

THE CONGRESS OF UNITED SUDAN HOMELAND (CUSH)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The **CUSH Congress**, in presenting this **programme** after a **thorough** study of the Sudanese reality and inspired by the **heritage** of Sudanese people and the **thought** of mankind, and guided by the experiences and bright achievements of Sudanese people, it calls upon all the **honourable** citizens to join in with their efforts, thought, and time in order to bring into reality this programme. We present this programme in order to establish a new reality that is based on the principles of **Freedom, Justice, and Peace**, so that we can steadily catch up with the **procession** of the advanced nations.

1.2. The present reality in our **Country** is very bitter, with **ignorance, disease, and backwardness** prevailing; **civil war**, social, economic, and political crises reigning.

1.3. The political parties have utterly failed, on both theoretical and practical levels, to find a lasting solution to this problematic reality. The classical parties, with both its **Left** and **Right**, used to deal with the ethno-cultural reality of Sudan with the sole intention of controlling it, instead of basing their **paradigms** on it when they analyse it. The **Left** has found itself far from the Sudanese reality as it has devoted most of its efforts to enforce the application of its **dogmatic** theories on reality. On the other hand the **Right**, or the other sectarian and poll-oriented programme parties alike, have never bothered to commit themselves to the painstaking process of theorizing and studying the reality; they have been satisfied with stuffing the stereotyped, ready-made solutions.

1.4. The military coups that have so far hindered our on going toward democracy are in fact a kind of partisan practices invested by certain parties to have a quick access to power. They do this to impose their programmes by force when they are not able to tolerate the democratic process to which they oppose in principle. There have always been political parties behind the military coups in the Sudan.

1.5. To make a breakthrough from the **diabolical vicious** circle of Sudanese politics- democracy, then coup and dictatorship, then people revolution and democracy rule, and a *coup d'etat* ... etc- and to stop the machine of civil war, our **Movement** believes that the following basic truths should be the point of departure for both thought and deed:

1.5.1. The Sudan is a **State** of **multi** cultures, ethnicities, religions, colours, and regions;

1.5.2. Since the **Funj era** the **State** in Sudan has been formed according to a certain **religio-cultural** ideology, a matter that has made it directly involved in all the assimilating projects of **cultural reproduction** that have had the African identity of the Sudan as its sole target. This has consequently resulted into cultural, racial, and religious persecution and intimidation;

1.5.3. Most of the social, economical, and political stratifications and differentiations in the Sudan have been made, and then guarded, by the **State**;

1.5.4. Man/ Woman should not accept suppression and inferiority, neither for themselves nor for the others. The conditions of honourable life should be based upon the principles of **Freedom, Justice, and**

Peace;

1.5.5. The deterioration of the conditions is an indication of the failure of the visions that govern them; the solution demands new visions which are built on the truths of our reality so that we can approach the **New Sudan** where all the rights are guarded and violations are prevented;

1.5.6. The **oneness** of culture, religion, race, or region does not prevent conflicts and strife from taking place. In this context, **Somalia** is a good example where deterioration has reached the extent of the collapse of **State**. In fact most of the violent and bloody conflicts took place between peoples who belong to one culture, religion, or belief. The wars between the Arabs in Islam since the great dissension (*fitna*), down to the fights between the clans of the Miseeriyya, are evidences that **monomania** whether in race, religion, or belief does not prevent conflicts. The blood shedding between the **Hutu** and the **Tutsi** in **Rwanda** and **Burundi** assures that mono-religion or mono-colour does not prevent conflicts. Thus all the theories of monomania -whether cultural or racial- are utterly wrong; the right thing is to look at reality from the angle of differences, pluralism and multiculturalism in order to reach the rules that govern and organize the inter-relations on all levels; this is the essence of democracy.

2. CONSTITUENTS

2.1. CUSH is a Sudanese political movement based on an epistemologically open thought that takes **culture** and its realities of the Sudan as its main **paradigms**. **CUSH** serves as a platform for a **wide alliance** that aims at realizing a new democratic Sudan where power is exercised through a true plural democracy which is, itself, constituted upon the democracy of different cultures. This is deemed to be the only way through which we can actualize **Independency** and **Sudanese Nationalism**. To realize this, **CUSH** calls upon all the socio-political forces to **sign** down this **Manifesto** and make a wide alliance. Now the prevailing situation does not serve the welfare of any group -neither in the **Centre** nor in the **Margin**, notwithstanding the illusion many have and thus may think otherwise. The call for joining this alliance is not restricted to the ethnic groups of the **Margin** whose rights are infringed; it also includes the enlightened and intelligent groups which belong to the Islamic and Arabic culture in the Sudan. The **hegemony**, superciliousness and cultural suppression, and what consequently followed in regard of social, economical, and political privileges do not serve the welfare of the people of **Middle Sudan**; on the contrary, it is against them. Therefore, the struggle through this **Manifesto** comes in fact as a struggle for the welfare of the whole of Sudan: the **North**, the **South**, the **West**, the **East**, and the **Middle**.

2.2. Independency: It is to think and work as a free being, for the sake of a future where justice, peace and true, non-alienated identity prevails. It is, from one side, the rejection of all kinds of suppression and superciliousness – be it cultural, racial, religious or economical. It is also, from the other side, the rejection of encapsulation –be it cultural, racial, religious or economical. Last but not least, it is the actualization of the **Independency** and **Sovereignty** of the **Sudanese nation**.

2.3. Democracy: The democracy that suits the Sudan is the **Plural Democracy Liberal Democracy**. Where

the essence of pluralism in the former is the **cultural dichotomy**, it is **individual liberty** in the latter. In the philosophy of liberalism, democracy evolves around and starts from the individual and then develops towards the freedom of organizing civil institutions and political parties. In our plural perspective democracy evolves and starts from the plural cultural exercise in peaceful coexistence where power, thought, and socio-economical utilities and facilities are processed. As **cultural rights** are essentially associated with noble life and the sense of dignity and identity, they are not to be measured by arithmetic standard of majority and minority.

In our perspective this is a very essential point as it makes our concept of equity a real one. The cultural and civil institutions of the society stand here for the individual in liberal democracy. It is these institutions that press and compel the political parties to exercise democracy, and through them the public opinion that governs the orientations of the political movement is shaped. In order to strengthen the bases of democracy there should be local governments with their town and village councils which are freely and directly elected; this would transform democracy into a people practice which is truly felt in reality.

2.4. The Sudanese Nationalism: It is the resultant of the dialectical relationship between the **Simple** identification (**the Tribe**) and the **Complex** identification (**the Sudan**), where the development from the former to the latter does not presuppose to denounce the tribe. The tribe is, in fact, a cultural entity; to denounce it means practically to denounce your people: the mother, father, and grandmother....etc. The relationship between the two kinds of identification is transcendental, that is to say the complex identification encompasses the simple identification without conflict. The **Sudanese Nationalism** lies in your consciousness that you are a simple part in a complex whole. To reduce the whole of the Sudan in the tribe (the part) is chauvinism and national short-sightedness. On the other hand, denouncing the tribe cannot be a national deed. The concept of **Sudanese Nationalism** is adequately approached through the perspective of **Unity in Diversity**.

2.4.1. The Fake Sudanese Nationalism: It is the call for unifying all the Sudanese ethnic groups and getting rid of the differences which are the result of cultural dichotomy and pluralism. This can be achieved only by culturally reproducing these ethnic groups in the predominant culture under the pretext of nationalism, national identification, or otherwise the '**melting pot**'. The call for this fake nationalism means melting all the Sudanese entities into one dominant culture through a continuous process of suppression, assimilation and relegation. Although in the present situation this has practically become impossible, nevertheless, the propagations for such ideas are not casual, even though they seem to be casual. This is the struggle for power when cultural behaviour such as languages, traditions...etc, are transformed into ideological stances and then weapons in order to end the struggle in favour of those who belong to the dominant culture.

