



المجموعة السودانية الديمقراطية أولاً
Sudan Democracy First Group

Religious Discrimination and Violation of Rights of Christian Sudanese





Contents

Acronyms	3
Introduction	4
Research topic	5
Research methodology	5
Historical background on Christianity in Sudan	6
Christianity in Sudan) the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule(7
Missionary Societies Act1960-1964 :	8
Religious rights and freedom of belief in Sudanese laws and international treaties	13
Sudan's Interim Constitution2005 ,	14
International covenants and covenants on religious rights ratified by Sudan	15
Apostasy penalty) Hadd (in Sudanese law and its impact on Christians	17
Christian denominations and their administrative structures	19
The impact of the secession of the south on the church in Sudan	22
The state intervention in church affairs	23
Violations of the rights of Christians	27
Violation of the right to own land and build churches	28
Freedom to practice religious rituals ,preaching and proselytization	31
Establishing service and voluntary organizations	45
Torching ,removal and closure attacks on churches	46
Security's prosecution ,expulsion ,dismissal ,trials and confiscation of property:	49
Hate speech and discrimination against Christian Sudanese	53
Denial of religious holidays and the right to employment	55
Freezing the constitutional and official institutions catering for rights of Christians	57
Recommendations	75
General references	77
References	79

Acronyms

CMS	Church Missionary Society
SUM	Sudan United Mission
UN	United Nation
BMBs	Believers on Christ from Muslims Background
KEM	Khartoum Electronic Media Center



Religious Discrimination and Violation of Rights of Christian Sudanese

Introduction

Sudan is a country of plural ethnic ,linguistic and religious plurality .Christianity is one of its main religions ,second to Islam in terms of the number of followers and it is an ancient religion in Sudan that entered Sudan since times of ancient Nubian kingdoms and is present until today .Earlier historical epochs had entire kingdoms embracing Christianity as the official faith of the states, which were named Christian kingdoms in the history of Sudan. State in Sudan went through many variations until reaching the current setup .These fluctuations invariably influenced situation of Christian Sudanese and their rights ,especially after their separation from their fellow southern Sudanese ,who constituted the majority of Christian believers in post-independence Sudan.1956 , Christian believers in Sudan suffered a major negative discrimination, especially under the Ingaz regime (1989-2019) that seized power in 1989 through a military coup holding a religiously fanatical and extremist Muslim Brotherhood ideology that upholds its own vision of social and religious life and refuses to effectively recognize religious rights of other believers, discriminating and violating against them. Despite Sudan's constitutional provisions, existence of domestic and international laws prohibiting practice of religious discrimination, however, until the regime's fall in April 2019 these rights had been practically circumvented by various procedural, administrative and security measures, a subject to be analyzed and examined by this report.

Research topic

This research aims to investigate the discrimination faced by Christian Sudanese and violation of their religious rights as Sudanese citizens within their own country since the secession of the south in 2011 until fall of the regime in April 2019 and to analyze various and repeated attacks against Christians and the Church institution in Sudan in order to identify their motives, the resultant damages faced and to study their social, cultural, legal, constitutional and legal manifestation in order to define them properly as a kind of negative discrimination against Christians as well as Church institutions. The report also examines conditions within different Christian sectarian formations, church institutions, the religious mentality of the Ingaz regime, fundamental orientations, religious vision towards Christians and the church, and how these adversely affected Christians and the church institution. That is achieved through examination of prevalent approaches and means to license religious discrimination policy toward Christian Sudanese, despite laws enhancing protection of rights in the interim constitution, 2005 (Bill of Rights), which are consistent in the letter and spirit to international conventions on human rights and religious freedoms.

Research Methodology

This report uses the descriptive research methodology to examine the situation of Christians in Sudan, and to arrive at a description through field work, and this was done by collecting testimonies from personal interviews with individuals or bodies engaged with the subject of the report, which form the backbone of the information needed to prepare this report. Persons and bodies were selected according to certain specifications that serve the purposes of the report, namely:

- Direct relationship to the report's subject i.e. such as being

a witness to or participating in the event in question, or being closely acquainted with details through a position.

