

Transitional Justice In Sudan

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Introduction

The United Nations defines transitional justice as “the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society's attempt to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past violations and abuses to ensure accountability, serve justice, and achieve reconciliation”.

The report highlights definition of terms and concepts of the transitional justice, taking into account the different temporal and geographical contexts with focus on groups targeted by persecution and injustice. The report pinpoints relationships of identity politics (gender identities, ethnicity, religion, geographical region, socio-economic status, migration and refugee status) and their intersections with the occurring violations whether through legal or structural discrimination in formal, as well as informal institutions.

The report is based on direct interviews the researchers have conducted with project with some Sudanese civil society experts and activists in transitional justice. The scope of the report covers the period from (1989-2021) with focus on geographical areas (Darfur Region, South Kordofan, Blue Nile, Old Halfa, Northern, Gezira and Khartoum).

Transitional justice

Transitional justice is a response to systematic and widespread human rights violations, aimed at achieving due recognition of the violations suffered by victims and enhancing the prospects for peace, reconciliation and democracy. Transitional justice is not a special form of justice, but rather an adaptation of justice to societies undergoing a phase of transformation following an era of

rampant human rights violations, sometimes abruptly and sometimes over decades.

This approach has emerged in the late eighties and early nineties, mostly in response to political changes in Latin America and Eastern Europe, and the rising of voices in demand to justice in these regions. Human rights advocates and others sought to address the systematic abuses committed by previous regimes, but without disturbing the country's political transitions. Popularly described as a "transition to democracy," they began to call this new multidisciplinary field "transitional justice."

Governments of these countries have adopted many of what have since become basic approaches to transitional justice, including the following initiatives:

- **Criminal proceedings:** These include judicial investigations of those responsible for human rights violations. Prosecutors often focus their investigations on suspects who are believed to bear the greatest responsibility for serious and systematic violations.
- **Truth Commissions:** The main purpose of these commissions of inquiry is to investigate and report on key periods of violations that have occurred in recent past. These commissions are often official bodies offering recommendations to address such violations and ensure prevention of future recurrence.
- **Compensation and reparation programs:** These are state-supported initiatives that contribute to reparation for material and moral damages resulting from past violations. Usually they distribute a combination of material and symbolic compensation to victims which may include financial compensation and official apologies.

- **Reform of the security services:** These efforts aim to transform military, police, judicial and other relevant state institutions from instruments of repression and corruption to honest instruments serving to the public.
- **Commemoration efforts:** These include museums and memorials that preserve the general memory of victims and raise moral awareness about past crimes with the aim of establishing a barrier to prevent their recurrence in the future. (3)

In an article on transitional justice mechanisms (4), the issue of institutional and legal reform is commented on as follows:

"In some circumstances significant strides can be made through legal reform committees and initiatives to address issues of marginalization deep. For instance, law reform initiatives in Sierra Leone significantly improved the legal status of women early in the millennium. "There has been an innovative attempt in southern Yemen to address large-scale land and property confiscation but failed due to renewed violence, however, it suggests that even complex land issues can sometimes be addressed within the contexts of the transitional justice."

Institutional reform is the process by which state institutions are reviewed and restructured, so that human rights is respected, the rule of law maintained, and is subject to accountability by voters. By incorporating the transitional justice component, reform efforts shall contribute to ensuring that individual perpetrators are held accountable as well as disrupting all structures enabling such abuses to occur.

Institutional reform may include many justice-related measures, such as:

- **Staff eligibility check:** vetting employees background through restructuring or recruitment to rid public service of exploitative and corrupt officials, or, to punish them, in other words.
- **Structural reform:** restructuring institutions to enhance integrity and legitimacy by ensuring accountability, building independence, securing representation and increasing responsiveness.
- **Supervision:** establishing of supervisory bodies with public visibility within state institutions to ensure accountability to civil governance.
- **Transforming legal frameworks:** reforming or establishing new legal frameworks, such as adopting constitutional amendments or international human rights treaties to ensure the protection and promotion of human rights.
- **Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration:** Disbanding armed actors – such as armed organizations – and providing justice processes and means through which ex-combatants can rejoin civil society.
- **Education:** Training programs for officials and public servants on applicable human rights standards and international humanitarian law.

As a transitional justice measure, institutional reform aims to recognize victims as citizens and rights holders, and to build trust between all citizens and their public institutions. Measures to secure assistance in this context include the promotion of freedom of information, public information campaigns on citizens' rights, and verbal or symbolic reform measures such as commemorative quotas or public apologies (5).

