# **Darfur Women Action Group**



# Strategic Framework for Sustainable Change in the Republic of Sudan

September 2019

#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The Strategic Framework for Sustainable Change in the Republic of Sudan ("Framework") is the result of a collective effort led by the Darfur Women Action Group ("DWAG") with contributions from 37 experts and Sudanese civil society representatives ("Working Group") on the following subjects: the genocide in Darfur, conflict resolution, genocide prevention, international human rights law ("IHRL"), international humanitarian law ("IHL"), women's rights, and international criminal law.

The development of this Framework was governed by the following principles:

- 1. Addressing the human rights of the historically marginalized communities in Sudan
- 2. Understanding and acknowledging historical grievances in Sudan in light of the genocide in Darfur, forced displacement in Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains, and economic discrimination in Eastern Sudan and Far North Nubia
- 3. Ensuring justice and criminal accountability for all crimes
- 4. Ensuring humanitarian assistance and safe return for all refugees and internally displaced persons ("IDPs")
- 5. Developing steps forward in reference to international human rights and humanitarian laws, applicable precedents, and the realities on the ground in Sudan

Immediate Needs (Top Priority)

- 1. Humanitarian access
- 2. Security and Protection

Short-term Needs (three to six months)

- 1. Establish Interim Government criteria
- 2. Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration ("DDR")
- 3. Creation of enabling environment for safe return of refugees and IDPs
- 4. Peace Negotiations
  - a. Parity and empowerment of women
  - b. Inclusive and proportionate representation of all historically excluded and marginalized groups at all levels
- 5. Establishment of the Ministry of Stability and Human Security
- 6. Criminal accountability for ICC indictees and their accomplices
- 7. Financial accountability for former regime officials and restoration of stolen funds

Long-term Needs (six months or more)

- 1. Promotion and protection of human rights
- 2. Restoration of the rule of law and institutional reform
- 3. Return of lands and property
- 4. Genocide recognition and prevention
- 5. Transitional Justice
- 6. Development and reconstruction

DWAG and the Working Group have developed this Strategic Framework in the hopes of assisting Sudan's interim government achieve an effective and sustainable transition to peace and justice, and also to establish a foundation for an inclusive and democratic future for all of its people. Seeking and inviting credible international and regional stakeholders with a willingness to support Sudan's transitional process through funding, expert human capital, advocacy, and technical assistance to support all phases of the transition is needed to implement this Framework in the interests of the people of Sudan.

#### I. Introduction

The Strategic Framework for Sustainable Change in the Republic of Sudan ("Framework") is an initiative led by the Darfur Women Action Group ("DWAG") with contributions from 37 experts referred to as the Working Group, all of whom specialize in the following subject areas: the genocide in Darfur, conflict resolution, genocide prevention, international human rights law ("IHRL"), international humanitarian law ("IHL"), women's rights, and international criminal law. The Working Group also included representation from a diverse segment of Sudanese civil society. In response to the removal of Omar al-Bashir and the establishment of the Transitional Military Council ("TMC") as the transitional authority in the Republic of Sudan ("Sudan"), the Working Group developed this Framework with definitive action items as a sustainable approach to transition the country towards a peaceful and democratic future with the help of the international community.

Throughout the consultative process in developing the Framework, the Working Group emphasized that in order to bring lasting peace to Sudan, a comprehensive approach is needed that will thoroughly address all of the issues related to the current and long-standing crises. It was agreed that the approach must respond to the immediate needs of the affected communities, refugees and internally displaced persons ("IDPs"), promote the rule of law, address gross human rights violations, and bring lasting stability to Sudan. The Working Group concluded that all strategic recommendations for Sudan's interim government must be based on the following principles:

- A. Addressing the rights of the historically marginalized communities in Sudan, specifically recognizing the plight of those impacted by the genocide in Darfur and forced displacement in Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains, as well as the people of Eastern Sudan, and integrating these communities into the decision-making process in Sudan;
- B. Understanding and acknowledging historical grievances in Sudan and the importance of trustbuilding among the various components of the Sudanese community on issues of strategic importance to the future of Sudan, recognizing that the country's transformation cannot be achieved without first addressing the grievances that led to multiple crises and the recent uprisings;
- C. Ensuring a measure of justice for victims and ensuring accountability for the perpetrators of the most serious violations of IHRL and IHL;
- D. Ensuring humanitarian assistance and creating an enabling environment to facilitate safe return and restoration of property for all refugees and IDPs;
- E. Establishing the foundation for sustainable peace across Sudan.

