African Union, and in the United States. The enclosed statement is an outcome of the workshop.

Special thanks to Georgetown University Law Center and the student group, Human Rights Action - Amnesty International, for kindly hosting the workshop.

Supporters

Following the workshop, the enclosed statement was reviewed and recommended by the following seventy-seven Sudanese, activists, scholars and human rights organizations.

- **Nasredeen Abdulbari**, Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, DC
- **Hamid E. Ali, PhD**, Associate Professor, Department of Public Policy and Administration, The American University in Cairo, New Cairo, Egypt
- **David Alton (Professor the Lord Alton of Liverpool)**, Independent Crossbench Member of House of Lords, London
- **Bill Andress**, Advocate for the people of Sudan and South Sudan, Lexington, SC
- **Tamara Banks**, Journalist, Denver, CO
- **The Baroness Cox**, The UK Parliament, Westminster, London
- **Alaallah Doria**, Colorado Springs, CO
- **Yousif B. Gafour, MBA**, Internal Auditor (Retired), ExxonMobil Corporation, Ontario, Canada
- **Herbert Hirsch**, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, VA
- **Dr. Gibril Ibrahim**, Chairperson, Justice and Equality Movement, Sudan
- **Omer G. Ismail**, Sudan Policy Advisor
- **Mukesh Kapila**, Prof. of Global Health and Humanitarian Affairs, Former Head of the UN in Sudan
- **Ellen J. Kennedy, Ph.D.**, Executive Director, World Without Genocide at Mitchell Hamline School of Law, St. Paul, MN
- **Khalid Kodi**, Adjunct Professor, Boston College, Brown University, Boston, MA
- **Rowa Kodi**, Master Candidate, SIT Graduate Institute, Washington, DC
- **Gill Lusk**, Writer on the Sudans, London
- **The Very Reverend Ronald D. Pogue, D.Min.**, The Interim Dean, Saint John's Cathedral (Episcopal), Denver, CO
- **Eric Reeves**, Northampton, MA

Supporters (continued)

- **Victoria Sanford, PhD**, Professor & Chair, Department of Anthropology, Lehman College, Director, Center for Human Rights & Peace Studies, City University of New York, New York
- **Frank Scott, M.D.**, St. John's Cathedral, Denver, CO
- **Paul Slovic**, Professor, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR
- **Rebecca Tinsley**, Journalist and Author, London
- **Dr. Samuel Totten**, Professor Emeritus, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Author of Genocide by Attrition: Nuba Mountains, Sudan, Fayetteville, AK
- **Philip Tutu**, Representative, Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement-North, Kansas City, MO
- **Elhag Warrag**, Editor in Chief, Hurriyat, Egypt
- **Prof. John H. Weiss**, Darfur Action Group Cornell, Caceres-Neuffer Genocide Action Group, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY
- **AAHEP (Africa America Higher Education Partnership)**, Pius K. Kamau MD, President, Surgeon and Author, Aurora, CO
- **Abaunza Group**, Bonnie Abaunza, Founder, Los Angeles, CA
- **Act for Sudan**, Eric Cohen, Co-Founder, Boston, MA
- **African Freedom Coalition**, Al Sutton M.D., President, New York, NY
- **African Soul, American Heart**, Debra Dawson, President, Fargo, ND
- **Alliance of Dams Affected Communities**, Ali Askouri, London
- **American Friends of the Episcopal Church of South Sudan and Sudan (AFRECS)**, Richard Parkins, Executive Director, Alexandria, VA
- **Blue Nile Association for Peace and Development**, Omer Abdelsawi Omer, Board Member, Mulberry, FL
- **Brooklyn Coalition for Darfur & Marginalized Sudan**, Laura Limuli, Coordinator, Brooklyn
- **Christian Solidarity International-USA**, The Rev. Heidi McGinness, Director of Outreach, Denver, CO
- **Concerned Citizens for Change**, Gene Binder, Steering Committee Member, Bronx, NY
- **DAAM (Sudanese Pro-Democracy Activists Abroad)**, Mr. Ali Abdelatif M. Hussein
- **Darfur Community Organization**, Mohammed Esmail, President, Cape Town, South Africa
- **Darfur Interfaith Network**, Bill Casey, Co-Leader, Washington, DC
- **Darfur People's Association of New York**, Mohamed Ebead, President, Motasim Adam, Secretary General, New York, NY
- **Darfur Solidarity Group**, Sabir Abu Saadia, Executive Director, Pretoria, South Africa
- **Doctors to the World, Honduras/ Nepal/Nuba Mountains - The Sudan**, C. Louis "PJ" Perrinjaquet, MD, MPH, Medical Director, Breckenridge, CO
- **Face Past for Future Foundation (FP4F)**, Abdelrahman Gasim, Chairman, Kampala
- **Genocide No More - Save Darfur**, Marv Steinberg, Coordinator, Redding, CA