Not only is it important to think creatively and innovatively about the ways in which serious human rights violations are addressed, but important issues that help increase the chances of achieving transitional justice goals must also be taken into account:

1. **Context analysis:** The political, social and legal conditions in a country dictate the approaches that can be undertaken and when it is appropriate. It is important to take the time to conduct the necessary analysis, avoid a "checklist" or template of measures, and ensure that what is being done responds to an informed understanding of the situation in the country.
2. **Make appropriate interventions:** Due to the limitations of the ultimate and fragility, it can sometimes be wise not to try to do several things at the same time. It is well known that it would be in the interest of some to seek to use these factors as a means of delaying justice measures forever. The "art" of transitional justice is to strike a balance between seeking justice and confronting resistance and the risks associated with fragility. All the different ways of addressing violations and their causes are complex, requiring time and resources that are not available in many countries. There is not always a strict guidance that can be given about what to do and when. What matters is that justice measures are put in place in conditions that will make their success most likely, whether immediately or over a longer period.
3. **Participation:** The opportunity to address gross human rights violations refers to a potentially important part of the life of any society. Addressing violations brings the possibility of openness, new trends, and the opportunity to engage new sectors of society, including women and others who have been excluded. The value and sustainability of justice efforts in this context depend heavily on people's participation outside political and

economic power structures. This means going beyond elite and vested interest agreements; it requires that victims and other marginalized groups participate in determining how best to address the massive human rights failures to build a more secure future for them.

4. **Innovation:** Although some aspects of transitional justice are well established, careful analysis can also lead to thoughtful innovation. In some circumstances, it is possible that the most feasible ways of addressing grave human violations do not fit traditional notions of accountability. For instance, in conditions of massive forced displacement, ensuring safe return, restoring property rights, and determining the fate of missing persons should perhaps be the first focus of a human rights-based approach to dealing with the atrocities and destruction that have occurred. These issues may take precedence over traditional criminal justice or fact-finding and truth-seeking efforts, but we must be willing to see these efforts as transitional justice efforts.

What is not covered by transitional justice?

Transitional justice is not a way to fix everything that is wrong with society. Transitional justice may help, but not replace, long-term social and political struggles for justice and equal opportunity. Transitional justice is not a special type of justice such as restorative justice, distributive justice, or penal justice, but an application of human rights policy in certain circumstances. Transitional justice is not "soft" justice. Rather, it is an attempt to provide the most justice possible under the political circumstances of the time. (4)

Transitional Justice and Gender

Since understanding different impacts of gender-based violations is crucial, processes must address these violations by taking into account the methods women use to be active in the social and political circles, or becoming absent from them. Ensuring that women play a key role in the development and implementation of transitional justice measures can have a sustainable impact on these efforts. For example, the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) has established a network of groups of women victims called "Transitional Justice for Women Too" in Tunisia.

Recent developments in international law on gender-related violations and resolutions (such as UN Security Council Resolutions 1325, 1820 and 1888 on Women, Peace and Security) have strengthened the international community's commitment to combating these crimes. However, despite this progress, there has been limited success in prosecuting perpetrators of gender-based violence crimes at the local level.

What role can transitional justice play for women's issues?

Transitional justice mechanisms provide a means to achieve gender justice by exposing gender patterns of violations, enhancing access to justice, and building momentum for reform. Transitional justice mechanisms can help activists challenge the structural causes of gender inequality by publicly acknowledging the factors that made such abuses possible. Recommendations from truth commissions and reparations initiatives can challenge discriminatory practices that contribute to women's vulnerability during repression and conflict. Transitional justice mechanisms also provide opportunities for women to

participate in and influence peacebuilding processes. This can be achieved by ensuring the participation of women's rights groups and victims' groups in shaping and monitoring transitional justice processes.

The International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) formed a network of women victim groups called "Transitional Justice for Women Too" in Tunisia. The network has played a central role in increasing collaboration among women's groups, enabling them to contribute more effectively to the design and implementation of transitional justice processes. These successes include:

1. **Increased submission of testimony by women victims to the Commission:** At the beginning of the testimonial process, women accounted for only 5% of complaints. In response to this low number, ICTJ worked with the network to host a series of workshops to build women victims capacity to testify. By the end, the percentage of degrees provided by women had almost increased fivefold, to 23%.
2. **Submit a collective file to the Commission on how "Circular 108" violates economic and social rights:** This publication effectively prohibits veiled women from having access to employment, education, and other important opportunities. ICTJ and the network worked together to facilitate this submission, making the link between the publication and the violation of women's social and economic rights evident.