- Researchers or workers in the field of caring and defending rights and having an actual contact with the report's subject matter.
- To be aware of the purposes and objectives of the report after having being duly informed by the report's author.
- In case of organizations, they should have an in-depth, profound and publicly held interest in Sudanese Christian concerns and rights in general.
- Make use of documents and publications relevant to the subject matter, as well as any other credible source.

The research focuses on violations in Khartoum state, which is the first in terms of the number of churches, as it embraces 39% of all churches in Sudan ⁽¹⁾. Despite presence of violations in all regions of Sudan, the matter was clearer in the state of Khartoum, because of the ease of documenting what is taking place, in addition to accessibility to sources and witnesses. The focus was also on the Presbyterian Evangelical Church, which heads the spear in the struggle for rights against Ingaz regime. Cases witnessed in the Sudanese courts' regarding religious violations were primary pushed by the Presbyterian Evangelical Church. Therefore, the research considers it as a case study to provide clearer answers to relevant questions.

Historical background on Christianity in Sudan

Christianity reached Egypt around mid-first century at the hands of Saint Mark, the Evangelist ⁽²⁾ later on moving southward to northern Sudan, which had ancient kingdoms of earlier civilizations, namely the Nubian civilization. Commercial relations formed an interface for interaction between the Pharaonic civilizations and the Nubian

civilization, and the outer oasis region was an important commercial site between Egypt and Sudan that played a vital role in the coming of Christianity to the land of the Nubian kingdoms in the Sudan³. By end of the third century, Christianity strongly made its way to the Nubian kingdoms. The most influential timing was at the era of Emperor Justinian (527-565), who sought to attract Nubians to Christianity in order to gain control of the middle Nile Valley. Christianity spread extensively during that era. Christianity of the Coptic sect became an official religion in the sixth century for kingdoms of Nubia that include Makara- capital being Dongola and Alwa- capital being Soba. Christianity, as a religion, was able to withstand different political and social fluctuations in the land of Sudan to this day, even after entry of Islam into the Sudan in the sixth century, i.e. on the thirty-first year of Hijra (⁴), as the entry of Islam did not make Christianity vanish from Sudan, even though its influence declined. This historical fact negates the intentional linking “Christianity and modern colonialism” and the accompanying missionaries. In other words, Christianity forms an integral part of the historical identity of ancient Sudan even before the West knew of Christianity. Nevertheless, Christians and Christians are portrayed as being alien to Sudan’s identity and must be uprooted.

Christianity in Sudan (the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule)

After the collapse Alwa Christian kingdom, the Christian tides receded in Sudan due to spread of Islam in most parts of Sudan. This situation continued until the end of Mahdia state in 1898. In 1899, a year after the Anglo-Egyptian invasion of Sudan, the British Church Missionary Society (CMS) arrived and there were fears that some Muslims may convert to Christianity although this was prohibited by the then condominium authorities, but CMS was able to practice proselytism through education and health services, and thus schools such as nuns’

evangelical and Comboni schools, which was named after an Italian priest Comboni, beside others were established. Moreover, medical clinics⁽⁵⁾ had also operated. The missions started their work from Khartoum and Omdurman, which was the capital of the Mahdia state benefiting from social, ethnic and cultural diversity of Omdurman. The proselyting missions subsequently moved to other parts of Sudan, especially the Nuba Mountains. At the onset of the twentieth century, Christianity was proselytized in the eastern mountains of Nuba Mountains in two stations affiliated to the Australian and New Zealand branches of the Sudan United Mission (SUM ⁽⁶⁾). Goals of the missions consist of three themes: education, health care, and proselytization. Evangelists viewed moral education as to mean Christianity. In the beginning of 1919, Nuba Mountains' district commissioner considered the necessity of establishing a Christian mission in the mountains. Accordingly Sudan United Mission (SUM) established two missionary stations in 1920 and 1922 in both Heban and Abri in Kawlaib area.⁽⁷⁾

Gradually, Christianity expanded in modern Sudan, and churches continued to grow in various Sudanese cities, especially after entry of the Greeks and increase in the number of Copts arriving to Sudan and their engagement in trade, which enabled them permeate the Sudanese society, unaffected by their Christian doctrine. Christianity has become a major religion in Sudan and is considered second to Islam, especially after its spread in South Sudan through Nuba Mountains, which border the south and also missionaries entering South Sudan from East Africa. This situation continued even after independence and until the secession of South Sudan in 2011. Conditions of Christians and the Church in Northern Sudan were adversely affected by the secession due to the Christian and ecclesiastical weight represented by the Christian throughout the Sudan.