Supporters (continued)

- **Humanitarian Aid Relief Trust**, Corinna Loges, Chief Executive Officer, London
- **Idaho Darfur Coalition**, Marilyn Griep, Co-Founder, Boise, ID
- **Independent Movement Organization**, Adil A. Salih, External Relations Secretary, Washington, DC
- **International Justice Project**, Monica Feltz, Esq., Executive Director, Newark, NJ
- **Investors Against Genocide**, Susan Morgan, Co-founder, San Francisco, CA
- **Joining Our Voices**, Slater Armstrong, Founder/Director, Baton Rouge, LA
- **Kentuckiana Taskforce Against Genocide**, Robert Brousseau, Founder, Louisville, KY
- **Massachusetts Coalition for Darfur**, William Rosenfeld, Director, Boston, MA
- **Nehemiah Initiative**, Gavin Gramstad, Executive Director
- **Never Again Coalition**, Diane Koosed and Loren Fortgang, Co-Chairs, Portland, OR
- **New York Coalition for Sudan**, Eileen Weiss, Co-Founder, New York, NY
- **North American Baptist Fellowship**, Elijah M. Brown, Ph.D., General Secretary
- **Nuba Christian Family Mission**, Spence Flournoy, Secretary-Treasurer
- **Nuba Mountains International Association (NMIA)**, Komi Elaiaiser, President, and Abbaker Mudir
- **Nubia Project**, Nuraddin Abdulmannan, President, Washington, DC
- **Nubian Language Society**, Nubantood Khalil
- **Pittsburgh Darfur Emergency Coalition**, David L. Rosenberg, Coordinator, Pittsburgh, PA
- **San Francisco Bay Area Darfur Coalition**, Mohamed Suleiman, President, San Francisco
- **Shine A Ray of Hope**, Carmen Paolercio, Director, New Rochelle, NY
- **STAND: The Student-Led Movement to End Mass Atrocities**
- **Sudan Human Rights Network (SHRN)**, Mahdi Elkhailifa, Chairman, Washington, DC
- **Sudan Sunrise**, Tom Prichard, Executive Director, Reston, VA
- **Sudan Unlimited**, Esther Sprague, Founder and Director, San Francisco, CA
- **Sudanese Community Church**, Episcopal Diocese of Colorado, The Rev. Ayyoubawaga B. Gafour, PhD, Vicar, Denver, CO
- **The African Middle Eastern Leadership Project (AMEL)**, Mohamed Abubakr, President, Washington
- **The Elsa-Gopa Trust**, Nell Okie, Director, Madison, CT
- **The Institute on Religion and Democracy**, Faith J.H. McDonnell, Director, Religious Liberty Program, Washington, DC
- **The MagkaSama Project**, Max Dana, Founder, Paris, France
- **Unite for Darfur Organization**, Bahar Arabie, CEO, Gaithersburg, MD
- **Use Your Voice to Stop Genocide RI**, Sandra Hammel, Director, Portsmouth, RI
- **Waging Peace**, Olivia Warham MBE, Director, London
- **Zagahwa Peoples Association in the USA**, Amir Libiss (PhD), Secretary of External Relations

