Self-Governance Framework for Sudan

The anarchist collective in Sudan

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I. Diagnosis of the Crisis

Sudan's modern history is full of various statist regimes, military dictatorships, reactionary sectarian civilian regimes and elitist, imperialist, colonial civilian regimes (1821-1956). The engineering of the first apparatus of repression.

Dictatorship in Sudan did not start with the national military government, but started with the invading authoritarian state.

The Turkish-Egyptian Rule (1821-1885)

It was the first link in the violent and repressive centralization. Here, the state started as a military tool with the only goals to collect exorbitant taxes, kidnap people (slave trade), and concentrate power in the hands of the "governor". The Sudanese peoples faced this tyranny by way of intermittent revolutions, culminating in the Mahdist Revolution, emerging as a religious revolt which attacked colonialism from a religious point of view, with a wide popular backing, resulting in a local fascist governance.

The Anlo-Egyptian Rule (1885-1956)

The colonizers rebuilt the state on the doctrine of absolute bureaucratic and security control. The English modernized the army and security forces as tools to subjugate the local tribes and communities, and created a small bourgeois administrative elite (class) loyal to them. When the colonizers left in 1956, they didn't leave behind freedom, but a "ready to use repressive state apparatus", which was taken over by the centralized political elites.

The current Sudanese crisis is not a new one, but the acumination of a long historical founding of the colonial authorities from within to be hostage to external powers' commands.

The centralized colonial state we inherited reached a broad social and political disintegration with the secession of the South. South Sudan seceded in the 9th of July 2011 as a result of the authoritarian practices, it wasn't a mere political event, but an inevitable conclusion to two centuries of the tyranny imposed by the fascist centralized state, which practiced the most heinous intellectual repression, economic pillaging, and military genocide against the southern communities.

From an anarchist perspective, southerners voted for independence, not out of love for the idea of a new "nation-state"; rather, to escape the hell of centralized state imposed on them by the authoritarian gun.

Roots of Blood and Fire: The Politicization of identity and Theft (1955-2005)

The war Started before the independence of Sudan, because the elites inherited the skeleton of British colonialism, and insisted on forcing a single identity (Arab and Islamic) on societies of myriad ethnicities and religions.

18th of August 1955

The "Torit mutiny" broke out in the south, making the start of the civil war (Anyanya 1) which continued 17 years, till the treaty of Addis Ababa in 1982.

September 1983

The tyrant Gaafar Nimeiri annulled the agreement and sparked the second Civil war after abolishing the self-rule and mandating the repressive "Islamic sharia laws", which prompted the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), lead by John Garang, to start the armed struggle.

1989-2005:

The dictatorship of "salvation" (Al-Bashir) transformed the war into "the religious Jihad and military fascism", and used oil extracted from the south in the 90s to fund the killing machine against these same native people.

The human and economic tab of the centralized tyranny

The state centralized in Khartoum didn't see in the south but geography to be stolen

2,000,000 martyr, more than a million person died in the second civil war because of the military's bombardment, the fabricated famine, and the epidemics.

4,000,000 displaced and refugees, the uprooting of millions of people from their villages and their destitution inside and outside of the country, resulting from the policy of scorched earth which the Sudanese military and their militias executed.

75% of the oil, after the separation the state of Khartoum lost nearly three quarters of Sudan's oil production (around 350,000 barrels per day), which the ruling elites monopolized to fund the security apparatus and to buy the loyalty, which ignited the coming economic crisis.

When the State's military apparatus proved unable to achieve a decisive victory, it resorted to elite-level bargaining.

9th of January 2005:

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Naivasha, which granted the South the right to self-determination following transition period of 6 years.

9th-15th of January 2011: The historic referendum for self-determination

98.83%, the crushing and shocking percentage of people who voted in the south towards secession. The percentage wasn't merely a want for a new flag; rather, it was a total and deserving popular rejection to 55 years of oppression, racism, and genocide, which was carried away by the central dictatorship in Khartoum.