#### II. Background

#### A. Genocide in Darfur

The genocide in Darfur is deeply rooted in the political, economic, and social marginalization of the indigenous African tribes in Darfur. The intentional and systematic exclusion of these marginalized groups from participation in decision-making processes, access to resources, and other socio-economic benefits that have been made readily available to groups who identify as Arab has promoted the ideology of superiority and inequality, which exacerbated the situation and eventually lead to genocide and the forced displacement of millions of Darfuris. The events that took place before and during the genocide have created unprecedented grievances that must be carefully understood and effectively addressed.

In 2003, the Sudanese government launched a genocidal campaign against the ethnic tribes in Darfur, namely the Zaghawa, Masalit, and Fur tribes. In 2005, the situation in Darfur was declared a genocide by a multitude of international actors, including the United States and European Union, following an investigation by the United Nations ("UN") International Commission of Inquiry. By 2006, the UN reported that over 300,000 had been killed since the outbreak of violence, most of whom were women and children. In addition, government soldiers and government-backed militia (known as the Janjaweed) have continually utilized rape and other forms of sexual violence as a weapon of war and as a method of terror against men, women, and child survivors. A countless number of women and girls have fallen victim to sexual violence, left to suffer in silence due to the stigma and fear associated with rape.

To date, there are over 4.7 million people who have been impacted by the genocide in Darfur: over 3 million people are still displaced and have been forced to live in IDP camps for over 16 years, 2.7 million of whom are in Darfur, and 377,000 live in neighboring Chad.<sup>1</sup> These camps have limited access to humanitarian aid and basic survival necessities, due in large part to the government's expulsion of all major aid agencies in 2009 and the severe restrictions placed on humanitarian access following these expulsions. The vast majority of victims living in these camps are women and children, with women making up around 80% of the total number. Around 60% of the children in IDP camps are of school age, but they have no access to education. Nearly one million people have been forced to flee Sudan altogether and are living as refugees in countries such as the Central African Republic, Chad, Egypt, Ghana, Israel, Jordan, Libya, and South Sudan. Refugees continue to face unimaginable challenges in these countries, despite having migrated for safety.

The UN has imposed economic sanctions on Sudan, and a list of government officials have been identified as being responsible for the genocide in Darfur. In 2005, the case of Darfur was unanimously referred to the International Criminal Court ("ICC") by the member states of the UN Security Council ("UNSC"). Upon conducting an investigation, the ICC confirmed that genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity have been committed by the government actors led by former Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir. The ICC issued arrest warrants for high-level Sudanese officials: the recently-ousted Omar al-Bashir, former defense minister Abdulrahim Hussein, former Minister of Interior for Darfur Ahmed Mohammed Haroun, United Resistance Front Leader Bahr Idriss Abu Garda, and prominent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Remarks at a UN Security Council Briefing on the Situation in Sudan and South Sudan, Dec. 12, 2017.

Janjaweed leader Ali Kushayb. However, all suspects have remained at-large and have yet to be arrested to stand trial, with the exception of Bahr Idriss Abu Garda, whose charges were dropped.

The current reality on the ground in Darfur is critical and requires special consideration from Sudan and the international community, especially since historical trends indicate a rise in mass atrocities during government transition phases in conflict countries like Sudan. Today, people in camps in Darfur are facing tremendous challenges to their daily survival, and they are constantly attacked by the Janjaweed militia and the government Rapid Support Forces ("RSF"). In addition, humanitarian access continues to be extremely restricted. During the recent protests in Sudan in 2019, attacks in Darfur continued unabated and have not received any attention at the national level or coverage by the international media. To achieve lasting solutions at the national level in Sudan, significant priority must be given to addressing the situation in Darfur.