2.5. The Revolution: It is a sublime level of the consciousness of existence and being, where it leads to a historic deed done by the people to reinstate the reality and conditions in accordance with new standards and a different form. Thus the **Sudanese Revolution** becomes a process to change the

conditions built on the regimes that consolidate cultural suppression and domination, and consequently the economic, social, and political differentiations. The paradox of these regimes is that they boast of working to unite the Sudanese people (by melting their identities) while in the political and economical aspects they work by deepening the discriminating differences between them. This is what we depict as cultural assimilation, relegation and poodling. These regimes operate through the **mechanism of cultural reproduction** and **Centro-marginalization**. On the other hand, the **Revolution** takes place to replace all these situations by other ones instituted by new regimes that consolidate the principle of coexisting which is itself built on **Freedom, Justice, and Peace**.

2.6. The New Sudan: CUSH approaches this new reality through the realization of the project of **Sudanese Nationalism** that is framed and conditioned by **peaceful coexistence** and **plural democracy**. The true **State** that can guarantee all these, and which can direct the move of the Society toward the positive and democratic development should be based upon the following truths:

2.6.1. On the political Level: Building up the civil society presupposes the existence of an **Institutional State** where power is divided into **Legislative, Executive, and Judiciary**, under a system of plural democracy of which cultural pluralism is the core with democratic local councils as its basics, and all the regions are decentralized and well proportionate in regard of power and wealth.

The ethical framework of this **State** should be the **Human Rights** as decreed by the **United Nations**.

2.6.2. On the Cultural Level: **Tolerance** must at least prevail instead of **prejudice**; this means to accept and tolerate the other and her/his choices in **thought** and **deed** so far as these choices are not meant to be imposed on the others. After this the cultural traits shared in common as a result of social interaction can be left to dynamically do their work. **Cultural dialectics** should take its natural dimension and its peaceful track in history; the problematic of identity should be elevated from circumstantiality to historicity. The cultural boundaries do not contradict with cultural interaction, because the dialectics of conflict is embedded in the reality of heterogeneity.

2.6.3. On the Economical Level: proportionate opportunities should be available according to the capability of man/woman to work and produce in any position and with all legal means, not according to political, religious, racial, or cultural affiliations. This can be approached by **developmental economy** with **production** and **export** as its pillars.

2.6.4. On the Social Level: the perspectives that classifies people into social **superiority** and social **inferiority** should be fought out by properly dealing with the conditions that lead to them whether they are racial, religious, or cultural. Consequently the abhorrent **biasness** of the educational institutions in favour of a certain culture, religion and race should not only be denounced, but immediately corrected. Likewise the laying of generalized titles on matters which do not qualify for being nationally honoured, such as the 'national costume', 'national language', 'national poetry' ... etc should be abolished, because the frame of reference for all of them in fact is the culture of a certain group. What can be classified as 'public' should depend on a scientific, humane, and acceptable standard rather than a unilateral standard of a certain culture, religion, or region.

2.7. The Programme: It is the organizing vision that springs from **thought** in order to shape its executively applicable range. It briefly outlines the basic principles and objectives, and then the means that would lead to their **actualization**. According to his/her programme, the bearer of thought can be judged, and his/her work evaluated. Those who do not have thought can not have a programme even though they might draw one for themselves; it will be nothing than a prosaic build-up that is neither testable nor credible.

3. THE PRINCIPLES

3.1. Freedom: “**Freedom for all**” is the essential concept of the Movement which is characterized by being original as it guarantees freedom for the whole people of the Sudan. Although other groups may theoretically agree with us in the concept of freedom, nevertheless they lack originality when what they say is grounded to practice, where it appears that to them freedom is meant only for their parties, religions, beliefs, and cultures. The concept of our Movement derives its distinction from the deep understanding of the case. On the socio-historical level, freedom is always **conditioned** with the **needs** and **necessities** resulting from the existence of the individual among the group, and the existence of the groups within the regime of the **State**. Therefore freedom shrinks respectively with the increase of the needs and necessities under the absence of fair opportunities which conflictingly complicate the regimes in which the human being lives. Therefore, the limits of the regimes should be clearly drawn; the needs and necessities satisfied and fair opportunities availed.

3.1.1. The Regime of the Individual and the Group: This is what called the ‘**institutions of civil society**’ in a context of cultural pluralism, where it is only theoretically that we can speak of the ‘**individual**’ who is usually identified with the ‘**group**’. Thus the crisis of the latter becomes the crisis of the former; the hankerings of the group become the hankerings of the individual. **CUSH** views the individual as part of a social system, where she/he interacts in a space of capabilities, talents, wishes and choices framed by the welfare of the group. The **individual** has **acquired rights** from both the **Society** and the **State** represented in the rights of life, security, health, and prosperity, freedom of thought, expression, and worship. The individual has the right to **choose** the religion or group she/he likes to belong to. The individual has the right to be ambitious and to develop her/his skills; to choose the work she/he wants according to her/his efficiency. The individual has also the right to own the fruits of her/his work and the freedom to manage that in the way she/he chooses. There is only **one condition**: the individual should not impose his personal **choices** upon the others as no other individual or group have the right to impose their own choices upon him.

In this context and same rights, **CUSH** views the **group** –be it cultural, political, ethnic, or religious- as a regime with an extent of **independency** from the other groups and based on relationships of **choices**. The **group** has **acquired rights** from both the **individual** and the **State** represented in the right to preserve its **identity**, heritage and history, and to promote its **language**, and express its ideas and to realize its ambitions, with the condition that this is done by

peaceful means. No group has the right to impose its own orientations on another group. This **thesis** is the only way for solving the problematic of ideological **ethnicity** and **nationhood** in the Sudan. It is inevitable that the group –any group- would have its own ideology which usually fuels the tendencies of the group to acquire more power and consequently infringing the rights of the other groups. Here comes the role of the **State** to **safeguard** the rights of all groups.

3.1.2. The Regime of the State: CUSH views that the **State** is bound by a **social contract** in association with the people as **individuals** and **groups**. In this contractual relation the **State** becomes a regime in its own right with a considerable extent of **independency** from both the individual and the group. In this context its function should be to safeguard the rights of the individual as well as the rights of the group according to the standard of **Citizenship** and **Human Rights**. This can be achieved by the following:

3.1.2.1. Opportunities should **justly** and **equally** be availed for both the individual and the group.

3.1.2.2. Peaceful Coexisting and public corporations should be **protected**; laws should be decreed in order to prevent all sorts of violations that can be committed by the individual against another individual or group. Likewise, in accordance with the sanctity of the rights mentioned above, both the individual and group should be protected from any sort of violations that can be committed by another group.

3.2. Justice: In the conception of the **Congress** of CUSH this is a matter of quality rather than quantity. Our concept of **Justice** is based on the premise that all people are equal in rights and duties. Within the frame of the **State** they acquire these rights by citizenship which equally treats them regardless of race, religion, culture, or social status. Free competition should be founded on these rights of equity which, by its turn, should be founded on the principles of **Freedom**, **Justice**, and **Peace**. According to these constitutive rights the principle of coexistence should not be in any way infringed. What distinguishes our concept of equity is our view that there is no **minority** in the Sudan. Any orientation, or law, based on, or may lead to, such a position, is in fact nothing but a manoeuvre to execute ideological stances of a certain group empowered with the authority of the **State** on another group which has no share of the power of the **State**. It is the **State** which should work hard to abolish such positions, in fact. So when the **State** adopts a certain stance of a certain group, it becomes the right of the other groups to not only culturally and politically veto against such situations, but also to struggle and fight in order to correct this unjust position.

3.2.1. Atonement and Compensation: Equality should be embedded in the process of impartial distribution of opportunities, and the inalienable right of the historically prejudiced groups to respectfully be atoned and compensated. For instance, if the number of the pupils per classroom in Khartoum is 45, this should be the case in the schools of Yambio, zalinje, Dongola, Shandi, and Tookar. Although the expenses of education in Khartoum may arithmetically seem to be lower than in Yambio or Shandi, it becomes illusive when we bear in consideration the high cost of public services availed by the **State** for the **Centre**. Another aspect of equivalent deal is that if the **mother tongue** of the

students in the **Centre** is accredited to be the **means of instruction**, this should also be the case in the areas of the **Margin**.

The problematic of atonement and restoring the rights and punishing the culprit has two aspects: historical and circumstantial. On the **historical level**, the usurping of the people's rights and exploiting them, and consequently acquiring privileged conditions, neither dismisses for good the usurped rights nor does the passage of time legalize what has been illegally taken. On the **circumstantial level**, the laws in restoring the rights should also recognize the right of the prejudiced to respectful atonement, whether by official apology or by justly punishing the culprits or both.