The Anarchist View

The secession of the South was the biggest historic condemnation to the "concept of the coercive centralized state". The military and religious elites in Khartoum thought that weapons, torture, and forced displacement can build a "united nation", the result was the dismantling of the country.

The following tragedy which proceeded in the nascent South Sudan (the civil war of the south 2013) confirms the veracity of the libertarian hypothesis as well: true freedom cannot be achieved by exchanging an overlord in Khartoum for an overlord in the south; rather, by dismantling the power of the state and armies fully, and restoring the power and wealth to self-governed, local communities.

The Darfur War

It is the screaming indictment and most flagrant example of the transformation of the centralized state into a monstrous machine of genocide when the regions and local communities ask for their land rights, revolution and the distribution of wealth.

The anarchist perspective of freedom sees that the Darfur War is a deliberate implosion of local contradictions from the "fascist center in Khartoum" (the regime of the (Muslim) Brotherhood and the military, led by Omar Al-Bashir), which used the old colonial strategy of "divide and conquer", arming tribal militias to crush revolting agricultural communities, tearing the historic social thread of the region in order to safeguard the throne of power and theft of resources (head among which gold).

1. The Spark and the Revolution from below (2003)

For long decades, the Darfur region suffered from deliberate economic and political marginalization from every successive government since the beginning of the millennium, and with the political dead end, the local communities organized itself militarily to face noff the central encroachment.

February 2003: Ignition of the armed struggle openly which was an inflection point in the history of the Darfur and Sudan.

2.Engineering Extermination: the making of the "Janjaweed"

Because the ideology of the dictatorship was survival at all costs, Al Bachir's regime invented the concept of the Janjaweed. By exploiting the traditional conflict between the herders and the farmers, and arming certain ethnic militias they were given the name of "Janjaweed" (and later evolved, with the sponsorship of the state into "Rapid Support Forces" lead by Hemedti).

The military strategy of the center: scorched earth. The army's Antonov planes bombs the villages to destroy the means of survival, followed by the Janjaweed militias on horseback and four-wheeler cars burning houses, stealing livestock, raping women, and wthnic cleansing.

The tactical objective: drying up the armed movement's societal defenses through the total destruction of Darfuri society, rendering them into refugees.

3. The Humanitarian Cost and the Catastrophe (Terrifying Numbers)

Darfur transformed into the scene of the greatest humanitarian crisis in the beginning the twenty first century.

300,000 martyr, the United Nations and international organizations' estimations hint at the death of three hundred thousand persons caused by direct killings, the famine, and the epidemics resulting from the siege and forced displacement.

2,700,000 displaced and refugee, the forced uprooting of millions of people from their villages and their transfer to camps of misery and humiliation (like the camp "Kalma" and "Zamzam") inside Darfur, or international refugees in Chad.

4. Gold and Blood: Transformation of the Dictatorship (2012-present)

The war hasn't ended with the fragile elitist agreements (such as Abuja 2006 or Dawha 2011); because the state's structure didn't change. Rather, it evolved the roaming machine of repression of Darfur into independent economic and military authorities.

The explosion of the tool of total repression (15 April 2023):

When the centralist generals allied each other (Al Burhan and Hemedty) to abort the December 2018 revolution through the 2021 coup, they later clashed on the distribution of loot, state power, gold and military control. This fascistic elitist conflict ignited the current war that recreated the most horrific massacres and ethnic cleansing in Darfur (such as the massacre of Al Genaina and the siege of Al Fasher), proving that the war wasn't a "tribal" conflict, rather a war of "the state and militias" against human life.

The revolutionary conclusion

The ongoing tragedy of Darfur proves with no room for doubt the farce of "the unitary nation state" built on military centralization. The agreements, the elites, the movements which bargains to attain a seat in Khartoum (as happened with the Juba Peace Agreement of 2020) trade away the blood of victims to gain crumbs of power.