Sudan Policy Recommendations

- Identify and halt methods employed by the regime to foster the growth and spread of terrorism.
- Pressure Bashir to defend the legitimacy of his Presidency by appearing before the International Criminal Court to address its charges.
- Demand...
 - Immediate and unfettered international humanitarian access for war-affected and marginalized regions of Sudan as required by international humanitarian law.
 - A cessation of hostilities in all regions of Sudan, including an end to indiscriminate bombing and all military flights intended to terrorize and traumatize local populations.
 - The release of all political prisoners and activists.
 - Respect for and protection of basic human rights including civil rights, political and religious freedoms and freedom of the press.
 - An end to interference in regional conflicts that undermines peace and security.
 - Reparations and the return of land and property for the victims of genocide and mass atrocities.
- Impose smart sanctions and other consequences immediately for failure to comply fully with the above demands, utilizing a transparent and inclusive community-engaged oversight process to determine compliance.
- Develop and implement a plan for the delivery of humanitarian aid for war-affected and marginalized communities if the regime refuses to cooperate.
- Provide support for the development of civil society and other actors and processes necessary to foster genuine and inclusive democratic transformation.
- Identify and seek to recover funds and assets stolen by the regime and establish an internationally managed trust for the distribution of the funds in a manner that benefits all people and regions of Sudan.
- Welcome refugees of genocide and mass atrocities and political asylees fleeing persecution from Sudan.
- Recognize the role of the Bashir regime in contributing significantly to the international refugee crisis and that providing funds to known criminals to curb immigration is only exacerbating the crisis rather than addressing its root causes.

The Full Statement

The year 2017 marks the beginning of new leadership at the United Nations, the African Union, and the United States, and as such, it provides an opportunity to review the scope of suffering and challenges imposed upon the people of Sudan by the Bashir regime and to better understand the regime's role in supporting terrorism for the purpose of instituting policies that address root causes and meet immediate needs.

The international community's approach to Sudan and the evaluation of the Bashir regime must be based on the totality of the country. A piecemeal approach focused on the latest regime-induced crisis or outside interests allows the regime to distract and manipulate the international community while avoiding systemic change that would benefit the country politically, economically and socially and create greater stability regionally and globally.

A comprehensive Sudan policy must take into account each region (Table I) in addition to over-arching issues and threats (Table II) while recognizing that Sudanese are not only endangered by direct attacks by the regime but also by its intentional failure to govern properly and to provide its citizens with protection and access to assistance.

Furthermore, a comprehensive policy approach is necessary to avoid decisions that provide funding to terrorists indirectly through initiatives such as the European Union's Khartoum Process and by lifting sanctions. It is well known that the Bashir regime provides material and ideological support to terrorism networks. For example, the regime funds, harbors and issues passports for terrorists; the African International University in Khartoum educates and trains terrorists, some of which are leaders of Al-Shabab and Boko Haram. The University of Medical Science & Technology, which is owned by the Minister of Health, is an ISIS recruiting ground for students with dual passports, and Sudanese teachers in Somalia are spreading terrorism ideology. The "cooperation" the regime provides in fighting terrorism pales in comparison to the insidious role it plays in destroying international peace and security by supporting the ideology and acts of terrorism.

Therefore, a comprehensive Sudan policy should include the following:

- Identify and halt methods employed by the regime to foster the growth and spread of terrorism.
- Pressure Bashir to defend the legitimacy of his Presidency by appearing before the International Criminal Court to address its charges.
- Demand...
 - Immediate and unfettered international humanitarian access for war-affected and marginalized regions of Sudan as required by international humanitarian law.

The Full Statement (continued)

- A cessation of hostilities in all regions of Sudan, including an end to indiscriminate bombing and all military flights intended to terrorize and traumatize local populations.
 - The release of all political prisoners and activists.
 - Respect for and protection of basic human rights including civil rights, political and religious freedoms and freedom of the press.
 - An end to interference in regional conflicts that undermines peace and security.
 - Reparations and the return of land and property for the victims of genocide and mass atrocities.
- Impose smart sanctions and other consequences immediately for failure to comply fully with the above demands, utilizing a transparent and inclusive community-engaged oversight process to determine compliance.
 - Develop and implement a plan for the delivery of humanitarian aid for war-affected and marginalized communities if the regime refuses to cooperate.
 - Provide support for the development of civil society and other actors and processes necessary to foster a genuine and inclusive democratic transformation.
 - Identify and seek to recover funds and assets stolen by the regime and establish an internationally managed trust for the distribution of the funds in a manner that benefits all people and regions of Sudan.
 - Welcome refugees of genocide and mass atrocities and political asylees fleeing persecution from Sudan.
 - Recognize the role of the Bashir regime in contributing significantly to the international refugee crisis and that providing funds to known criminals to curb immigration is only exacerbating the crisis rather than addressing its root causes.