3.3. Peace: The **Congress of CUSH** views Man/Woman as a good being by virtue, and all the vices that may come from them are deviations resulted from historical, psychological, environmental, and/or social conditions. **Good socialization** produces human being with **Independency** on both mind and material, without alienation; thus the human being can be capable of positively recognizing the **Independency** of the others. From here springs the individual's respectful understanding of his relationship with the others, and how to interact in a way of participation and belonging, and how to promote his capabilities of sublimation and altruism. This is what makes the **individual** live in **peace** within the frame of the **group** and the **State**.

The value of peace is not confined to any religion, race, or political party; those who restrict it to their own religion, race, or political party, negate the value of peace itself.

4. THE POLITICAL PROGRAMME: THE VISION, OBJECTIVES, AND MEANS

4.1. The Political Vision:

4.1.1. The Constitution: It should be based on the **Principle of Citizenship**, from which it should also draw its legislations. It should further be detailed in accordance with the above-mentioned principles and facts, especially the situation of **Cultural Pluralism** and **Human Rights**.

4.1.2. The Ruling System: Departing from the truths of reality in the Sudan and our basic principles, the ideal system for the Sudan is believed to be the **Presidential Republic** under **Plural Democracy** and **Decentralized Administration**. Ideologically and organizationally this is supposed to crystallize the political exercise and, practically, actualize the division of the three powers where the **Parliament** would undertake legislation, the **Government** lead by the **President** would execute the policies, and the **Independent Judiciary** would be on guard ready to pass verdicts in judgement of the legal and constitutional disputes. The **President** and the members of the **Parliament** should be elected through free and honest ballots. In such a plural democratic situation, guarded by an independent **Judiciary**, the **Geographical Constituencies** could fairly be fixed according to the population weight thus paving the way to fair competition.

4.1.3. The Problematic of Islam and the State: The **Movement of CUSH** utterly rejects the **Religious State**

regarding it as a way of religiously justifying oppression and political persecution. The religious **State** is not confined to religious thought and ideas; any religious group has the right to express its religious ideas and to further establish political parties. If these ideas and thought are democratic, i.e. not imposed or associated with any kind of harassment to those who disagree with them, then they are entitled the rights of democracy. If they are not, then they should be fought out for being **dictatorial** rather than being religious.

The **Religious State** takes place only when a certain religious institution, according to its internal stratification, operates the system of the **State**. As far as the ruling persons are elected by ballots based on the principle of '**one person=one vote**', regardless of gender, race, or religion, then the **State** is **Secular** however the religious fanatics may brag of having a certain religious orientation in dictating their policies. Thus **Secularism** is an unavoidable reality whatever the religious fanatics may boast of. For this **CUSH** fights against the undemocratic religious thought, because it superficially rejects secularism, whereas its real intention is to make earthly-oppressive and dictatorial policies pass through.

4.1.4. Administration: **CUSH** sees that the Sudan should be administrated by **Decentralization** which is backed by **democratically elected local government institutions** in order to realize the greatest extent of **people participation** in all the regions in the process of power and economic steering. This is believed to restore equilibrium between political and ethnic groups from one side and between the geo-cultural regions from the other side. To us the **Centre** is not **geographical**; it is rather a **centricity** of supercilious, authoritarian, cultural, economical, educational, social, and institutional position that has been consolidated for centuries in our history. Federation, confederation, decentralization rule... etc., were not more than political tricks and manoeuvres as they were restricted only to the geographical premise, thus overlooking history and living realities. For instance, what is the meaning of establishing a **State** in the **North, West, East or South**, where infrastructures are lacking, and then say to the people: "Go to exercise power and develop your areas!", when certain states are historically privileged with paved roads, water, irrigated schemes, electricity, schools, and hospitals etc. which are basically established by the taxes paid by all people of the Sudan? And who has always been deciding to apply decentralization or federalism? Isn't it the same governments of the **Centre**, as to merely excuse themselves from undertaking their responsibilities toward the marginalized areas? The **Congress** of **CUSH** sees that wealth should be distributed, and resources equally exploited; every group or area should get its cultural, political, economical, educational, and developmental share until positions reach the point of equilibrium.

4.1.4.1. Rural Areas and Tribal Administration: The rural society, with both its sedentary and pastoralist sections, is the main producer that supplies other economical processes with their raw material and input. Therefore the development of the rural society can be the appropriate approach for developing the whole society. In this regard the utility of agrarian land should be reconsidered; land ownership could be granted as far as it is a utility property. The right of the direct farmer and direct producer in owning the lot which she/he toils should be recognized. Monopoly, in any way and by any means

should be abolished, especially when it is associated with the above-mentioned ideological bearings. Without breaching the above-mentioned guides, the right of every tribe to maintain its cultural boundaries –represented mainly in its language- and its material boundaries –represented mainly in land- should be recognized by the **State**.

Tribal Administration- as represented in whether *reth*, *mak*, *sultaan*, or *nizaara*, *‘umuudiyya*, and *mashyakha* etc.- should be restored in a modernist context, according to cultural plural democracy and national spirit, within the framework of local governmental administration based on democratically elected local and municipal councils.

4.1.5. The Ideological Problematic: CUSH views the conflict in the Sudan as to be **cultural** in essence, with political, economical, and social manifestations. The interactions of this conflict have led to ideological differentiations that can be represented in three trends in which all the political forces could be included whether classified as **Left**, **Middle**, or **Right**. In doing this we correct the ideological stratification by **Sudanizing** the political theory, and pushing all the Sudanese – individuals and groups as well- to clearly know their feet stances.

4.1.5.1. The Ideology of Domination and Suppression: It is that adopted by many forces affiliated to the **Centre of Islamo-Arab culture** where Islam and Arabism are transformed into ideological weapons by which earthly political issues are fought out. The perspective of the “**melting pot**” is facilitating this situation. In our classification, this is the **Right** in which many forces are included, even many of those who have been usually thought as part of the **Left**, such as the **Arab Nationalists** and many of the **Sudanese Marxists**.

4.1.5.2. The Ideology of Directional-Separatism: This is represented by the Sudanese cultural units and entities of the **Margin** which have **despaired** of fighting for the **New Sudan** under which they can get their rights. Thus they have tended to undergo an extreme **directional** fighting which would logically end up in their demanding **separation**. Thus they represent a total **rejection** of the **Sudanese National State**. In our conception, this is the **Left** trend in Sudanese politics.

4.1.5.3. The Ideology of Sudanese Nationalism: This is the ideology of change adopted by the **Renascent Forces** approaching the future of **Freedom**, **Justice**, and **Peace** which can only be realized by building the **New Sudan** according to the perspective of “**Unity in Diversity**”. This ideology is represented by our thought and programme; it is what we call the trend of the **Middle**.

4.1.6. The Problematic of Nationality and Citizenship: This is the problematic of depriving certain citizens from their citizenship rights and thus treating them as foreigners all through our modern history, or otherwise as second class citizens. A clear example of this is the ordeal which certain migrant ethnic groups are subjected to, in a country where the ruling cultural clique is originally of migrants by simply claiming an Arab descent. Although the former have settled and become **sudanized** by the **virtue** of **long settlement**, let alone the majority whose fathers and ancestors had been born in the Sudan, yet they have always been subjected to the **degrading laws** of **Sudanese Nationality** which

compel them to follow twisting ways in order to get the nationality and citizenship to which they are rightfully entitled. This situation has made them subject to continuous **prejudice** that comes down to **degenerating degradation**. Consequently they are intimidated in whatever means they seek for **living-making** and especially **land ownership** either for residence or farming. Thus their rights have become a lucrative racketeering for politicians who bargain citizenship and nationality and land ownership with **political sycophancy** and consequently social and cultural obsequiousness. Many Sudanese ethnic groups have historically been subject to this **systematic persecution** exercised mainly by the **State** to which they pay taxes. This category includes vast numbers of Sudanese people, such as the Indians, Copts, Chamese, Armenians, and Rashaayda. But the most of them to suffer are the tribes which have migrated from **West Africa** and *Central Bilaad al-Suudaan*, such as the Fulani, Hausa, Bergo ... etc. The **Congress of CUSH** believes that all those ethnic groups and entities are genuinely **original Sudanese** without this being a favour endowed on them by any one —especially the **State**. In fact it is the **State** which should treat them on an equal footing with the other cultural groups, and to alleviate from them this historical injustice, starting from the right to **honourable life** and **equal opportunities** up to their rights to **preserve** their peculiar **cultural identities** within the frame of **Sudanese Nationalism**. The **Congress** sees that it is high time for those brethrens of ours to wholly exercise their rights and to vehemently reject cultural obsequiousness to other groups. Being such original ethnic entities, they are entitled to play their role in the process of **decision-making** and the **development** of the **Sudanese State** in all positions with no regards to the situation of false majority and minority. The **Congress of CUSH**, with its programme, values this perspective and fights for it considering it a just humane demand, and an indication that shows the development of social situations in the Sudan.