True popular liberation for Darfur and all regions in Sudan will not come through bowing to the center's army or surrendering to the fascist militias; rather, through armed and independent self-organizing of the communities to defend their land and resources, to completely dismantle the central power of Khartoum, and build horizontal administration to manage the affairs and resources of the community by itself, without oversight from generals or warlords.

Accordingly, we announce this document to be the end of dependence on the old tools: we don't believe in military coups, elitist compromises or fake parliamentary democracy which trades the votes of the poor in quota based partitions.

II. The Libertarian Alternative (The Three pillars)

Taking inspiration from our popular history of solidarity and our means of self-rule, our platform stands on three unnegotiable pillars:

1. Local Communes (Politics with no State)

Transforming every neighborhood, every village, every refugee camp into an independent self-governing council (commune). The general assembly for every region is the singular source of legislation and decision making, these councils are tied in a horizontal federation to coordinate, without giving up self-rule to any centralized body.

2. The Economy of Mobilization and Commons (Revolution with no intermediary)

Land to whomever tills it, and natural resources (gold, water, and animal resources) is communal property, managed by local communities. Capitalist production relations are banned, and reviving the system of "Mobilization" and "Administrative Cooperative Collective" as the basis for exchange, production, and procuring basic needs.

3. Rotating Popular Protection (Safety with no Military)

Dismantling all militias, security forces and hierarchially organized armies, and replacing them with the system of rotating and voluntary community defense; in which the members of the commune take turns to guarantee the security of their regions, which prevents the emergence of a professional military faction, monopolizing violence and transforming into a repressive power.

III. Organizing Principles (The Libertarian Charter)

To avoid the trap of authoritarian drift which destroyed traditional parties, the collective holds itself to the following structure:

- The abolition of the positions of "president" or "general secretary": there is no central leadership; the collective is governed by temporary coordination committees with fixed responsibilities (ad-hoc), which are disbanded once their utility ends.
- The freedom to immediately revoke a mandate: any delegate representing a council in the federal coordinating bodies may have their mandate revoked immediately whenever they renege the directives of their local base.
- The unrestricted alignment to the grassroots: no negotiations, no collaboration, and no recognition with any central authority trying to impose its control over the popular decision.

We are not waiting for the fall of central rule to start acting; rather, we build the libertarian alternative today from the bottom, for the center to fall on its own because we no longer need it

IV. The manifesto

The realization of the "horizontal program" in Sudan doesn't go through phony ballot boxes or mercenary guns, but through the strategy of parallel structures and radical disobedience, which is divided into three simultaneous paths:

1. The Path of Parallel Structures (Peaceful Horizontal Organization):

Transforming emergency rooms and resistance committees: developing these current spontaneous bodies from temporary opposition tools into permanent local administrative councils to manage bread, medicine, and education in neighborhood and villages.

Founding consumer and producer cooperatives: breaking the monopoly of traders and military companies through linking the farmers in the regions with the consumers in the towns and cities directly through cooperative networks that don't seek profit, but sufficiency.

2. The Path of Direct Action:

Reclaiming the Commons

Providing legal and civil assistance to local communities to return their stolen lands from exploitative corporations or warlords, and immediately reverting them to collective management.

Unconventional Self-Protection

Organizing peace committees to resolve internal civil and tribal disputes through traditional popular arbitration methods (such as the "Ajaweed" [noble mediators] after removing its elitist character), to sever the chances of interference from the authorities or militias.

3. The Path of Undermining (Weakening the Center)

Opposition to Forced Conscription and Ethnic Mobilization

Dismantling the discourse of military and regional conscription and mobilization through spreading awareness for the refusal to serve general's agendas, and encouraging the ordinary soldier to side with their people rather than their commanders.

V. The Funding Structure (How to Fund Liberation?)

The collective is committed to total economic independence to guarantee an independent political decision making:

- **Banning external funding:** it is categorically forbidden to accept any funding from international organizations, foreign governments or businessmen.
- **Voluntary socialism and popular donations**: the funding is fully reliant on the contribution of members and small-scale producers (printing shops, workshops), the proceeds of which go to support awareness raising activities.