A direct correlation exists between corrupt fragile states and global insecurity. While the international community has a moral obligation to protect the people of Sudan from a despotic regime, it is also in the interest of international peace and security to act decisively in addressing the crimes of the Bashir regime in order to combat terrorism as well as the far reaching consequences of tolerating a worldwide environment of impunity.

Table I: Threatened and Marginalized Regions

Table I: Regions threatened and marginalized by the Bashir regime. Sudanese are endangered by the direct actions of the regime and by its intentional failure to govern properly and provide protection and assistance. Information compiled at the Sudan Advocacy Workshop on February 3, 2017.

Region	Under Threat and Marginalized
<p style="text-align: center;">Eastern Sudan</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of access for humanitarian aid • Drought and famine • TB epidemics • High rate of maternal mortality • Extreme poverty while natural resources are exploited by Russia, France and others • Human trafficking networks • Land mines • Weapons smuggling, and in the case of shipments to Hamas, subsequent bombing by Israel • Attacks and land grabs by armed Ethiopians • Lack of justice for the 2005 Port Sudan massacre of 21 peaceful protestors and over 400 who were injured by government forces • Failure to implement the Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement intended, in part, to address marginalization
<p style="text-align: center;">Blue Nile</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attacks by the regime resumed in September 2011 • Chemical weapons used as part of a genocidal campaign • Humanitarian aid blocked • Prolonged detention and disappearances • Lack of healthcare, education and basic services • Untreated outbreaks of cholera • Isolation and a lack of media access • Lack of political freedoms • Inability to escape violence (the return of refugees South Sudan due to conflict)

Region	Under Threat and Marginalized
<p>Nuba Mountains South Kordofan</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Genocide resumed in June 2011 • Indiscriminate bombing • Military flights to terrorize and traumatize • Use of chemical weapons • Humanitarian aid blocked exacerbating measles and other health crises and causing starvation • Lack of healthcare, education and basic services • Religious persecution • Lack of political freedoms • Isolation • Recruitment of child soldiers • Using cyanide for mining operations
<p>Darfur</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Genocide • Indiscriminate bombing • Use of chemical weapons • Government sponsored militia terror attacks and campaigns • Attacks to secure gold and other resources • Arms trafficking • Massive and long-term displacement due to security threats • Civil society threatened • Human trafficking • Insecurity and the lack of services in IDP camps and for massive numbers who are displaced and unrecognized • Humanitarian aid blocked • Famine • Lack of media and access to information • Inequality and inequity that spark inter-communal conflicts • Land grabs and resettlement of Darfur by people from West Africa • Peace agreements dishonored
<p>Nubia Northern Sudan</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patrols by the deadly Rapid Support Forces along the border with Libya as part of the European Union funded Khartoum Process • Destruction of homes and archeological sites • Land grabs and confiscation • Forced migration • Lack of an inclusive process for the construction of dams that impact local water supply and ancient cultural heritage

Region	Under Threat and Marginalized
Al Gezira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destruction of livelihoods and populations • Disregard for the effects of climate change • Poor management of the Gezira scheme
Abyei	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-implementation of the CPA’s protocol for Abyei and international arbitration • Failure to hold the Abyei Referendum • Inciting tribal differences and conflicts • Lack of healthcare, education and other basic services • Prioritizing the oil pipeline over the population
Khartoum The Center	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centralization of power and resources • Rampant corruption that undermines the viability of the state • Arbitrary arrests and detention • Torture • Religious persecution – arrests of Christians and the destruction of churches • The use of force against peaceful demonstrators • Targeting and threatening students from marginalized areas • Demolition of neighborhoods and confiscating land • Socio economic gaps between the rich and poor • Unsafe conditions and lack of services in the IDP camps • Inflation and intolerable economic policies • Media censorship • No freedom of expression • Lack of transportation • Lack of health services and facilities

Table II: Overarching Issues and Threats

Table II: Overarching issues of and threats by the regime. Information compiled at the Sudan Advocacy Workshop on February 3, 2017.