4.1.7. The Problematic of Social Discrimination: One of the main manifestations of cultural domination and oppression is the existence of policies and orientations in the **State** that **racially** discriminate between the citizens on social and consequently economical levels. For instance, in the case of the **Gezira Scheme** the lands were distributed to the tribes of **Arab origin** under the pretext that they were the original proprietors of the land before the founding of the Scheme. Nevertheless, the real farmers of the Scheme, i.e. the people who are mainly of **West-Central African origin** who had been purposely brought to the area by the **State** in the early decades of the 20th century, have been since then living in their camps “*kanaabi*” as hired labourers. This unjust situation has been prevailing, even after Independence and up to now. The **State** has so far done nothing to reconsider the situation of the “*kanaabi*” residing toilers. This situation has also been maintained when the **Manaagil Agricultural Scheme** in Central Sudan was founded in the mid 20th century. But all these arguments which were used to justify the biased agrarian land distribution and ownership were totally dismissed when it came to mechanized agriculture in certain regions such as Habiila and Kartaala in the **Nubian Mountains**. In these areas the **State** began by dismantling the villages and driving out the villagers so as to found these schemes which were distributed to urban traders, senior government officials, and Sudanese petty

capitalists, who were not native of those regions and, in fact, belonged to the socio-culture of the **Centre**.

The manifestations of these orientations are very clear in the process of **labour division** and the **structuring** of Sudanese **towns**. Certain sectors of the society who belong to certain ethno-cultural backgrounds are privileged with big income employment that demands little effort, where other kinds of employment -hence called inferior- that demand hard physical effort but yield little income, are kept to other *kinds* of people. This twisted racial and cultural consciousness of discrimination becomes instituted in the policies of the **State** in many aspects of the public services it provides for its citizens. Hereby we bring but some examples:

4.1.7.1. The Slum Residence: The **State** in **Khartoum North** (*Bahari*) during the 1970s and 1980s launched what it called the “**National Unity Residential Project**”, whereby **slum areas** at Shambaat were moved to al-Haaj Yuusif. The authorities claimed to have distributed the residential lots according to the size of the families ranging from nucleus (*sic*), moderate, big, and extended. Paradoxically the big and extended families -who are usually from the marginalized regions- were given the smallest lots (class No. 4), and the relatively small families –who usually belong to the middle Sudan- were given the big lots which were privileged with facilities and services. This shows that the so-called “**National Unity Residential Scheme**” was in fact **based** on **ethno-cultural criteria**.

4.1.7.2. The Random Residence: Although most of the residential areas of the **Tri-Capital** in particular and Sudan in general, are erected without official planning and thus practically liable to the definition of ‘random residence’, however **demolishing** and **eradication** usually target the houses occupied by **marginalized people** with **no compensation**. The other random areas are **exempted** for no other reason than the privileged ethnic background of its owners and/or occupants.

4.1.7.3. The People Markets: These markets (*aswaag sha’biyya*) are usually established by people from marginalized areas so as to satisfy their direct needs in the major urban areas; these collections of thatched stalls spring here and there according to the **dynamics** of supply and demand of **marginalization**. The proper, government-leased and protected markets with their exploitative nature are too expensive for the marginalized oppressed groups. This is what makes the people markets, being truly governed by the competitive measures of supply and demand, much cheaper than the proper markets. And this is also what makes them flourish within weeks and months from their casual establishment. This is also what makes them very **vulnerable** to the government intervention, which takes place under the pretext of developing them from people, unofficial level to properly official modern level. The ‘development’ turns out to be the granting shop leases and licences to those who make the **highest bids** of which the original founders are **disqualified** for being too poor. The new owners of the *suug* hastily begin accomplishing the red-brick building of the shops so as to begin their exploitation of the original founders of the *suug* by renting these shops to them. Thus the founders end up operating the same *suug* they have founded out of scratch on behalf of other people who had nothing to do with it. One of the famous examples of this is what happened in the case of *suug* **Libya** and *suug*

al-naaga; last but not least the case of *suug Baanat*, Umdorman, not to mention the innumerable cases all over the Sudan. In this regard, the **State** plays an obstructive role in the process of natural development of markets; it does this for the benefit of the class which is historically favoured with its services and which is the same class that shapes the structure of the **State**.

4.1.8. The Problematic of Education: What is meant here is the essence of education; public, and later higher, education has become an instrument for consolidating among the people the ideology of Islamo-Arab hegemony. **Primary education** has been slain by overlooking the fact that **Arabic** is not the **mother tongue** of the majority of Sudanese cultural entities. **Higher education** has been likewise slain by overlooking the fact that **science** does not flow through **Arabic**, and that translation –as a means for tackling this problem- is far from originality. Furthermore, **marginalizing** the basic theories of science and research methodology has been deepened the educational crisis. This process has produced **half-educated imitators** who ultimately depend on memorizing what is taught to them and thus they go all through to graduation lacking creative capabilities.

4.1.9. The problematic of Ideological Complicity: It is one of the major problems that face the process of change in the Sudan, where stances are **mercurialized** by **double-standardized behaviour**. This kind of behaviour is typically characteristic of people who belong to the space of Islamo-Arab ideology, and who, according to their privileged conditions, have been enabled to own theoretical consciousness of the prevailing conflicts and the necessity for change. Those people turn to be tied up when it comes to practically face the reality of the hegemony of Islamo-Arab culture and what follows in regard of orientations and policies. Aside from the fact that this official ideology has been protected by the **State** all through contemporary history, it is undeniably backed by the **Sudanese Right** represented in the **Islamic-religious** groups, the sectors of **Arab Nationalists** and many **Sudanese Marxists**. Complicity is usually manifested in the falteringly exercise of political struggle against cultural, economical and political domination represented mainly in the process of **Centro-marginalization** which degenerates down to the thresholds of racial discrimination. The following are examples of such cases:

4.1.9.1. The Technocratic Neutrality: This is represented by the sector of educated technocrats who assume political neutrality by simply pretending not to be committed to any particular political party. They pretend to adhere to **professional specialization** without giving any consideration to the substrata upon which reality is built and being ruled. Historically, the majority of the educated sector, and particularly those who occupy the advanced posts in the government institutions, belong to the realm of the **Islamic** and **Arabic culture** which is also the **ideological frame** of the **State**. This reveals the **ideological complicity** of the technocrats with the orientations of cultural, economical and political hegemony and oppression and their harmful repercussions on the Sudanese people. In fact they serve the ideology of domination and suppression by providing it with **reserve cadres** for executing out its projects; on the personal level they benefit by acquiring the privileges of higher standards of living. It is **superficial neutrality** enveloping **ideological commitment**. This category includes a great number of

academicians who have come to crown the higher posts of educational institutions and who have naturally been channelling education, in regard of method and research, as to flow in accordance with the interests of Islamic and Arabic culture. In doing this they overlook science in general and basic facts that concern the history of Sudanese people –their past, present and future- in particular.