VI. Alliances and International Ties

- **Locally:**

We ally ourselves to every protest movement, independent worker's union, or feminist and tribal organization which fights against repression and aims at self-governance, on the condition that it doesn't seek to obtain centralized political power.

- **Regionally and internationally:**

Sudan is a part of African and Arab people's struggle against imperialism and dictatorship regimes. We build direct support links with liberation, horizontal and worker movements around the world, across the borders of recognized states.

VII. Urgent Priorities (The Sector System)

Since theory without praxis is elitist luxury, the collective proposes these points as red lines for immediate action in all regions we it is present:

1. **Food Security and Communal Agriculture:**

Popular Requisition: Transforming the warehouses and storages of companies owned by elites or generals which monopolize essential goods into distribution centers directly supervised by local committees.

Redirection of Production: Replacing cash crops intended for export (which profits capitalists) by essential cultivation crops (wheat, corn and millet) to achieve communal self-sufficiency.

2. **Alternative Healthcare Sector (Popular Medicine):**

Civil Hospitals: Establishing community clinics inside neighborhoods managed with collaboration from revolutionary medical cadres and local committees, and providing medicaments through solidarity networks and direct donations, independent of commercial pharmacies, and the Ministry of Health's monopolies.

3. **Civil Peace and Restorative Justice Committees:**

Abolishing Authoritarian Courts: Solving legal and criminal conflicts through public popular arbitration committees focused on restorative justice (repairing damages, compensating the victim, and reintegrating individuals); rather than punitive justice, which is managed by prisons and the repressive state apparatus.

VIII. Membership and Commitment (How to be an Anarchist in Sudan)

Anarchy isn't a political membership card; rather, practice and daily behavior. Adherence to the collective is based on:

1. **Active Participation:** There is no room for "passive members"; every individual is an active participant and responsible for managing certain tasks inside local communes.
2. **Moral Consistency:** The refusal to enact any form of hierarchy or discrimination (gender, ethnic, or class based) in public and private life.

3. **Spreading Libertarian Culture:** Constant education and open discussion to break the inherited authoritarian trappings inside families and society.

IX. A Call to Direct Action (The Revolutionary Conclusion)

Masters don't appear great unless we kneel before them. Let's rise

For our struggling people…

The gamble on the rubble of the centralized state and its survival and mafias is a gamble for a slow death. The wars which crushed our country today are the result of the inevitability of authoritarian infighting over ruling us. Do not wait for a savior, do not trust general's promises, neither parties' platformes, who always search for a piece of the pie of power.

Own your own decisions, organize your neighborhoods, build your cooperatives, and take your revolution in your own hands. Authority isn't granted, authority is dismantled and distributed among everyone equally.

All the power to local councils… no power to power above them!



X. A Simple Roadman (Start Now in Your Neighborhood)

You don't need to wait for instructions from anyone; anarchy starts from where you stand right now.

Here are the first three steps to establish your local core:

1. **Mini-Discussion Session:**

➢ **First Week**

Sit with 3 to 5 of your trusted neighbors and friends. Read this manifesto together, discuss its problems and shortcomings, change it as it suits your local reality.

2. **Mutual Aid initiative**

➢ **Second Week**

Don't start with political slogans; start with tangible action. Organize a "mobilization" to clean the roads, or establish a small donation fund for emergency medicaments, or a small communal kitchen. Prove to society that horizontal organizing works more efficiently than the absent state.

3. **Announce the Commune and Horizontal Links**

➢ **Ongoing Phase**

By simply gathering up the people in the neighborhood around the initiative, the link transforms into an "open neighborhood council". Reach out to neighboring communities who own similar initiatives to build a local federal network, in order to share resources and security.