The Insaf (7) Campaign for Transitional Justice in Sudan worked directly in all the states with victims and survivors. The transitional justice should not be worked on through ready-made templates or copying experiences of countries in other contexts and with their own history. The campaign’s work aimed at spreading awareness of the importance of transitional justice in Darfur and the Blue Nile

states by organizing individual meetings and questionnaires, during which a number of questions were asked to victims/survivors in areas that have witnessed conflicts and within IDP camps such as Abu Shouk camp, to get a sense of the Sudanese men and women's views and to explore their perceptions about the concept of transitional justice.

Abdullah Adam Khater, journalist and activist for transitional justice, explains in his interview with Adeela's team: "Transitional justice has several levels:

Level I: is related to serious crimes such as genocide, murder, crimes against the law and forced displacement of the population; these crimes cannot be addressed except within a legal framework that is not biased to any of the sides involved (here it should be noted that the International Criminal Court has based in its referral of the Darfur violations' file on the fact that the Sudanese judiciary is 'unable' to prosecute crimes of this kind). For the International Criminal Court, the issue will be one of three options:

- Appearing before the International Criminal Court for the enormity of such violations
- Formation of a hybrid court comprising Sudanese and international judges, provided that the trial is conducted in accordance with the international humanitarian law. The formation of a special tribunal was based on the decision to try former Chadian President Hissène Habré; or what is known as the Arusha courts.

Level II: Cases where criminal prosecution occurs through national courts, such as interpersonal violations.

Level III: cases that can be resolved before native administration courts, such as reconciliation between communities, for instance with cases banditry.

"The Ajaweed mechanism (those whose position within the local communities are of distinction and are eligible to do them justice, such as clerics, mayors and notables) has a role in achieving justice. The constitutional charter as well as the peace agreements stipulated the need to establish a transitional justice commission due to their important role in addressing violations, redressing grievances and reparation for victims.", Abdullah adds.

The application and practices of transitional justice vary according to the internal and external contexts and factors of each country, and in accordance to the nature of the crimes and violations. The Sudan must have its own model based on Sudan's history, economic, social and political factors, to hear victims and survivors' voices in transitional justice discussions, procedures and processes.

Given the different contexts, achieving justice requires a reconsideration of the post-colonial state and the social and cultural hierarchies re-contextualized by the colonial establishments. It also establishes public recognition of the citizens' right to recognize past violations and tries to provide an answer to the simple question of why? Why do such atrocities and abuses occur? The most important question is who is responsible for these violations to other frequent, legitimate questions. Holding accountable those who caused these violations can go through several paths, including initiating prosecutions, as in the case of Kosovo, for instance, or the perpetrators declaring themselves and offering a public apology to the victims, as in the case of South Africa. In both cases/approaches, what remains is the unlikelihood of sacrificing accountability and insisting on the idea that replacing a culture of impunity with a culture of accountability can send a warning to those contemplating future abuses.

Therefore, opening discussions with and between groups in the states of Darfur, the Blue Nile, Kassala, Gedarif, Port Sudan and the midlands, as well as discussing

issues of those dismissed from the Gezira scheme and civil service institutions, and naming and creating various issues, especially transitional justice. Displacement from Old Halfa and the areas of Dal and Kajbar Dams is a proof to the variety of issues that can be discussed or can be tackled through the concept of transitional justice with the multiplicity of geographies, systems of injustice and the diverse Sudanese societies. Opening discussions as such may help feed into comprehensiveness justice, as per a news item on the Sudanese Ministry of Justice website (9 dated February 28, 2021 urging to review the draft law of the Transitional Justice Commission for the year 2020. Summary executions, enforced disappearances and arbitrary arrests of activists and students also contribute to access to justice in enriching the draft law of the Transitional Justice Commission 2020.