4.1.9.2. The Benefit Complicity: It is undertaken by some of the **tribal chiefs** and **political leaders** from outside the milieu of Islamic and Arabic culture. Those are being manipulated through the mechanism of **deceptive symbolisation**; they are usually associated in the power share with certain ministries and then the needed glamour of propaganda would calculably be endowed on them so as to create a false impression of participation. On the other side, they benefit on both personal and family levels by being rewarded with **material privileges** that stand in sharp contrast with the drearily deteriorating realities of the people to whom they belong. Thus they victimize their own people in this political racketeering, for their own personal benefit. This is one of the major mechanisms so far used by the dominant centrality to legalize the cultural domination and its social, economical, and political manifestations. In this way they try to liquefy the struggle and blur its consciousness by raising dust around the truths of reality. There are other sectors that originally belong to the ethnic groups of the **Margin**, but have completely identified with the **Centre** to the extent that they have become **loyal servants** of the ideology of domination and suppression, thus alienating themselves from their own people. They believe that they might benefit from this materially by getting access to wealth, and culturally by having their arabisation recognized by people who may initially be lacking what they are supposed to grant. Therefore, it was not strange to see that many of the **extreme Arab Nationalists** in Sudan in fact are from the **Marginal areas** such as the **Beja**, **Nubian Mountains**, and **Nile Nubians** of the **peripheral North**, to say nothing of the extreme activists of the Sudanese tribes which originated in Central ***Bilaad al-Suudaan***, who loyally serve the ideo-religiously fanatical organizations in order that their voluntary assimilation in the dominant culture is welcomed. The **South**, on the other hand, has been plagued by the sinking of many of its politicians in fetid **corruption**; the successive governments of the **Centre** have to answer for this also as they have always chosen to selectively deal with the corrupt Southerners only. Seducing Southern politicians into fiscal corruption has been a **deliberated policy** of the governments of the **Centre**, so that policies of domination and relegation can be passed through those same **puppet politicians**.

The **Congress of CUSH**, while facing this phenomenon with its thought and praxis, reassures its people that the old path is no more passable and that the new path bears changes that are pushing their way at the expense of old, existing things. Therefore, the **Movement of CUSH**, with its thought and programme, works hard to cut off the road in front of all kinds of ideological complicity by **naming** and **shaming** them. This is a fundamental part of our programme in order to realize a **revolution** of consciousness regarding the nature of ideo-cultural struggle in the Sudan.

4.1.10. The Civil War: The Civil War in the Sudan –according to the vision of the **Congress of CUSH**- is the resultant of cultural hegemony and oppression which have prevailed for many centuries due to the

mechanism of cultural **Centro-marginalization** and its manifestations represented, **politically**, in the controlling of the **State** and tyranny of the **arabized generations** of the Sudanese who were the pioneers of **Islam-Arab ideology**. Those were fanatically extreme in their identification to the honourable Islamic and Arabic culture and hence they unjustly worked very hard to push people into its shape. **Economically** it is manifested in the monopoly of the same group of all commercial and life opportunities as a result of having the **State** backing them for decades and centuries. **Socially** it is manifested in the **racial bigotry** which goes in line with **slavery**, thus giving us a situation where the **blacks** are being racially **prejudiced** in a country that derives its name from the simple fact that its people are blacks. The result is that we have people who are black, but who do not consider themselves to be black; to impose this awkward contention on both themselves and the others they have developed extreme **fanaticism** in their orientations of Islamization and Arabization in the way of becoming more monarchist than the monarch him/herself. This has lead to the consolidation of **Islam-Arab ideology** through the official institutions of the **State** such as education, information, mass media, and economy and commerce etc.

It is not the war of the **South** vs. the **North**, but rather it is the war of the **Marginalized Entities** against the project of **Central Hegemony** and oppression. The war started from the **South**, because the South is the most marginalized area to have been subjected to systematic oppression, racial discrimination and deprivation. The **Nubian Mountains** and **Ingassana** comes in second place; then **Dar Fur** and the **West** in general followed by the **Beja** in the **East**; last but not least comes the **Nile Nubians** in the **North**. In fact the ethnic entities have these same stages in synchronizing their taking to arms to fight out their **Civil War** once and for all.

The **Congress** of **CUSH** considers all the talking about political solutions, the share of power and wealth, and the proportionate development etc., as a kind of political escapology and waste of time, unless they stand upon thought, intellectual and ethical principles so as to have credible commitment. The solutions, as seen by the **Movement**, are inherent in the elimination of the causing factors, i.e. the **cultural hegemony** and **persecution**. This is our thesis for the solution as presented in our programme. We do not view the **Civil War** as a **difficult choice** in a dilemma, but rather as the **rule** of **necessity** when there is no other alternative at all.

4.2. THE ECONOMICAL VISION

4.2.1. Introduction: The shrinking of relative **marginal independency** of economy from the **State** is one of the important characteristics of the economies of the **Third World**. At the time when economy in the **Advanced World** has had great independency to the extent of basically shaping the orientations of power, the opposite is happening in the Third World. Here the ruling elites, which are usually the same national petty capitalists, who have been produced through unhealthy positions that followed the era of colonialism, tighten their grip on power so as to direct the economy in favour of their interests which

are contrary to the welfare and progress of the people. Now in the age of **globalization** economy is potentially involving a **Para-State**, independent process. Therefore there is no way for controlling the economy and market through the country frame and standard. Globalization, represented in the combination of computer sciences and space telecommunications, has direct effects on the process of economy, a matter that necessitates having a national conception to cope with it in a way that makes the nation beneficiary.

The vision of the **Congress of CUSH** is based on the following:

4.2.1.1. Promoting the Culture of Developmental Economy: As economy is the function of production, the cultural orientations and social norms that equally evaluate the '**intellectual work**' and the '**physical work**' as being both responsible for production, should be enhanced and promoted. Eliminating the differences between the '**urban life**' and the '**rural life**' on both levels of cultural orientations and the policies of the **State** should be included in planning. Getting rid of any kind of **gender discrimination** between Man and Woman should be a priority. Developmental planning should make improving the quality of life its aim by raising the positive consciousness of the association between production and economy.

In the context of **Centro-marginalization** where the prestigious status of the dominant culture is based on the relegation of other cultures, social stratification goes down to shape the value of work -whether prestigious or inferior- accordingly. Thus widespread stereotyped concepts tend to sublimate certain vocations and relegate others, particularly the physical work which has been the backbone of production all through history. These concepts have been deepened by the **slavery institution** which is suspected to have survived colonialism up to the present time. This matter has directed the economy toward **parasitic activities** by sublimating what has been falsely taken to be intellectual work and relegating the physical work which is being associated with the slaves. This paradox has lead the so-called intellectual work to be nothing more than false aristocratic (*sic*) tendencies that end up in more alienation and obsessive desires to appropriate wealth by any means and in the shortest time. This can only be achieved through parasitic economic activities. The treatment of this is to introduce new orientations in regard of cultural consciousness and policy-making that recognize the prestigious value of the productive work in general and associating it with earning-effort proportion. The different types of parasitic economical activities should be fought and eradicated starting from their ideological bearings.

4.2.1.2. Commerce and Economy: Commercial activities are to be based on the free market doctrine that prohibits State intervention other than in circumstances of extreme necessity. Such policies take on board the requirements of investment and economy in this era of globalization. The State is to refrain from intervention with a view to changing course of action except through the techniques of the banking system. The target is to balance the financial markets and direct commercial and economic activities towards the achievement of national interests. This aim can only be realized through the recognition of the procedural and institutional parameters that constitute an integral part of

globalization. To ignore this will be paramount to converting the huge advances achieved in the fields of information and communication from an asset to a liability.

With regard to the elimination of the negative impacts of the religious State, we reiterate the vital necessity of complete eradication of the so-called Islamic economy. This system is only capitalizing on the religious sentiment of its client at a time when it has been proven beyond doubt, that it has well over-exceeded its counterparts in its usury practices that characterize all its dealings and transactions. This is not to overlook the fact that, in its totality, this system is nothing more than one ugly face of commercial activities that reflect the parasitic nature which adds nothing to the real economy. In this regard, we only have to be reminded that the 1983-1984 famine in the Sudan was partially a direct outcome of the activities of these Islamic banks which resorted to export our national produce of sorghum when the food gap in the country then was clear for all to see.

This vision cannot be complete without an effective custom and taxation policy. We are referring here to the adoption of proportionate tax/custom system geared to exempt on the outset the necessities and basic production raw materials. It then gradually moves on luxurious commodities such as apple, strawberries and other fruits imported the European and Mediterranean markets.

4.2.1.3. Cooperative Economy: Both capitalist and socialist regimes adopt economic policies which revolve around precipitating the interests of certain classes in the society. Advocates of the capitalist system believe in promoting their own interests as a class which does not recognize the existence of other classes. Likewise, the socialists on the other hand base their vision on the hypothesis that the State is equal to the government is basically nothing more than the ruling party which in effect reflects the interests of only one stratum or class in the society. In view of this perspective, economic policy is practised at the political level to reflect the interests of a certain class just as it is the case in the capitalist regime.