XI. Dictionary of Sudanese Libertarian Terminology

To avoid misunderstanding of some terms, here is what we mean with our terminology:

Horizontalism: Sitting with everyone in a circle; no one is above the other, no one has more right to order people around.

Mobilization and Collective Action: Voluntary and free collective work from the community to face crises or complete a project, without the expectation of wages from capitalists or orders from the authorities.

Self-Sovereignty: Local communities managing their own security, food-security, and justice; any interference from the center is considered oppression and occupation.

XII. Worker's Library (For Reading and Education)

If we want to delve deeply in libertarian history and philosophy, we recommend starting discussions around these ideas (available in our free digital libraries)

In a country excelling at artistic and cultural diversity like Sudan, talent was historically used as a tool of domestication by the authorities, or as a weapon of resistance in the hands of the people. This page comes to return art and culture to its rightful, real place: a daily tool in the hands of the workers to break the culture of subservience and build a horizontal consciousness.

XIII. Libertarian Art and the Shock of Consciousness (Culture Without Censorship)

"Revolution is not completed simply by tearing down prisons and confiscating factories; rather, we must first tear down the idols occupying our minds, which murmurs that we need a master to lead us."

We reject elitist culture, commercial art, official cultural organizations affiliated with the Ministry of Information; we propose a free culture, from the grassroots:

1. **Street Theatres and Communal Cinemas:**

Persecuted Theatre:

Transforming public squares and transit stops into open-air theatres that present short interactive plays discussing the issues in the neighborhood (bread, prices, military repression, gender and tribal discrimination). The public here is not a passive spectator; rather, they intervene to shape the events of the play and build collective solutions.

Mobile Cinema:

Using projectors to diffuse educational and documentary films, and alternative cinema on the walls of houses in neighborhoods and villages, followed by open discussions to deconstruct the authoritarian messages of media.

2. **Graffiti and Folk Poetry (The Walls on Street Are our Canvas):**

Regaining the Visual Space:

Transforming the walls of government institutions and capitalist corporations into canvases for graffiti documenting the struggles of workers and exposing criminals of war. The walls are the people's newspaper which cannot be censored by the authorities.

Resurecting the Liberating "Doubit" and "Hardlo":

Reinterpreting the rich Sudanese folk poetry and using it to expose demagogues manipulating religion and tribalism, and promoting the value of "mobilization", self-reliance and libertarian values.

XIV. A Protocol for Preservation and Development of Local Languages

For decades, the centralized state imposed a singular culture and identity, consequently marginalized regional languages and cultures. The society of these communes is committed to:

The Collective of Languages and Cultures of the Communes:

- **Teaching the Mother Tongue:**

Supplying the communes with the curriculum in local languages (such as Kalranta, Nubian, Beja, and marginalized languages) as well as the language of mutual intelligibility.

- **Cultural Continuum:**

Organizing regular interregional festivals of solidarity to break the ethnic boundaries and learn each other's legacy of resilience.

XV. Deconstructing the Symbolic System of Power

The collective and communes are committed to create their own symbols, drawing inspiration from people's struggles, and boycotting the symbols of repression:

Overthrowing the Symbols of Masters:

The refusal to celebrate the state's official holidays or glorifying the military and historical feudal figures which founded the regime of oppression. Our holidays are commemorations of people's uprisings, farmers' revolts, and the history of societal liberation battles.

Horizontal Slonags:

Replacing the aggrandizing national anthems with songs of labor, mobilization and collective solidarity, which are sung in fields, workshops and while building neighborhoods.

(The Charter of Land, A Call to Action, Self-Governance)

The historical crisis of Sudan is one of centralized authority monopolizing violence and wealth, and constructing wars to divide the communities. Accordingly, local communities, farmers, herders and workers in our regions, villages, and neighborhoods must be their own masters, and deny any authority above "the self-organization local communes".