B. Forced Displacement in the Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains ("the Two Areas")

The Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains ("the Two Areas"), which are located near Sudan's border with South Sudan, have long been impacted by the civil war between the North (present-day Sudan) and the South (present-day South Sudan), and millions have either been killed or forced to flee their homes. The comprehensive peace agreement that granted South Sudan an independence referendum also affirmed the right to self-determination for the Two Areas through a popular consultation to be conducted by the end of the interim period in 2011. Instead of holding popular consultations, the government of Sudan appointed Ahmed Haroun, one of the ICC indictees, as the governor of South Kordofan state, which includes the Nuba Mountains. In addition, the government of Sudan launched large-scale aerial attacks against government opposition forces, targeting civilian areas including farms, hospitals, and schools in South Kordofan and the Blue Nile states. These bombings caused nearly one million people to flee their homes, and the ethnic Nubians who inhabit the Two Areas have been specifically targeted. Those who left their homes have yet to return due to the lack of safety and security.

The crises in the Two Areas is a prime example of Sudan's perpetuation of mass atrocities by government officials. Even though the right to self-determination had been affirmed for the Two Areas, in practice, these rights were never recognized by Sudan, and to this day, the popular consultation that was promised has not taken place.

C. Eastern Sudan and Far North Nubia

The Eastern Sudan region has experienced marginalization and underdevelopment, acute poverty and disease, and a severe lack of service delivery. Prevalent security and migration problems have only exacerbated these issues. Despite the region's significant geographic importance as the home of Sudan's only maritime ports, the exclusion of Eastern Sudan from political participation has led to discriminatory development problems and unequal resource distribution. As with Darfur, the government of Khartoum militarized a select number of tribes who continue to terrorize and destabilize the region. These policies resulted in the rise of armed oppositions during the late 90s and early 2000s. Although a peace agreement was signed in 2006, the regime in Khartoum has failed to honor the agreement, and the region remains prone to multiple man-made crises.

In the Far North Nubia region, the regime in Khartoum has specifically targeted the land of the Nubians for dam construction in the interests of foreign investors. These dam projects have not only destroyed the historical and cultural heritage of the Nubians, but they have also taken away vital farming land and natural resources. Those who raised concerns about the harmful effects of dam construction were met with violence and murder, and justice has yet to be served for the protestors who were killed.

As the result of the above-mentioned crises, an unprecedented divide amongst the Sudanese people has emerged along ethnic, racial, religious, and geographical boundaries, and it has been exacerbated by the growing human rights abuses and economic crises. This, in addition to Khartoum's support for international extremist groups and the crimes that led to the ICC indictments that subjected Sudan to further isolation and international stigma, prevented the country from political stability and economic growth. The regime in Khartoum also used military means to "resolve" these crises instead of using peaceful methods, which has led to an increase in military spending that drained the country's resources, all together causing frustration and anger that prompted protests throughout Sudan.

## III. Recent Developments

In December 2018, Sudanese citizens throughout Sudan staged the largest peaceful protests in the history of the country and demanded that al-Bashir's regime step down. Protestors called for a civilian government to resolve the immediate crises and work towards a democratic transformation. On April 11, 2019, al-Bashir was forced to leave office in Sudan's capital of Khartoum, and the TMC has since taken over. Peaceful protesters in Khartoum continued to call for the transfer of power from military-led to civilian-led, as some members of the interim government alleged to be participated in the Darfur genocide, including the leaders Abdel Fattah al-Burhan and Mohamed Dagalo, leading figures in charge of the RSF.

Several grassroots and civil society organizations in Sudan have formed a neutral group of professional associations represented by the Alliance for Freedom and Change ("AFFC"), taking on the responsibility of negotiating with the interim government. These two parties concluded a power-sharing agreement during July 2019 that was signed under the auspices of African Union ("AU") mediation led by the Ethiopian Prime Minister and supported by other regional and international actors. The agreement has been widely criticized by many Sudanese and human rights advocates, namely for completely failing to mention the atrocities in Darfur and the Two Areas, for granting the military 21 months of continued rule, and for only committing to investigate one of the several protest massacres that have occurred since April 2019.

Although the AFFC has considered the power-sharing agreement as a step forward for conflict resolution in Sudan, there is still no strategy towards how to implement solutions or effectively resolve any of the outstanding crises, and the agreement lacks guarantees or oversight mechanisms to ensure implementation.

## IV. Strategic Framework

After carefully monitoring the crises throughout Sudan and analyzing the recent developments in Khartoum, DWAG and the Working Group developed a Strategic Framework to provide recommendations for sustainable change in Sudan. A rights-based approach in accordance with the realities on the ground and in consideration of international best practices was used to formulate

recommendations for resolving the current and long-standing crises. The Framework contains guidance for the interim government on how to address the immediate, short-term (three to six months), and long-term (six months or more) needs in Sudan.