The solution advocated by **CUSH** is not only based on the ownership of individuals and the State. In fact it paves the way leading to the third option: ownership of the productive groups starting from commodity trading as the case for the small-size cooperatives, right up the large scale production enterprises. In fact, the cooperative economy at the level of consumption trading does protect the labourers, farmers and white-collar government officials and the poor in general from the over-domination of the market and the capitalistic individuals or the State. Likewise, the cooperative economy at the level of large-scale productive and industrial enterprises protects the collective productive groups against the tendencies of domination by the individual capitalist or the State. The role of the State in cooperative economy is to assume responsibility towards overall monitoring, controlling and auditing accounts aided by regulations organizing the archives of the cooperatives. This could be further supported by additional policies granting certain tax/custom privileges to the cooperative sector. It is evident that the cooperative economy as a civil practice finds its root in a number of Sudanese cultural values that traditionally call for togetherness, cooperation and social solidarity at times of need. In a situation such as this, it is possible to implement the policies of the free market system but only after the adoption of a number of precautionary measures that are capable of

preventing the escalation of poverty in a country which is basically among the poorest in the world in terms of per capita income and standard of living. This would require the introduction of some radical reforms and changes in the financial, monetary and banking system that can lead to the abolishment (nullification) of all types of ideological exploitation of religion; this is particularly so in areas of companies and banks which tend to raise Islamic banners and slogans while fully maintaining their usury practices.

4.2.1.4. Industry: Plans should be made to establish industrial estates at locations where raw materials exist, while encouraging investments in this vital economic sector. Such a policy addresses the problem of imbalanced development in the Sudan. The textile industry should be located in areas where cotton is produced; oil mills where oily seeds are cultivated; flour mills where wheat is grown and petroleum products in oil production areas. Priorities of industrial planning ought to be focussed on essentials. For instance, industry is to be developed instead of continuing efforts in luxurious products such as biscuits and fizzy drinks. A special attention is to be drawn to designing a taxation system which would encourage develop, promote and protect local cultural identities such as in areas of language and folklore.

4.2.1.5. Investment: both national and foreign investment is to be provided in the productive sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, mining, animal husbandry etc. Monopolistic tendencies in trading ought to be vigorously fought off and eventually prohibited. The State should avoid the negative implementations of multinational investment. Cautious policies are to be pursued to prevent investment getting out of control and leading to the collapse of markets as was the case in the South East Asia during the last decades of the 20th century. This warning is directly related to what has been mentioned earlier with regard to globalization which today represents a huge transformation in the ongoing development of mankind. It incorporates a great deal of negative implications owing to its unpredictability.

4.2.1.6. Telecommunications and Transportation: A vast country such as the Sudan, no doubt requires certain types of communication and means of transportation with high standard of efficiency in regards of both quality and quantity. With an eye on the successful experiences of other countries, railways as a means of transportation could be the most ideal type in this regard. We have to adopt an open-door policy to attract investments by international companies with proven track records of efficiency. Fair investment packages should be granted to such companies in order to solicit their fruitful cooperation. Development of an effective means of transportation represents the backbone of our potential advancement. Sudan's own experience until the first decade of Independence in the railway sector presents an exemplary case in points as far as efficiency is concerned. Unfortunately the success story was halted due to mismanagement and to the prominence of the concepts of parasitic economy which eventually led to the total collapse of railway. This is not to mention the administrative and political corruption that accompanied and followed such collapse.

In addition to the railway a network of paved roads should also link the country. This task should be at

the board of the State's responsibilities as it should not be left to "self-sponsorship" as the case today. Striking the right balance between different regions ought to be taken into consideration when priorities are set up with regard to road construction. One of the manifestations of 'domination culture' is the tendency to make it a conditional requirement that any paved road constructed to serve the areas of the **Margin** should pass through the **Centre**. This may explain the non-existence of any paved roads linking Bahr al-Ghazaal to Dar Fur then to the Northern Province then to Egypt and Libya. Such a route would have ideally contributed to the development of the historical Darb al-Arba'iin and thus expose the agricultural wealth of the South to the foreign markets. The development of the Nile Nubian region has been completely impaired as it was deprived of any link with other parts of the country other than the Centre. This has resulted in reducing the region absolutely expulsive and uninhabitable a matter that has led to collective emigration of the Nubian people to be consequently reproduced culturally in the Centre. This happens when at the time when the Nubian basin triangle (Halfa-Dongola-Jabal 'Uweenaat) stays redundant and unable to develop, while surrounded at the same time by regional and international covetousness.

It is also necessary to rehabilitate and develop the riverine transportation as it is one of the best available means of that can contribute in developing both transportation and tourism.

We have also to consider the development of civil aviation networks, construction of airports in the peripheral areas. The private sector should be invited and encouraged to invest in this field.

With regard to communications, it is imperative that globalization –understood as a revolutionary marriage between computer sciences on the one hand and satellite technology on the other- should be fully taken on board. The revolutionary advancement of this technology has availed opportunities for sending, receiving, storing and retrieving information in ways unimaginable just years ago. We have to take advantage of all these positive developments which globalization has brought. Thus the whole of Sudan should be covered by telecommunication and mass media services.

4.2.1.7. Fighting Parasitic Economy: In the Sudan, the urban economy is basically parasitic as it is characterized with consumption and dealing with ready-made commodities, while it does not give heed to the process of production. While the cultural and historical parameters of this kind of economy go back to the institution of slavery, presently it is being rationalised by fake religious theoretization and relegation of scientific theories. In parasitic economy, commerce and trade are alienated from production, and production is alienated from social change.

The programme of the economical change of the coming **Revolution** is based on the integration between the public, private, traditional, and cooperative sectors. After this comes the relentless fighting of all kinds of parasitic economy, and smuggling in particular which is considered to be the snake head to the criminal parasitic activities. We point here to the fact that the involvement in this criminal activity has got its ideological bearings that are related to labour and production concepts.

4.3. THE SOCIAL VISION

4.3.1. Introduction: The reality of the historical domination and cultural persecution which has prevailed

through the **mono-cultural programme** and **mechanism** of **Centro-marginalization** with its social, economical and political manifestations has yielded social class differentiations which are protected by the **State**. This is clear in the appearance of social classes stamped with certain ethnic-cultural identities that have exclusively accessed the goods and wealth of the Country and accordingly they look down upon the majority of Sudanese people. The **Movement** assures that the **intellectual theorization** for equity should be based on **ethical credibility** in regard to the **degenerative views** which are directly associated with the **history** of **slavery** in the Sudan. The concepts and usages that are associated with **slavery** should be fought; the causes that make certain honourable works be associated with **slavery** should also be eradicated. Therefore, the factors that encourage equality and grant prestige to the citizen should be enhanced. This situation cannot be achieved if the **State** does not provide the following services in the way that would actualize the above-mentioned goals:

4.3.1.1. Education: Education should be adequately provided in regard of **qualitative** and **quantitative** standards.

4.3.1.1.1. On the Quantitative Aspects: The fact that certain classes have been exclusively privileged with educational opportunities on all levels, whereas the majority of the Sudanese people have very few opportunities to compete for should be noted. Therefore, the first duty of the **Sudanese Revolution** should be to correct this situation by truly making free education available and by making it obligatory in its primary level at least. People cannot oblige themselves to educate their children, if they are not able to feed them. Food must be provided for pupils and students in poor areas.

Justice should be applied on the condition for right and good education. For instance, the number of the pupils per classroom in Dongola, Yambio, al-Jineena, and Tookar etc., should be equal to that in Khartoum or Madani. The teachers should also be equally qualified accordingly. Likewise, educational means should be available equally to all of them.

Certain marginalized populations should be proportionally represented in higher education in compensation for negligence and the backwardness that consequently resulted, and in atonement for the grudges and grievances. For instance, in usual situations, if the percent of a certain region is 25%-30% of the whole population, then its contribution of admitted students in higher education should be proportionate to this percentage.