Chapter One: General Principles and Political Organization (Bottom-Up)

1. **Councils of Neighborhoods and Villages (The Highest Echelon of Authority):**

Direct Democracy:

Vital decisions are to be taken in "village councils" or "neighborhood councils" which are open to everyone, no preconditions. There is no president or supreme leader.

Temporary and Conditional Delegation:

If needs be, for the representation of the council in a larger coordinating committee, delegates (not representatives) will be selected with a specific mandate and tasks; the council has the right to revoke the mandate immediately and remove the delegate in case they oppose the consensus.

2. **Horizontal Federalism:**

The local councils coordinate between each other in a network (horizontally) to share benefits and resolve disputes, without subservience to a center or capital to order them around.

Chapter Two: Modes of Production and Economic Commons (Self-Sufficiency)

1. **Communal Land and Resources:**

Land to whom Tills and Builds it:

All feudal and government ownership deeds granting the lands to intercontinental companies and warlords are annulled.

Forests, Water, and Pastures Are Communally Owned:

They are managed by collective councils between farmers and herders to organize the "direction" and avoid conflicts through direct discussions.

2. **Institution of "Permanent Mobilization" (Exchanging Capitalism Taxes):**

- Transforming "mobilization" from a temporary reaction into a permanent economic system. Organizing collective efforts to dig wells, build schools and local health centers, and harvest crops.
- Central taxes and levies are annulled. Surplus production goes to "local emergency reserves" to cope with hardships (famines, floods, wars).

Chapter Three: Civil Peace and Self-Defense

1. **Communal Security (People's Protection):**

The charter rejects the presence of any regime's army monopolizing violence or militias profiteering from war.

Organizing "Local Self-Defense Forces" from the community's youth in permanent rotation. Their task is protection, guarding resources and local borders; however, they have no right to interfere in council's political decision-making.

2. **The "Al-Dhara" Judiciary and Alternative Customary Law:**

Disagreements are resolved through traditional "Reconciliation and Custom Councils", after ridding it from its patriarchal tendencies, by focusing on restorative justice (reparation, compensation, reconciliation) rather than punitive justice (prison and torture) adopted by the state.

Chapter Four: Cultural and Social Ties

1. **Breaking Cultural Centralism:**

Full recognition and absolute equality between every culture and language in Sudan (Nubian, Beja, Fur, Falata, and others). To every community the right to self-govern and teach their children in their mother tongue.

2. **Gender Solidarity on the Ground:**

Sudanese women are the basis of production (especially agriculturally) and resilience of the resistance. The charter guarantees their full and equal participation in decision-making and self-defense councils, and revoke the repressive laws which the centralized regimes enacted against them.

Field Action Guide (How We Implement the Charter Tomorrow?):

1. Self-governance through local emergency committees (health, sustenance, security) fully independent from any political party or armed faction. To build alternative power on the land.
2. Food self-sufficiency through the allocation of land to cultivate subsistence crops (corn, millet, legumes) rather than cash crops directed towards export. To break the weapon of hunger and impose sufficiency.
3. Barter trade through the implementation of a system of direct exchange between regions (for example: corn from Gedaref in exchange for dates from North or livestock from Kordofan) without central monetary intermediary. To weaken the crumbling central currency and depend on the real economy.

The Charter's Motto

Building through mobilization, decisions through direct consultation, and land to those who protect and cultivate it.

In the reality of Sudan, crushed by wars and where the centralized supply networks of medicine and food have crumbled, this page comes to transition society from "consumers" of monopolized transcontinental company products, to "producers and masters" of his basic biological needs.

XVI. The Vital Piracy Technology (Science is A Common to Humanity)

Monopolizing the pharmaceutical formulas and seed patents is the most hideous face of modern imperialism; bodily sovereignty starts from our ability to produce our own medicine and sustenance locally, without shackles.

We reject intellectual property laws which leaves the sick and poor to die, only for them to sell their drugs at capitalists' prices, and propose people's open laboratories:

1. **Communal Pharmacy and Alternative Therapeutic Extracts:**

Bio-Hacking:

Training revolutionary pharmacists and chemists in the communes to deconstruct and reproduce essential life-saving medication (such as antibiotics and rehydrating solutions) using simple and locally produced laboratory instruments, and distributing them free of charge through emergency room networks.