- A. Immediate Needs (top priority)
  - 1. **Humanitarian Access**: Sudan's interim government must invite previously-expelled humanitarian aid agencies back into Sudan and grant them unrestricted access to Darfur, the Two Areas, and any other area affected by conflict pursuant to international humanitarian laws, with the assurance that aid workers will be protected while in Sudan. International human rights observers should also be invited into Sudan as a sign of good will and commitment to peace by the interim government.
  - 2. Safety, Security and Protection: The RSF and other government forces must cease all attacks on peaceful protestors and on IDPs in Darfur and the Two Areas, and a genocide warning should be issued by the international community in light of the protest massacres that have taken place. The safety, security, and protection of all IDPs must be a top priority, and the immediate withdrawal of military personnel from within and around IDP camps, villages, and cities within the crises-affected areas is necessary. In order to help facilitate this, the UN African Union Mission in Darfur ("UNAMID") must be extended beyond 2020 in order to provide protection and escort services to IDPs so that these individuals can exercise their right to return under Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In addition, the inclusion of armed opposition groups in the ruling of the country through a negotiated peace process and in addressing historical grievances must take place in order to establish and build trust in the interim government.
- B. Short-term Needs (three to six months)
  - Interim Government Composition: Establish selection criteria and mandatory qualifications for individuals and organizations involved in Sudan's interim government, to include but not be limited to the following criteria:
    - a. Cannot be listed on the sanctions lists of the UN, European Union, U.S. Office of Foreign Assets Control, Interpol, or any other internationally-recognized criminal watch list;
    - b. Must not have affiliations, financial or otherwise, with any international terrorist group;
    - c. Proven history of good moral character and utmost integrity;
    - d. Must not be affiliated with any individuals who are either indicted by, or under investigation by, the ICC for human rights violations in Sudan;
    - e. Proportionate representation of the Sudanese population, including members of historically marginalized groups from Darfur, the Two Areas, and Eastern Sudan;

- f. Must be a citizen of Sudan and carry a degree from an accredited university in Law, Economics, Business Administration, Politics, or another social justice-related field; and
- g. Must be physically fit, in good health, and between the ages of 35 65 years old, or not to exceed to the official retirement age under Sudanese labor laws.
- 2. **Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration**: In accordance with the relevant UNSC resolutions on Darfur, all government-related armed groups (including the RSF and the Janjaweed militia) and any other armed groups associated with the former al-Bashir regime must be disarmed, demobilized, and reintegrated into one national army. The armed opposition forces from Darfur and the Two Areas must also be demobilized through a genuine peace agreement. Former members of armed groups who are not involved in or accused of IHRL or IHL violations should be integrated into the Sudanese National Army. The current security forces should also be restructured, such that the Sudanese National Army reflects its pre-1989 form. Through a comprehensive program of training and capacity-building, law enforcement agencies within the police and the security sectors should be reformed, and guidelines and internal protocols with respect to civil rights for the manner in which duties are performed should be developed.
- 3. **Creation of Enabling Environment for Safe Return**: An environment that is conducive to the voluntary and peaceful return of IDPs and refugees must be established in Sudan to promote self-reliance and voluntary repatriation, as the right of return is enshrined in Article 13 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While the return of refugees to Sudan is a long-term need, the immediate need is to create an environment that can facilitate the future return of IDPs and refugees. This requires a coordinated effort that should be undertaken using the guiding principles of the Protocol on the Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons, which was adopted by the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region ("ICGLR") in 2006.<sup>2</sup> Coordination between the government of Sudan in conjunction with the UN and the humanitarian aid agencies must provide basic services in the areas where refugees and IDPs are likely to return. This includes the establishment of infrastructure and services such as:
  - a. medical clinics;
  - b. clean water and sanitation sources;
  - c. schools and job training sites;
  - d. food, livestock, and arable land;
  - e. road and building rehabilitation;
  - f. travel arrangements and logistics;
  - g. trauma counseling and psychosocial support (with a special emphasis on survivors of sexual violence and children); and
  - h. financial support (i.e. seed money) to enable the returnees to pay for their immediate needs and re-establish their lives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 2006 Protocol on the Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons, available at <u>https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/52384fe44.pdf</u>