4.3.1.1.2. On the Qualitative Aspects: Education, regarding both content and means of instruction, should truly reflect the situation in the Sudan which is based on **multiculturalism** and **multilingualism**. Every ethnic group should be granted the right to educate its youngsters through their **mother tongue**, or any language they freely choose and accept. Neither the **State** nor any other group has the right to enforce by any means or justification a certain language on any ethnic group. Sudanese **folklore** should be a **basic subject** from elementary up to secondary education so as to make the Sudanese young generations know their **heritage** and **cultures**. **Arabicization** should be brought to a **halt** by introducing new policies that would provide real opportunities to all groups to learn a second, third, and fourth languages

according to the importance of every language globally and educationally, with Arabic language included. Education should be **pluralistic** in both **curricula** and the **languages** used as means of instruction.

Technical and vocational education should be given priority according to a long-term national plan that targets **development** and **social change** through education, in the way of promoting and aspiration of our heritage in regard of **folk technology** and **traditional industry**. This is supposed to make the growing Sudanese generations conscious of their environment, history, and heritage and thus knowing their position and their role in their society. This is the way to eradicate, once and for all, all kinds of cultural persecution and cultural alienation, which presently prevails in our educational system.

Education should be **scientific**, in the sense that the pupils and students should be taught the basic scientific theories and research methodologies that would enable them to be creative rather than parrot-fashion memorizers. It is not sensible that –as the case with the present **religio-ideological fanatical State**- the student would study for 18 years to graduate, for instance, from the medicine college without having any idea about the evolution theory, however classical it is, just for the sake of having a notion of the historical development of the theories of science.

In this age, it is very necessary for the educational process to pass through the bridge of **computer sciences**. Therefore, it is deemed very important that computer sciences should be introduced in secondary education downward to primary education according to consecutive phases which are reasonable and well-studied.

The above-mentioned points cannot be achieved if we do not have the qualified teacher and/or lecturer. The teaching vocation should accept only university graduates; in the case of the present staff members who are not graduates, scholarships to resume higher education as mature students should be provided, otherwise long experience should be credited. The pay scale of the teachers should be upgraded to the level of other technical and specialized vocations.

4.3.1.2. Health: Departing from the points that the majority of the Sudanese people are the real potential productive force of wealth in the **Country**, and that it is only the **Centre** which enjoys the facilities – social services- provided by the efforts of this majority thus interrupting the economical cycle of utilities, The **State** in the coming **Revolution** should repay this historical debt to its people. This can be realized by providing **free medical treatment** to the public and to free them from the humiliation of dreary needs, so that time can be spent on production. The privileged wealthy classes should pay for that through proportionate increased taxes in favour of the basics and necessities. Therefore, the health institutions should remain as **public utilities**, with just and fare employment conditions, under the **State** administration. Cooperation with international medical institutions must be maintained and enhanced in order to eradicate epidemic and endemic diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, bilharzias, leprosy etc. Paying due attention to rural health is in fact paying attention to the real producer who is the base of economy. Therefore, **rural hospitals** should be in constant increase and working in rural areas should be advantageous in the government cadre system. In this regard returning to the old system of **rotational**

transfer of government employees to cover rural and urban areas as well is strongly supported. In fact this is suggested to be a condition for both university study and later vocational training.

After this, the field of medicine can be opened to private sector as an investment, with strict measures of hygienic conditions.

Animal health is related to Human health as the former directly affects the latter. Veterinary care should be intensified in order to cover both urban and rural areas. In rural areas, veterinary services should be provided to both sedentary and pastoralist sectors, with mobile clinics being availed for the latter.

The sanitary conditions in regard of drainage should be radically reconsidered; the traditional system of pit lavatories is contaminating our underground reservoir of water. A long-term plan aiming at generalizing the sewage draining system so as to cover all the Country should be put forward.

4.3.1.3. Housing: Since **Independence**, due to the absence of comprehensive planning on behalf of the **State** and its orientations which are stamped with impartiality and prejudice in process and procedure, housing and residential land distribution has been subject to **racketeering** and political **favouritism** and a major way of **corruption** that entails forging official papers and documents and institutional real-estate racketeering. The ultimate solution is underlain in the sovereignty of the **State** of the coming **Revolution** on all the lands and declaring that land ownership is ruled by the principle of utility; real-estate monopoly should be discouraged by raising taxes on unoccupied estates. The **State** should protect its administrative structure by securing residence for its employees through constructing its own houses to accommodate them. It is advised to adopt vertical residence instead of horizontal one, and to be constructed in the proximity of work areas so as to save the time and energy wasted in transportation. In settlement and residential planning, the **State** should carefully consider the public and climatic health conditions that would grant the residents self-respect, to say nothing about maintaining regular inspection of residential situations and positively encouraging the citizens in building their houses.

4.3.1.4. Power: No civilization without power, therefore the whole of the Sudan should be covered with electricity services. So far only the urban areas have been privileged with these services, which has given the impression that electricity is something that concerns urban life only. Power should be provided for the rural areas generally and production areas in particular. It is meaningless to avail electricity to the urban areas, whereas even those who live on the banks of the Nile do not have electricity to irrigate their lands, let alone those who live far away in the peripheries. We cannot belong to this age as far as we are suffering from power problems. The Sudan, as a miniature continent, cannot have its regions connected together with modern medias of information technology and satellites, if it is not covered with power services which should really be a public service available for all Sudanese people.

4.3.1.5. Water: The Sudan is not supposed to suffer from any problems of water, either for drinking or irrigation. Clean drinking water should be provided for both urban and rural areas. Scarcity of water in peripheral areas should be tackled properly by the State and not to be dealt with by 'self-help'

programmes which were in fact an evasive way on behalf of the successive governments for not undertaking their duties.

4.3.1.6. Security: No settlement without security; the security of the State should be based on the security of the **Citizen**. Any conflict between these two securities implies one thing that the rights of citizenship are threatened by the same institution which is supposed to protect it, that is the **State**. The lack of security threatens the developmental settlement of people, therefore security should be provided in the interest of people. Official institutions, such as the Police, and people institutions, such as civilian societies and tribal leadership, should be involved in security provision, especially in settling inter-tribal conflicts. The provision of security should not be in any way a justification for violating human and cultural rights of either the individuals or the groups.

4.3.1.7. Woman: Although the prestigious status and freedom of **Woman** has been for so long the subject-matter of chant in many theses, nevertheless, she has been for long time subjected to discrimination and persecution, in fact by mainly the same people who chant her freedom in way of anaesthetization so as to consolidate intimidation. The **Movement** of **CUSH** believes –and works to the effect- that **Woman** freedom can only be realized when we look at her through the **humanistic perspective** that treats her as a human-being who enjoys both intellectual and material **independency**, a matter that is supposed to eradicate discrimination between her and **Man**, and consequently bring to an end the **historical hegemony** of the **patrilineal system** with its intellectual and practical rigidity. Therefore, no legislation, nor any behaviour or law, negatively based on the gender differences between **Woman** and **Man**, should be decreed. In fact, **Woman** emancipation also entails emancipating **Man** from sticking to out-of-date reactionary concepts. **Woman** and **Man** should work together so as to emancipate themselves from the entanglement of the consciousness of both sexual and bourgeoisie structures that have so far crippled our society from approaching the space of the consciousness structure of creativity represented in **Sudanese Nationalism**.

4.3.1.8. Arts: Although creativity seems to be of an individualistic nature, but it is an indivisible **part** of the general **cultural process**. According to **centralism** and **mono-culturalism**, creativity in our **Country**, in its different genres, has been strangled and suffocated as it was let to respire through only one **lingo-cultural means** which is the language and culture of the **Centre**. This has resulted in having the creative potentials of the cultures of the **Margin** to be subjected in the course of centuries to continuous processes of silencing, relegation and sycophancy by looking at them as '**folk arts**' that are not up to the standard of '**proper arts**' produced by the **Centre**. In this regard the **Centre** itself has failed in producing an original creation that reflects our reality. For instance, its produce in the field of thespian and cinematic arts is below humble. The **Sudanese drama** has stamped itself with **tomfoolery** and **clamour**. In our opinion, this is merely a diversion in which their **ideological complicity** has got them stuck. Though the cultural conflict in the Sudan –at the top of which comes the Civil War- is satiated with real melodrama, the prevailing dramatic works are sunk in phoney, tomfool performances and bad-written,

bad-acted and bad-directed murder drama. Furthermore, they are confined in the issues that interest the culturally privileged classes of the **Centre**, or –when open outward- the issues that reflect rural life of the **Islam-Arab middle** of the Sudan. This shows clear ideological complicity. In the field of **vocal music** it is worthy to note that until the mid of the 20th century, the Islamic and Arabic culture in middle Sudan was vehemently against it, considering it a work to be done only by **drifters** and **vagabonds**. Now, the vocal music of the **Centre**, which is of Arab identity, is nothing but the same vocal music of the **Margin** reproduced, and then marketed and distributed with the aim of **obliterating** the **original genres** of the vocal music of the **Margin**.