Missionary Societies Act 1960-1964:

After Sudan gained independence in 1956, churches and missionaries continued to operate normally in all regions of Sudan. However, the national governments, as reaction to the colonialist policies, developed a plan to spread Islam that was - unofficially - adopted by the state as an official religion in all parts Sudan, especially the areas whose residents embrace local traditional beliefs, considered to be areas where Christian missionaries are active. This gave the process a competitive form between Christian missionaries and the state. In 1957, the National Government headed, by Abdullah Khalil established an administration devoted to religious affairs under the name of the Religious Affairs Department, to supervise programs that reflect the Islamic doctrine and its subsequent proselytization in other non-Arab and non-Muslim parts of Sudan ⁽⁸⁾. The same government also exerted continuous efforts to spread Islam through the educational system in southern Sudan, where Christian missionary societies worked extensively, as they were thought of not embracing any heavenly religion during that period, but mostly believed local traditional beliefs. Proselytization missions operated in the same way i.e. establishing schools and providing education and health care services to local communities. Therefore, the government nationalized Christian mission schools in 1957⁹.

Then more severe government actions were adopted against missionary societies and church assemblies in South Sudan in a way that narrowed their chances of working and directly targeting them through laws and government decisions limiting their activities. The Christian missionary societies in the south were looked at as to “constitute a great harm to the country.” Governmental pursuits of missionary societies and Christian missionaries culminated in the issuance of a law limiting their work and forcing them to obtain a prior permit issued by the Council of Ministers that had many ad-

ministrative and procedural complications. The law was gradually passed in stages spanning the period from 1960 to October 1964, when General Abboud's government was overthrown. In 1962, the government of General Abboud officially announced the Missionary Societies Law, which stipulated that "No missionary association or any of its members shall have the right to carry out any missionary activity in Sudan unless such have obtained a license from the Council of Ministers and that the license shall specify religion, sect and belief of the concerned missionary association and the region or place to operate, in addition to other conditions the Council of Ministers may deem necessary to impose in general or in specific cases. ⁽¹⁰⁾ This law had then a great impact on the conditions of the church and Christians, as it restricted the Christian missionaries' movement and reflected a kind of negative religious discrimination towards Christianity as a religion, as it was not applied on Muslim preachers in the targeted areas but was rather exclusively applied on Christian missionary societies in those areas, in particular in South Sudan, thought of as a fertile ground for the call to heavenly religions. Then the government of General Abboud moved to another level of arbitrariness against the missionary societies and Christian missions, where they were expelled from South Sudan according to this law and they were considered in violating the said law. One hundred and fifty Christian missions were expelled from South Sudan before holding some members of these missions in prisons and later extradited. The government continued to impose countless extra precautions against missionary societies. In November 1962, government measures were imposed regarding the activities of these societies with regard to the maintenance of their buildings, except upon obtaining a prior permission of government authorities.⁽¹¹⁾ Because of these government measures, leaders of the Presbyterian Church and the Reformed Church in Sudan submitted a joint memo-

randum to the government of General Abboud on January 19, 1963 stating, “We hope that the fact that Christianity is not a Western faith will motivate the Sudanese government to reconsider measures taken, in light of the fact that proselytization missions provide services to all Sudanese, and that they represent the Christian community in all the world”.¹² However, successive governments in the Sudan did not abolish the Missionary Societies Act, which remained valid and alive. Pursuant to this law, foreign missionaries were expelled and Church posts of priests and cardinals were nationalized. Proselytization was restricted in the South. Application of this law remained linked to the mood of the existing regime until it was abolished altogether on October 4, 1994.