For example, in Chile, the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission recommended that the state take a range of measures to improve the situation of victims in the areas of social security, health, education and housing. Before the issuance of Resolution No. 91/123, which established a second national body called the "National Institute for Reparation and Reconciliation", it worked to provide an adequate level of economic stability for victims and ensure their access to educational and health benefits (8) In the final report of the "Equity and Reconciliation Commission" in Morocco, we read, "Based on the holistic vision of the Commission, the concept of reparation is not limited to compensation for material and moral damages, but goes beyond it to include reparation for the rest of the individual damages, whether related to the settlement of legal situations. and those related to health and psychological rehabilitation and social integration, as well as collective reparation in areas where gross violations of human rights have occurred".8

In an interview with Ustaz **As-Sadiq Sumel**, a social sciences academic and media activist, his take on the concept of transitional justice and the relationships of perpetrators with victims and survivors was as follows:

"The killers of martyrs and revolutionaries, women and men, since the inception of the revolutionary action on December 13, 2018, and since 1989, the victims of the military, the Rapid Support Forces, the so-called shadow brigades and the National Islamic Front security apparatus are themselves victims of the violence of the Sudanese state, the confiscation of freedoms, restrictive laws, the dismissal of civil servants (under the claim of sacking for the public good), the policies of impoverishment via applied free market policies, all resulted in structural problems in Sudan's economy. Such as the collapse of the Gezira Scheme and the decline in production and dependence on exports; the excessive security expenditure and formation of militias and armed groups such as the People's Security."

Contexts of transition

Most often, during transition phases a lot of issues is being tried hastily, and within highly complex environments. Achieving public and individual good, democracy, amelioration of public services, rapid growth, etc. cannot occur without significant trade-offs elsewhere. Another issue is that exercising transition still relies largely on a number of assumptions which has little evidence to support: elections per se do not necessarily reinforce democracy. Old group divisions and historical legacies do not necessarily dissipate rapidly; the adoption of a liberal economic policy system does not necessarily lead to better economic outcomes. A more realistic, circumstantial assessment of the onset and context is inevitable for the formulation of an appropriate policy.

Avoidance of such risks is particularly important in fragile States, where a number of hazards are frequent and the interlocking transformation challenges, which vary in their degrees, must be confronted:

- **Poor institutionalization:** In fragile states, public institutions are often very corrupt, weak in policy implementation and unable to act independently, which result in limited public trust and engagement. Institutions may either be structures around which networks of nepotism are built (as in Nigeria and Yemen), or almost non-existent (as in Somalia, East Timor, and Libya). Such conditions can have serious consequences in times of transitions, and political settlements can be less stable. Elections may be more violent and corrupt, undermining their own legitimacy. Political actors are likely to continue to operate exclusively because they see no other way to secure their interests. This, in turn, can hinder the formation of non-political government bodies capable of distributing public services and applying the law fairly.
- **Low social cohesion:** Fragile states tend to have diverse populations with limited solidarity in the transition period. Sharper divisions may arise over which group should hold any position in the state hierarchy. The lack of trust between competing actors can encourage groups to assert or return to ethnic, religious, regional, class, or some other sectarian identity, undermining the limited social fabric that once existed.
- **Fragile political settlements:** Forces that come to power during a transition period usually rely on a preliminary agreement that binds the main actors together. This can be explicit (e.g., the 1977 Moncloa Charter in Spain or peace agreements reached in Guatemala, Sierra Leone and elsewhere) or implicit (e.g., in Kosovo in 1999 and Ukraine in 2004). Whatever its origin or form, in a fragile state the initial political settlement

is usually meagerly binding and may exclude important groups making it difficult for a new or temporary regime to maintain popular support when crises inevitably occur.

- **Conflicting visions and priorities:** Even if key actors in a fragile state come together to end the war or overthrow a tyrant, they may quickly reach an impasse on how to proceed. Different ethnic, religious, and ideological groups may have very different images of how the state is reorganized. Religion can be a particularly contentious issue, both in countries with multiple faiths (Syria and the Central African Republic) and in countries struggling to define the role of religion in public life (Egypt and Libya), as it is a subject that does not allow for less compromise.
- **Economic malaise:** Living conditions often play a crucial role in igniting public anger that sparks transformation. However, it is difficult to improve in fragile states due to a weak economic and educational foundation. The budget deficit in transitions could widen, forcing governments to cut public spending. Instability may lead to reduced investment in business, resulting in reduced employment opportunities. Eventually, citizens may not see any improvement in their lives for many years, which in turn results in growing frustration. As a result, unemployed youth may turn towards crime or extremism.
- **Weak non-governmental sectors:** Although activist groups, trade unions, and social movements often play a key role in overthrowing dictators or ending civil wars, they may be inadequately organized, divided into rival factions, and too politically inexperienced to play a constructive role in a new era. Vulnerabilities in the business sector can also be detected in transition. In the absence of a political sponsor to distribute special privileges, the main industrialists may go out of business. Similarly, local

media likely lack the independence and professionalism necessary to serve as an effective and impartial Fourth Estate in the early stage of transition – only when it is most needed.