This situation should be changed through **cultural democracy**. Hereby, we, in the **Movement of CUSH**, proclaim the reign of the outburst of Sudanese creativity in all its cultural and linguistic spectra. The reign of centricity eradication has come: no ‘national’ broadcast, no ‘national’ TV, no ‘national’ newspapers! It is high time we call things with their real names; these **Medias** have never been **National**, but **Central** all the time. We proclaim the reign of real **National Creativity** in its **Cultural Pluralistic** nature which begin by dismantling the **cultural taboos** enveloped with silence so as to expose them. And let the mishmash of all this be a creative outburst of an international cultural festival; it is the “**Jungle & Desert International Festival**”, the organization of which should be planned to be held every time in one of the cultural regions of Sudan.

4.3.1.9. Sports: **Modern sports** have been viewed as a kind of reckless entertainment. On the other hand, the **traditional sports** have been viewed as a kind of backward and primitive exercise. This situation clearly reflects **schizophrenia** in the **cultural** and **civilian** life created by the **ideology** of **hegemony** and its processes of **alienation** and persecution, and **mono-cultural projects** which aim at reproducing the **Margin** in the culture of the **Centre**. This is why we have been witnessing drastic deterioration in all aspects of sports, whether modern or traditional. The rate of deterioration has always been proportionate with the increase of **Centro-marginalization** until we have reached the present dreary state. For instance in football, the **sports centralization**, represented in having only two or three premium teams based in the **Tri-capital** is itself a manifestation of the **cultural centralization** with all its ideological and authoritative bearings. Thus it has been ordained for all the players of Sudan to show their football creative skills through two or three channels in the **Centre** only. This is why the good base that would allow healthy natural selection in regard of creativity all over the Sudan has not been constructed. In such a context the fans’ affiliation and support to the football teams has become a kind of **blind fanaticism**, a matter that serves nothing but consolidating the ideology of **centralization** culturally, socially and politically by pulling people to the **Centre** through sports. For all these, **WE** see that nationalizing sports, which means grounding and positing it nationally and culturally in its modern and traditional aspects, is the approach for **originality**. The **Nationalization** in itself is part of the process of **Originality** and **Modernism** which culminate in **Independency Actualization**. Therefore, grounding them in our reality of multiculturalism and consequently eradicating centralization should

originalize all kinds of modern sports; and all kinds of traditional sports should be promoted and developed so as to make them realize modernity by actualizing their independency from their local frame. The culturally independent and civilizationally open Sudan is able to present to the world an original and modern model of sports in enrichment of the mankind experience in sports.

4.4. THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Since **Independence**, Sudanese foreign affairs have been aiming at strengthening and consolidating its belonging to the **Arabophone** countries in order to be endowed with full-fledged Arabism, even though this might be **harmful** to its **national integration**.

The process of **Centro-marginalization** that has been in operation in the Sudan for centuries has its deep roots in the Islamic and Arab culture generally. This is why such countries as **Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, and Mauritania** have become **marginal** within what is known as the **Arab world**. What has helped leading to this position is the fact that the classes which are in charge of these countries, by utterly committing themselves to the **Islam-Arab ideology**, have sacrificed their African identity in order to acquire a purchasable Arabism. Commenting on this, one of the veteran African leaders described this Sudanese class by saying that instead of being the **best Africans**, they have chosen with their own free will to be the **worst Arabs**.

The right orientations of the **Foreign Policies** could only be construed, and drawn from the right orientations of **Internal Policies**, which should be based –in this case- on the positive consideration of **multi-culturalism**. The perspective of the **Congress of CUSH** is based on the principles of **Independency** and **Cooperation** between all the peoples of the globe within the frame of **peaceful coexistence** and **common interests** that would guarantee thrive and development for all. In this regard a stress is made to adopt open foreign policies with the world in general and with Africa in particular.

5. FINAL WORD

After serious studies, **CUSH** presents this programme with deep belief in a good future built on **Freedom, Justice, and Peace**. In doing this it does not only identify its people -the good people who along different routes and paths have been, for endless ages, tapping their way of future while dreaming of it- but it does also make them recognize themselves and their programme.

The implementation of this programme does not need miracles; it only needs hard work, altruism, and denial of egoism, as the case with true revolutions worldwide. Half the road is paved, as the problem is not a matter of resources but a problem of vision that has lead to maladministration.

WE are perfectly aware that facing the central hegemony is not something easy; the **Centre** would defend its authoritative acquirements with all its might. Nevertheless, we, on the other hand, shall push forward driven by the nobleness of our objectives and the certainty of victory.

The Islamic and Arabic culture has played a **glorious role** in the Sudan; it entered its realm of civilization conflicts in a period when the Sudanese societies were suffering from encapsulation. By that time, the Islamic and Arabic civilization was also at its autumn, after centuries of reigning and prevalence. Then it entered the Sudan and broke through the rings of civilization isolation. In this context, and since the advent of the Funj era, the **State institution** has been established in accordance with the vehicles of **Islam-Arab ideology**, mainly because **mono-culturalism** was the coin of the time, beside the fact that the sun of the 'National State' had not risen yet. Furthermore, the crisis of identity had not yet developed to the extent of considering it to be a **parameter** of **Human Rights** as the case in present time. Presently, this programme of mono-culturalism is no more in the interest of the Sudan, nor is it in the interest of the Islamic and Arabic culture itself. Therefore, it is high time for us to evolve and develop from the phase of the "Melting Pot" to the advanced phase of "Unity in Diversity" where the cultural and material rights of all ethnic groups are maintained in equilibrium.

WE are not against the **Islamic and Arab Middle** of the Sudan; it belongs to us and we belong to it. We are against the **Centre** and its **Islam-Arab ideology** of hegemony and persecution. The **Centre** would accuse us of being against the Arabs and Islam, and history shall prove that we are not so. We are against a **socio-cultural consciousness** -i.e. ideological- posited in time and place. It is a consciousness that would neither be Arabic, if we measure it with the standard of Arabism, nor would it be Islamic, if we measure it with the standard of Islam. We are against this **ideological consciousness** which **masks** its face with **Arabism** and **Islamism** so as to justify cultural and racial oppression and intimidation. It is the right of any group of Sudanese people to identify with the Islamic and Arabic culture as far as it finds itself in that; likewise, it is the right of any group of the Sudanese people to identify with its pre-Arab and pre-Islamic African culture, without this being an excuse for breaching its fundamental rights. In this, the **institution** of the **State** should not take side in favour of a certain culture at the expense of other cultures. This is what we are up to! This is a **CALL** directed to all **honourable peoples** of the Sudan, with those who belong to the Islamic and Arabic culture included. Those who stand against this **Programme** are known with their ignorance and supercilious pride. The people who stand against **Freedom, Justice, and Peace** would eventually fail, not prevail, that because history always goes forward. And truth, just like the rays of sun, spreads without violence to divulge the conspiracies of the despots and their followers and turns them into haunting nightmares.

What we have to do now is to **accelerate** the **wheels** of **history** in order to achieve the goal in time; from this moment on, every one should begin. We have got a lot to learn and a lot to teach. The first lesson of the **Revolution** to learn is how to carefully and realistically look at the **truths** of **life**; the second lesson is how to learn the right and practical ways of thinking that would lead us to **efficiency**. We are ordained to very soon achieve the moment so far hidden in the future, where every child shall find bread, school, and a playing park; and where every sick person shall find medicine and health; and where every labourer shall reap all the fruits of his work, missing none; and where every believer shall find a temple for his religion; and every merry person shall find a lot of songs to chant; and no one

shall be sad, but the supercilious ignorants.

So, march forward!

CUSH

6 April 2003

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