The impact of the Missionary Societies Act on the situation of Christians in Sudan:

After independence in 1956, government policies related to missionary societies and the church in Sudan were influenced by several factors, including:

- * The desire of the national government to assert its national sovereignty by reversing colonial traces, which led to mixing some matters regarding the Christian religion, the Church and its leadership in Sudan in a direction that does not conform to religious freedoms principles and freedom to preach, which led blatantly to a violation of the rights of the Christians Sudanese.
- * The Arab-Islamic trend dominates the awareness of the ruling elites and its explicit declaration that it wants a state that has “sole religion, culture and language to form a united nation”.⁽¹³⁾
- * Confusion of political strife between the central government and the southern region and the presence of Christian missions in Sudan.

It is evident that the Christian missionary societies and church during that period was subjected to clear state discrimination and a formal rejection of missionary activities in Sudan, especially in southern Sudan. The state used its laws and authority as a competitor to missionary societies in the south, a region of religious polarization. Moreover, the government attempted to exclude and limit missionary societies' role while adopting the call to Islam among southerners in particular. In July 1960, the Undersecretary of the Interior Ministry stated in his meeting with the governors of the southern provinces "the policy of restricting Christian missionary activities at the religious level is to protect the country from the risk of their success. Now, this policy enters a critical stage after verification of all aspects. I ask the southern provinces governors to keep these policies secret so as truth behind our intentions are hidden from Christian missionaries, who may take necessary measures and mobilize the global media against us."⁽¹⁴⁾ This statement clearly reflects the direction the government adopts against the Church and the Christian missionary movement in a clear distinction between religions, which contradicts the values of human rights, freedom of belief, proselytization and embracing religions. In addition, it arbitrarily deprive Sudanese citizens of their right to choose, an explicit violation of religious freedoms of choice, and defines a single religious path adopted by the state, which is Islam. The local government inspector for the Upper Nile region, descending from northern Sudan, stated in a speech to a group of Sudanese employees and village leaders, stressing the position of the government of General Abboud regarding the necessity of spreading Islam in the south, "We do not want to see you fasting and praying only, but our goal is to see you call yourself Muslims and convert your parents, who in turn convert their children from Christianity. Christianity is a foreign religion and it has to return with the colonists to Europe."⁽¹⁵⁾ Since its independence in 1956, Sudan has witnessed multiple polit-

ical fluctuations and different governance systems that dealt with Christian religion and Church according to different visions and positions, while Missionary Societies Act, enacted in the sixties during the rule of General Abboud, continued to exist. As mentioned earlier, pursuant to this law, foreign missionaries and missionary societies were expelled, and this law remained in effect until it was abolished in the 1994, (the source). The abrogation of the law came at the hands of General Al-Bashir's regime, more of a political manipulation in order to overcome the west-driven international isolation due to adoption of anti-western attitudes. However, Bashir's motives were exclusively to cover violations against Christian Sudanese practiced in various ways.

Fatwa on apostasy and declaring jihad against Christians in the Nuba Mountains, 1992

On April 27, 1992 a fatwa was issued by the Assembly of Ulema and Imams in al Obeid city that jihad must be waged in the ongoing war in South Kordofan. The text of the fatwa was as follows: First: The rebels in Southern Kordofan or South Sudan began their rebellion against the state and declared war on Muslims, and they actually began and directed their actions by killing Muslims, vandalizing mosques, burning and polluting Qurans with fouling, and violating the honor of Muslims as they were directed by Zionists, Crusaders and colonialists, who supplied them with supplies and weapons. Amongst them, a past Muslim is an apostate and a non-Muslim is an infidel standing in the face of the Islamic call and Islam require that we fight and wage war against both.¹⁶ This fatwa a manifestations of the Sudanese state, where religion was applied in political practice to persecute Christians ethnically and religiously, especially in the Nuba Mountains throughout the first war in the Nuba Mountains that ended with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, 2005.