Merging Complementary Folk Medicine:

Reconsidering folk medicine, based on Sudanese medicinal herbs and plants (like hibiscus, gum arabic, or lemon grass) and scientifically validating them through the collective's physicians, to be the primary public health line of defense, independent from the world market.

2. **Open-Source Machinery and Tools Cooperatives:**

Local Manufacturing of Tractors and Pumps:

Gathering engineers and blacksmiths in communal horizontal workshops to build and innovate agricultural tools and simple manual and mechanical water pumps, relying on open-source designs that can be fully maintained and modified by hand inside villages without the need for importing monopolized spare parts.

XVII. Protocol on Horizontal Exchange and Barter

In case the local currency collapses or systemic inflation imposed by the state's economic policies surges, "Solidarity Barter System" should be activated:

No banking intermediaries or use for the central currency.

XVIII. The Libertarian Labor Bank (Time of Solidarity)

To abolish the concept of "daily wage" which the capitalists exploit to drain the veins of workers, the advanced communes implement the "time bank":

Equal Sacrifice:

A physician's labor hour in a community clinic is completely equal to the mason's building homes in the neighborhood, or a farmer's in the field.

Commons Ledger:

The work of every individual is recorder in hours, in an open common ledger; they have the right, accordingly to their work to obtain their essential needs, from needed goods and services produced by others voluntarily and in mutual aid.

Grassroots Transitional Justice and the Dismantlement of the Punitive Systems

In Sudan's complex context, weighed by bitter wars, massacres, and ethnic cleansing, the elites always try to sell justice in impromptu political dealings ("let bygones be bygones") or enlist it to international courts which doesn't give the victims their due. This page comes to propose the "system of popular and restorative justice" which restores the rights to their dutiful owners, by the hands of communities themselves.

XIX. People's Justice (Trials Without Authoritarian Judges)

Justice coming from the center's corrupt judges is an extension of the torturer's; the real punishment and restoration are the responsibility of the victims and communities that have suffered the woes of war.

We reject a colonial criminal law which serves capital and imprisons the poor, and propose a cooperative justice system:

1. Local Truth and Reparation Councils:

Public Accountability:

Establishing public people's courts inside the affected communes and neighborhoods. The implicated in local abuses, looting, or incitement to tribal conflicts, and their public prosecution in front of the victim's community.

Primacy to the Victims:

Entirely Focusing on "restorative justice"; instead of placing the perpetrator in a central prison run by military authorities, the perpetrator is forced into voluntary manual labor for the benefit of the victim's community (rebuilding destroyed houses, farming confiscated lands, or caring for the families of the victims) as a part of atonement and reintegration into society.

2. Dismantling the Prisons and Solitary Confinement Facilities:

Prison is not the Solution:

Prisons are factories producing crime and protecting the state's hierarchy. They will be replaced by the mechanism of temporary ostracization, libertarian community oversight, and mandatory programs of ideological and mental rehabilitation for the perpetrators, under the supervision of the commune's health and social committees.

The Protocole of Disarmament and the Fight Against Systematic Militarization:

Sudan is inundated by millions of weapons, monopolized by authorities' militias and regime's army and interest groups. The collective applies the strategy of "community-based disarmament":

- **Ban on Arms Trade**

It is strictly prohibited to trade or distribute weapons to any individual or capitalist/tribal faction inside the commune, it is reserved for patroling protection committees.

- **Conversion of Equipment**

Militia-owned weapon cashes are to be confiscated, their metals melted down in blacksmith workshops to build agricultural tools and gears.