Issues	Threats
<p>Governance</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decades of rule by a dictatorship • Corruption, nepotism and a lack of transparency • Support for radical Islam and terrorism • Rigged election and undermining the democratic process • Lack of institutional and constitutional reform • Double speak
<p>Justice and Accountability</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criminal indictment of the President by the ICC • No rule of law or due process; no justice for crimes, including rape, and obstruction of justice and witnesses • No transitional justice such as a hybrid court or compensation for the displaced • Legal impunity for the leadership, SAF and other allied government militias • Intelligence (NISS) unchallenged • Money laundering • War criminals in the army and Rapid Support Forces • No protection from all forms of military • No protection against sexual violence and child abuse
<p>Refugees, IDPS and Unrecognized Displaced</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of representation politically and in negotiations • Lack of healthcare, education, aid and opportunity • Drugs, weapons and insecurity affecting youth in particular • Abductions and kidnapping • Human trafficking • Recruitment of child soldiers • Sexual violence • Extreme trauma • Stigma of children fathered by Janjaweed • Generations in camps who are losing their culture and language • Millions uprooted and unaccounted for • International travel bans • Resettlement challenges • Media blackout

Issues	Threats
Humanitarian Aid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blocking access for international humanitarian aid to conflict and marginalized areas • Expulsion and threats against NGOs • Over regulation and ineffectiveness of government (HAC) • Huge donor requirements to meet massive needs and peacekeeping missions with no end in sight • Donor fatigue and competition of resources among nations
Protection of Civilians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indiscriminate bombing of civilians, homes, livestock, hospitals, schools and public places • Attacks by Rapid Support Forces, Janjaweed and other government sponsored units and forces • The proliferation of weaponry and the continuing ability of rogue militia members to access arms • Inability of UNAMID to provide adequate protection • Extensive use of landmines • Areas being re-settled by people from Mali, Chad and Saudi Arabia • Lack of protocol or early warning system established in areas of conflict
Human Rights and Freedoms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious and political persecution • Racial discrimination • Torture • Lack of international access and monitoring • Crackdown on civil society and a war on activists • Confiscation of newspapers and creating an economic burden for affected organizations • Lack of media freedom, including a media blackout in conflict areas • Travel bans for political opposition and activists • Dress code for women • Illegal powers of intelligence (NISS)
Culture and Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identity is the biggest problem due to forced Islamization and Arabization • Genocide, ethnic cleansing and marginalization related to the African identity in Darfur, the Nuba Mountains and elsewhere • Exclusion of other cultures and identities as evidenced through curriculum, education and the media • Linguistic diversity not acknowledged

Issues	Threats
<p>Economy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National budget allocated primarily for security rather than healthcare, education and other services • Massive debt • Inflation • Exploitation of natural resources for the benefit of the regime (oil, gum Arabic, gold and land) • Policies that resulted in the secession of South Sudan and the negative effect it has had on the economy • Corruption • Environmental degradation • Lack of equal opportunity • Overdependence on oil, lack of diversification • Land grabs and selling land to foreign entities that operate irresponsibly • Neglect and dismantling of agriculture and irrigation schemes
<p>The Region</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funding and supporting South Sudan rebels • Exporting political Islam ideology • Harboring extremists (Muslim Brotherhood) • Supporting Islamists in Libya • Supporting terrorist networks such as Boko Haram, Al Shabab and the Lord’s Resistance Army • Failure to demarcate borders • Problems related to nationality • Interference in the dispute between Egypt and Ethiopia over the Renaissance Dam • Manipulation related to the ICC arrest warrant to undermine international justice and accountability • Shifting relationship with Chad, which hosts refugees • Interrupting trade between Sudan and South Sudan • Increasing refugee flows to South Sudan, Ethiopia and elsewhere

Sudan Unlimited organized the Sudan Advocacy Workshop and created this report.



Esther Sprague, Founder and Director
 esprague11@yahoo.com | www.sudanunlimited.org