Religious rights and freedom of belief in Sudanese laws and international treaties

The civil rights of religious minorities continued to occupy a distinctive position in the contemporary human history literature. Religious minorities' rights have become an axle of the Westphalia Convention triangle (1648) that ended a thirty years of wars (1618-1648), where rights of religious minorities represented the nerve of conflicts and doctrinal competition between Catholics and Protestants. Since then, defense of minorities' religious rights progressively grew in the corridors of international and regional legal and judicial institutions. Various treaties and agreements have been produced and developed to protect and defend religious minorities' rights, especially in United Nations charters. Subsequently member states of international organizations have been obligated to implement all treaties and covenants ratified in order to promote and protect religious rights of minorities. Sudan's National Interim Constitution, 2005 contains provisions in different articles, whereby the legislator intends to promote the protection of religious rights (believe and exercise) for all. Sudan has ratified most international covenants and treaties that provide for the greatest degree of freedom and lift all restrictions on individuals and groups related to profess and practice rituals that they believe in without being subjected to discrimination, deprivation or harassment because of their religious beliefs. Since the advent of the current Islamic regime in Sudan in 1989, under the leadership of General Bashir, application of strict Islamic policies that led to violations against Christian Sudanese and minorities in general had taken place. Bashir regime remained, since its advent until it was overthrown, practicing extreme religious discrimination against Christians in Sudan in a severe violation of their civil, human and religious rights as well as an explicit diminution of their citizenship right as Sudanese, which violates all international conventions and Sudanese constitution itself, which was

approved in 2005 after signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with Sudan People's Liberation Movement led by Dr. John Garang.

Sudan's Interim Constitution, 2005

Article (6) of the National Interim Constitution of Sudan, 2005¹⁷ states that the state respects religious rights, which includes the right to worship and congregate in accordance with the rites of any religion or belief and to establish and maintain places for those purposes. The article also emphasized the guarantee of establishing and maintaining charitable and humanitarian institutions, which means that the establishment and construction of churches and civil society organizations that care for Christians' affairs is a right guaranteed by the constitution and is thus binding to the executive apparatus of the state. Then Article 27/3 of the Bill of Rights, Chapter two of the Constitution (¹⁸) provides to confirm Sudan's commitment that (all rights and freedoms included in international agreements, covenants and international human rights instruments ratified by the Republic of Sudan are considered as an integral part of the Bill of Rights). The Bill of Rights also contains in Article 38 a text to ensure freedom of belief and worship. It states (Every human being has the right to freedom of religious belief and worship, and the right to announce their religion or belief or express them through worship, education, practice, or performing rituals or ceremonies). The article clearly indicates (No one shall be forced to convert to a religion they do not believe in or practice rituals or rituals that they do not voluntarily accept). Article 31 also states (People are equal before the law and have the right to enjoy the protection of the law without distinction on the basis of race, color, sex, language, religious belief, political opinion, or ethnic origin).

International covenants and covenants on religious rights ratified by Sudan

The Universal Declaration of Civil and Political Rights, 1966 ⁽¹⁹⁾, which Sudan ratified in 1986, states the following:

- Article (18) states that (everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including their freedom to embrace, believe or express rituals in any religion or belief they choose, , to engage with a group and in front of the public or alone.
- No one may be subjected to coercion, which would violate their freedom to embrace a religion or their freedom to convert to any religion or belief they choose.
- The freedom of a person to manifest their religion or belief may only be subjected to restrictions imposed by laws necessary to protect public safety, order, health and morals or the rights and fundamental freedoms of others.

2. The International Charter for Human Rights, 1948 ⁽²⁰⁾, provides in Article two, guaranteeing all rights and freedoms without discrimination based on race, color, sex, language, or religion. Article 18 also stipulates that everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including the right to change religion or belief, the freedom to express them through education, practice, and observance of rituals, whether in secret or with a group. The Sudanese government has established a church administration within the General Administration of Guidance of the Ministry of Guidance and Endowments ⁽²¹⁾ with the following tasks:

- * Follow- up implementation of the state policy regarding churches.
- * Facilitate movements of foreign missionaries and priests
- * Sponsoring Christian-Islamic communication programs
- * Caring for the rights of Christian Sudanese