- **The weight of history:** As fragile states shift, old mentalities and conflicts gain new prominence in everything from elections (e.g., the Shiite/Sunni/Kurdish divide in Iraq) to justice (e.g., a decade of war crimes trials in Croatia that primarily target ethnic Serbs). Because popular support can quickly turn into disappointment, nostalgia for the previous regime – when there was more repression but less chaos – can emerge. Populist and authoritarian leaders can exploit these conditions to take (or regain) power.
- **Escalation of violence:** Mass and organized forms of violence (whether horizontal or vertical) may recede only in a transitional phase to be replaced by an increase in general crime and ad hoc forms of terrorism or political violence. Extremists, sectarian groups, and leaders of the former regime may use threats and acts of violence to gain or regain power and influence. When combined with weak political settlements, the weak institutionalization of a fragile state provides these actors with ample opportunities to exploit them.
- **Transnational organized crime:** transnational criminal activity has increased in recent years due to globalization and technological change. This threatens countries everywhere, but fragile states in transition are particularly vulnerable. Groups target vulnerable states using systemic violence and corruption to undermine institutions and capture important local actors, undermining progress in a wide range of areas and weakening support for change, their most common crimes include money laundering,

cybercrime, and trafficking in people, drugs, weapons, and endangered species. Or body parts or even nuclear material.

- **International chaos:** Bilateral donors, multilateral agencies and international NGOs are an important source of assistance and influence in transition processes. However, the sheer number of actors, with their own interests and operational requirements (often lacking sufficient knowledge of local situations), can easily overwhelm fragile states, and the frequent consequence – after the first honeymoon period – is confusion, followed by frustration and a possible backlash against much-needed help. There is also a risk that these actors will intervene in ways that cause more harm than good, by failing to be more organized, or being manipulated by local actors for limited gain.
- **External hostility:** Transitioning is not something that happens in isolation. Important regional influencers sometimes stand in the way of successful transitions—and may fund or arm local groups opposed to change. They may see the instatement of a new regime as a threat to their interests (e.g., Iran vs. Syria); or they may simply prefer to help their favorite ethnic, religious, or ideological group gain power. In some cases, regional influencer may prefer instability to success (e.g., Russia vs. Ukraine), reducing the likelihood of an inclusive transition (9).

Implementation of transitional justice in Sudan: challenges and opportunities

- The issue of transitional justice in Sudan faces the question of how state institutions can be rebuilt.

- Financial needs and external support conditions/requirements, the ability to establish partnerships between ministries, institutions and various agencies such as the Ministry of Education, Justice and Finance; also the Commissions and their decentralized deployment.

The great opportunity is the existence of a transitional period coming after a long popular revolution led by the young men and women of the Sudanese people and their desire to transition and transform into democracy. The challenge that exists so far is how strong is the political will, but the government must ensure a stable security situation for the return of the displaced and improving the economic conditions.

- Change of laws, reform to justice institutions, independence of the judiciary, and ensuring the formation of the Transitional Justice Commission through comprehensive and fair laws, with the participation of stakeholders and those affected, and with the support of civil society organizations are the current priorities. However, what happened and is currently happening "is due to conflicts over influence and interests between the various political forces that make up the Alliance of Forces of Freedom and Change, and the formation of the Council of Partners, which made the situation more complicated, which constitutes the most prominent challenge."
- Establishing regional and international foreign relations and rebuilding alliances

Priorities regarding transitional justice for the transitional period that Sudan is going through

1. Constitution of the Legislative Council, working with victims, initiating institutional reform processes for the justice system.
2. Work on the establishment of the Transitional Justice Commission.

Mohamed Azhari, a lawyer and founding member of the Insaf Campaign for Transitional Justice, adds: "The needs required for the application of justice, which is the financial need and funding from trust funds of the Sudanese at home and abroad, and that the mechanisms for the application of transitional justice are based on basic pillars, including the formation of a national committee independent of the state's executive apparatus represented in the Prime Minister. This requires amending the Constitutional Charter (which constitutes another challenge) and at the same time independent of the Alliance of Forces of Freedom and Change, the government's political incubator. The formation of a committee whose members should include the families of the victims and survivors as well (victims of the Inqaz (Salvation) regime, victims of Darfur, victims of Kordofan, victims of Port Sudan, victims of dams, victims of the events of 1976, victims of Ramadan 28th, victims of Jezira Abba and Wadnubawi, victims of the assassination of Dr. John Garang or the Black Monday 2007, victims of the dispersal of the General Command sit-in, demonstrations of the December revolution, and the uprising of September 2013) that the committee should also include public figures from civil society, legal professionals while creating partnerships with all stakeholders seeking change, cross all regions of Sudan to work to reach victims/survivors, document violations and conduct a census that helps in counting victims, especially women and girls, and determining the type of compensation.