- 4. **Peace Negotiations**: The organization of a negotiated peace agreement with the armed opposition groups from Darfur and the Two Areas must occur to ensure that the multiple crises throughout Sudan are effectively addressed. Countries with previous successful experiences and/or a history of effective support should be invited to participate as observers and guarantors in the negotiations and monitor all subsequent results, as such participation would distinguish these negotiations from the current efforts to integrate the armed opposition groups into the agreement between the interim government and the armed opposition groups. The shared goal of the parties involved in the negotiations must be to avoid a return to war and stabilize areas affected by armed conflicts.
  - a. **Women Empowerment**: In accordance with UNSC Resolution 1325,<sup>3</sup> adopt an effective mechanism for women participation in decision-making processes and prioritize women's participation by a minimum of 50% within all executive and legislative bodies. Sudan should also ratify the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. All forms of sexual violence and sexual harassment must be criminalized and made punishable by appropriate penalties under law across Sudan in accordance with international standards.
- 5. Inclusive and Proportionate Representation of all historically excluded and marginalized groups, particularly those affected by crises: Ensure that all historically excluded and marginalized groups and other affected communities are represented fairly and proportionally in all ministries and decision-making organs, including members from Darfur, the Two Areas, and Eastern Sudan. Affirmative action should be considered, wherever applicable.
- 6. **Ministry of Stability and Human Security**: Create an independent body to specifically assist those who have been impacted by the crises in Darfur and the Two Areas. Under this Ministry, regional ministers and provisional commissioners must be appointed to undertake the work of the Ministry at the local level and perform oversight functions. Appointments to this Ministry should be made from the affected communities.
- 7. **Criminal Accountability**: The ICC Prosecutor last reported to the UNSC that the combined charges against the indicted officials of the Sudanese government, including al-Bashir, "include over sixty counts of war crimes and over fifty counts of crimes against humanity", and she regretted that "the alleged perpetrators of these crimes remain free, while the victims and affected communities continue to wait for justice."<sup>4</sup> In order to pave the way for justice, trust-building and reconciliation, implementation of the pending ICC arrest warrants must be prioritized. Further to the UNSC Resolution 1593 referral of the situation in Darfur to the ICC, the ICC has had jurisdiction over the case of Darfur since 2005, and indictments were issued in 2009. The interim government must arrest and surrender the ICC indictees to stand trial in the Hague, as trial in Sudan would not be credible or effective given the current climate, and there would also be no

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Statement to the United Nations Security Council on the Situation in Darfur, pursuant to UNSCR 1593 (2005), Dec. 14, 2018.

Darfur Women Action Group • www.darfurwomenaction.org guarantees for witness protection. ICC prosecution will establish a basis for justice in Sudan, which will help guarantee international support for national judiciary institutions in the country. The ICC and ICC State parties must provide witness protection and financial support for the criminal proceedings, and the interim government must permit ICC access throughout Sudan to continue to investigate crimes committed in Darfur. After establishment, the criminal accountability measures must be continued through international, regional, and national processes chosen by the affected communities based on the information gathered from the criminal investigations. In addition, the imposition of travel bans, asset freezing/seizure, and targeted sanctions on war criminals and associates of the former regime in and outside of Sudan must take place.

- 8. **Financial Accountability**: Tracking and investigating funds stolen by former regime officials and restoring these funds for use as victim compensation, development projects, construction, education, medical services, and infrastructure. Regional and international pressure in monitoring the implementation of these processes is needed, to include monitoring the financial inflows from countries who have supported and financed the former regime (i.e. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates). Effective financial accountability in Sudan will help to restore the faith of the international community in Sudan and also relieve donor fatigue from other countries.
- C. Long-term Needs (six months or more)
  - 1. Protection of human rights: Establish the basis for equal rights, justice, and respect for human dignity for all Sudanese, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, religion, color, or geographical territory pursuant to the rights granted under IHRL, the African Charter for Human and People's Rights, and the UN International Declaration of Human Rights, to be stipulated in the national interim constitution and the subsequent permanent constitution. Such protections should also give special consideration, including but not limited to affirmative action programs, to ensure the effective and meaningful participation of historically marginalized and excluded groups. Measures should prohibit any and all forms of discrimination or violence against Sudanese women and girls, include provisions for youth empowerment, and afford all Sudanese citizens the right to freedom of expression, assembly, association, and unrestricted access to the internet, as well as freedom of the press and media.
  - 2. **Restoration of the Rule of Law and Institutional Reform**: Establish and reform the country's legal institutions to align them with regional and international best practices and uphold the rule of law in Sudan. Such institutions shall be staffed by competent and qualified professionals with knowledge of both international and domestic laws, and staff shall not be selected based solely on affiliations with any political parties.
  - 3. **Return of Lands and Property**: Develop a mechanism for the peaceful restoration of land and property belonging to IDPs and refugees in Darfur and the Two Areas under the local