The Charter of Land and the Voluntary Return of Displaced Refugees

Centralist wars caused the displacement of millions from their villages and valleys to the benefit of mining companies and warlords. The horizontal federation community commits to:

Direct Restitution:

Helping displaced and refugee camps to organize their ranks horizontally to reclaim their original lands by popular force and direct action, and expulsion of any investor or warlord who seized it.

collective Rebuiding:

Directing regional “mobilization” to help rebuild the repatriated villages, digging wells, and establishing communal agricultural cooperatives; immediately and without waiting for sham state compensations.

Charter on Regional Coordination and Horizontal Geographical Linking Among Sudan's Regions

After detailing the social, gender, and judicial programs, comes this page to answer the greatest challenge facing Sudan since the year 1956: the relationship between the center and the periphery. This definitive anarchist alternative is proposed to tear down the centralized state and replace it with a "Federation of Free Communes".

XX. Free Federalism and the Dismantlement of the "Center"

Our problem was never with Khartoum as a city; rather, with 'Khartoum' as a colonial ideology sucking the blood of the regions to aliment the coffers of military and capitalist elites. The solution is not in reforming the center, but in negating it and distributing the decision making onto the regions equally.

We reject imaginary regional autonomy or governmental federalism which follows the rule of a unitary ministry and propose a federalism of free communities:

1. **Complete Regional Autonomy:**

Authority Over Collective Resources:

Every region, village and neighborhood has the complete and legitimate right to manage their natural resources (gold in the north and west, ports in the east, agriculture in the middle and new south) without remitting levies and taxes to the central Ministry of Finance.

Temporary Regional Committees:

For the purposes of coordination between regions, temporary coordination committees are established with given tasks; they are formed from mandated delegates from the base communes directly, they hold no legislative power and serve no more than a short term (few months).

2. **Breaking the Colonial Geographic Divisions:**

Links of Complementary Exchange:

Instead of linking all regions in Sudan with Khartoum as the only artery, direct trade, economic and cultural links are created between regions (for example: direct bartering between farmers in the Blue Nile and blacksmiths and engineers in the west and east of Sudan), transcending the official geography.

Protocol for Resolving Tribal and Ethnic Conflict:

To invalidate the "tribalism" card used by the elites and militias to fan the flames of civil war and ensure the survival of the authorities, we implement horizontal federalism a "System of Free Civil Solidarity".

XXI. The Declaration of Open Borders (Internationalism in Africa)

Sudan's current political borders are virtual lines drawn by colonialists to divide people and facilitate their exploitation. The collective commits to:

Cross-Border Solidarity:

Expanding channels of coordination and alliance immediately to labor, farmer, and liberation movements in neighboring countries (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Chad, South Sudan, and Egypt), and considering worker's struggles in these countries as one struggle against imperialism and repressive regimes.

Freedom of Movement for the Oppressed:

Abolishing the concepts of "foreigner" or "refugee" inside Sudanese communes; every human flees a region of war or poverty and put part of his efforts in the communes, has full rights of citizenship, communal membership and human dignity.

The Charter of Continuous Popular Mobilization

There is no historical moment in which people wait for permission to be free; the revolution doesn't start with a government decree, but with a worker refusing to obey orders of their master, and a neighborhood refusing the recognize the military oath.

The Sudanese Anarchist Group declares that this program isn't a negotiation paper with the authorities in power, nor a draft to be presented on the tables of elitist peace talks. This is a guide for material resistance and strategic organizational reserve, deployed immediately in any geographical area liberated by the hands of its people.

XXII. The Horizontal Oath (Covenant of Commons and Solidarity)

This oath shall be read to us in the general assemblies at the establishment of communes and neighborhood councils, to tie the fate of individuals to that of their liberated communities:

"I swear on this land's soil, by the sweat of workers, and by the blood of those who fell for freedom: I will recognize no master above me, I will be master over none. I will devote my efforts, my mind, and my time to the good of the commons and commune, and I will protect my comrades and neighbors against the oppression of the military and the extortion of capital. My freedom is only complete with the freedom of others, and my self-organization is my only weapon."