3. For the constitution of the Transitional Justice Commission, experts emphasize that it must comprise jurists, acceptable figures from society, civil society, the state and all justice and human rights defenders, so as to forge a robust role in laying the foundations for transitional justice and sustainable justice.
4. Forming formal and informal mechanisms in cooperation with civil society organizations that are acceptable to all and based on our realities.
   One of the ways to reach victims/survivors is through civil society organizations or the conduction of questionnaires. As for at the state level, it will be by opening complaint windows and committees with a secretariat under a commission present in all states, as well as mechanisms for surveying violations in the presence of experts searching for both individual as well as collective violations. Also, through investigation committees carrying out work within under the victims' presence. These committees are announced to all without exception to give testify their statements. There are specific victims/survivors by virtue of their areas which have been subjected to utter destruction of infrastructure and state institutions by the war. Institutions and actors in transitional justice procedures should also provoke discussions on infrastructure projects and basic services (education, water, etc.).

Effects of transitional justice in Sudan

- In the beginning, we suggest reflecting this on people with different identities by apologizing, acknowledging the atrocities they have been subjected to and dealing with them in full citizenship, as the transitional

justice is expected to drive society to a new level where justice is achieved for all.

- The impact of transitional justice on the different identities of the Sudanese groups against which violations have been committed, especially women, and the rape and various forms of violence such as forced immigration, displacement, asylum or even forced marriage due to dire economic conditions among different societies, must be addressing to the physical and psychological aspects; not only their representation in state institutions, as well as the reform of the media in addition to fair policies and strategies to deal with the cases, especially with victims of agricultural and pastoral communities.
- Transitional justice is inevitable for maintaining the plurality and unity of the Sudanese society, and to redress violence to which victims have been subjected to. However, there will be some obstacles for minorities or marginalized communities to communicate their experiences to the media. Such impediments are partly linked to the nature of society, i.e. authoritarian social structures and state institutions biased against marginalized groups. For example, women and girls have to face and deal with a lot of stigma and rejection when they talk about the rape they have been subjected to.
- The impartiality of the Sudanese media institutions is questionable and needs institutional reform and development of policies and strategies that take into account the diversity and plurality considering the different Sudanese societies, and working to encourage everyone to access different media outlets with no fear nor defamation in survivor cases; and to showcase cases of violations as a right to freedom of expression.

Roles of the civil society, the government and the international community in addressing the issue of transitional justice and advocacy for victims/survivors

The civil society is to undertake the burden of bringing about change in the Sudanese contexts while pressuring the government to effect response. Admittedly, the real change is led by the current generation of young people albeit lacking experience and knowledge. However, different roles remain to be played by the civil society organizations, from oversight to awareness and consultative roles that help shape public opinion on issues concerning the transitional justice, while the government works on institutional reform and instating witness protection programs to encourage them to offer testimonials which help implementing justice. The international community is to provide needed technical and financial support and pressuring the government towards fulfilling its obligations in taking necessary that ensure measures prevention of recurrence of violations, and to complete enactment of the transitional justice commission with its laws while ensuring the participation of the stakeholders of women and youth; and the vital role of Sudanese society in support of the transitional justice period with broad participation, especially by women, youth and people with physical and intellectual disabilities from conflict as well as marginalized areas, and from different ethnic, religious, age and regional groups.

The Organizations of the civil society play a key role in the implementation of transitional justice, by pressuring, monitoring, directing and educating the community, and the survivor victims in particular; and further raise the community awareness on the significance of justice achievement for the victims and turning the page on tragedies. The State should have in place all strategies and plans that facilitate the work of mechanisms and commissions in charge of

implementing the transitional justice, providing them with the required material support. As for the international community, apart from the financial contribution, it can also provide technical assistance through rehabilitation and adequate training of cadres working in the field. With regard to the fate of those who committed violence and violations, in order to hand over the leaders of the National Islamic Front regime to criminal courts, we need a legislative council with a broad participation of citizens, takes into account Sudan's plurality and diversity and accommodating to all groups to play their role in legislating laws.

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