Darfur Women Action Group • www.darfurwomenaction.org and national laws that were in effect at the time of the forced displacement and in accordance with international human rights principles (i.e. Article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the ICGLR IDP Protocol). Also provide assistance to those who have been negatively impacted by dam construction and other discriminatory policies in Eastern Sudan and Far North Nubia.

- 4. **Genocide Recognition and Prevention**: Establish genocide prevention mechanisms in accordance with Sudan's obligations under Article 1 of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Such mechanisms shall include moral, economic, and psychological compensation for the genocide survivors in Darfur, national recognition of the genocide in Darfur with a public acknowledgment of the harm experienced by those affected, and a national apology presented by the interim government. For the Two Areas, a national recognition and acknowledgment of the harm experienced by those who were affected is needed. For both Darfur and the Two Areas, reparation and redress mechanisms for survivors should be established and implemented as well, to include outlets for survivors to share their stories.
- 5. **Transitional Justice**: In addition to criminal accountability for the ICC indictees, as mentioned above, the creation of an independent truth and justice commission to investigate and prosecute those responsible for other crimes in Darfur and the Two Areas would help lay the framework for transitional justice and sustainable resolutions of the long-standing crises, with the support of the UN and third party States with a proven commitment to human rights and the rule of law.
- 6. **Development and Reconstruction**: Establish a Darfur Development and Reconstruction Fund to be administered by an independent body of international and national organizations to oversee the implementation of projects that are responsive to the needs of those affected by the crises in Darfur and the Two Areas. Such Fund could be modeled after the successful precedent set by UNSC Resolution 1483 on the Development Fund for Iraq, in which frozen State assets were used for the benefit of the Iraqi people.
- D. Support of the International Community and Stakeholders

Credible international and regional stakeholders with willingness to support Sudan's transitional process for funding, human capital, advocacy, and technical assistance are needed to support all phases of the transition (immediate, short-term and long-term). Ideally, countries who have previously played a key role in providing support and raising awareness for humanitarian crises similar to the ones in Darfur and the Two Areas, and who are willing to provide expertise and support in an altruistic manner, could partner with the people of Sudan in the implementation of this Framework.

#### E. Conclusion

DWAG and the Working Group have elaborated this Strategic Framework in the hopes of assisting the interim government achieve a smooth and sustainable transition to peace and justice in Sudan, and to ensure an inclusive and democratic future for all of its people. This Framework is the product of over 100 years of combined expert knowledge, shared with Sudan and beyond to create concrete actions for a civilian-led, democratic and prosperous Sudan.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFFC – Alliance for Freedom and Change; civilian organization in Sudan advocating for a civilian-led government

AU – African Union

DDR – Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration; UN principle for safeguarding and sustaining the communities in which individuals return to post-conflict environments, while building national capacity for long-term peace, security and development

DWAG – Darfur Women Action Group

Framework – Strategic Framework for Sustainable Change in the Republic of Sudan

ICC – International Criminal Court

ICGLR – International Conference on the Great Lakes Region

IDPs – Internally Displaced Persons

IHL – International Humanitarian Law

IHRL – International human Rights Law

RSF – Rapid Support Forces; military arm of the Government of Sudan, most of whom were former members of the Janjaweed militia responsible for the genocide in Darfur

Sudan – Republic of Sudan

The Two Areas – Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains, located near Sudan's border with South Sudan

TMC – Transitional Military Council; the *ad hoc* military council which led Sudan following Omar al-Bashir's removal from power and was subsequently integrated into the interim government

UN – United Nations

UNAMID - United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur

UNSC - United Nations Security Council

Working Group – Darfur Women Action Group and 37 individual experts and Sudanese civil society representatives who contributed to the development of the Strategic Framework for Sustainable Change in the Republic of Sudan