In view of these tasks, which are fully consistent with the purposes that were at the heart of the constitution and international covenants to establish justice not to allow discrimination and religious persecution, and to ensure the provision and protection of the rights of religious minorities under the domination of a particular religious majority. However, after the establishment of the Christian Affairs Department, it became clear that it is only made for local and global political consumption. Realistically, the administration is managed by a cadre of NISS within the ministry. Instead of caring for the rights of Christians, the Church Affairs Administration has turned into a security unit that systematically persecuted Christians throughout the period of the defunct Ingaz regime. Care and protection of religious rights and freedoms guaranteed by both the provisions of the Sudanese Interim Constitution and international charters on religious rights of Christian Sudanese raises an urgent question about why Christian Sudanese live a reality marked by much suffering and injustice in order to enjoy rights provided by these legal texts, as Sudanese citizens they are subjected to violations of their rights and negative discrimination by the ruling authority in Sudan?. This question will not be easy to answer or logical if it does not come in the general context of the process of politicizing religion, in which the Islamic Ingaz regime excelled, according to which there are many policies and different scenarios in dealing with the rights of religious denominations and Sudanese citizens who embrace Christianity.

Apostasy penalty (Hadd) in Sudanese law and its impact on Christians

Despite the explicit texts included in Sudan's constitution, 2005 and subsequent amendments, the current constitution, states categorically the freedom of belief and freedom to convert to religions and not be forced to convert to a specific religion. But the law contains contradictory provisions. The Sudanese Penal Code of 1991 stipulates in Article 126 that (a Muslim is considered an apostate who promotes a departure from the religion of Islam or professes a departure through an explicit statement or a categorical act), and as stipulated in the same law, the punishment for apostasy is death. An apostate is given an ultimatum, if they refuses death penalty shall be applied, and if they changes their apostasy, according to the law, they shall liable to imprisonment and flogging, as stipulated in Article 126, paragraph 2, of the Criminal Law, 1991 and amended in 2015, which states (apostasy punishment shall be annulled whenever the apostate modified before implementation and shall be punished with flogging and imprisonment for a duration not to exceed five years). The apostasy Hadd stipulated in the law represents a clear violation of the constitution, according to which many Christian Sudanese were subjected to prosecution for apostasy from Islam and converting to Christianity, subjecting them to the death penalty in accordance with the law, which compelled them to leave their Christian religion in order to preserve their lives. This constitutes confiscation of their constitutional rights under a law that violates the constitution, and some examples of such issues have been mentioned in the report that was published by the African Center for Justice and Peace Studies, from which we take the following examples:

- On May 11, 2014, the Hajj Youssef Court condemned Mrs. Maryam Ibrahim with adultery following the annulment of her marriage in the church because of her faith and upbringing as a Muslim, based on the

testimonies of her family members in the court. She was sentenced 100 lashes for adultery under Article 146 of the Sudanese Criminal Code if the accused is not married. She was also convicted of apostasy and sentenced to death on the basis that she had converted from Islam to Christianity. On May 23, 2016, the Court of Appeal issued its decree to annul the Hajj Youssef Court's decision to annul Mariam Yahya's conviction for apostasy based on the fact that her psychological condition is not stable despite a medical report confirming her mental health ⁽²²⁾

- In May 2014, Gedaref Criminal Court dropped charges against Mrs. (Mona) (an unreal name) the authorities had charged with apostasy, forcing her to abandon her Christian faith and convert to Islam in order to avoid a death sentence. A police officer at the National Register Office in the city of Gedaref had charged this woman with a criminal charge when she applying for a national number, and the aforementioned application filled a box the father's religion and the mother's religion. The officer charged her with criminal charges when she wrote on the request that she is a married Christian and mother of eight children. Her husband is a Christian and her father is a Muslim.

- On November 3, 2013, the complainant, Sharif Ali Muhammad Kad-dud, wrote a police report number 1851 in the suburb of Al Shajarah Police Station in Khartoum against his son, Sheikh Sharif Ali (24), under the charges of terrorism 144 and 126, apostasy in the Criminal Code, 1991. Sharif said that his son puts on the cross referring to his conversion from Islam to Christianity. On 9 December 2015 session, the judge indicated that the session was postponed to assign a representative of legal aid from the Ministry of Justice as the accused was facing charges of a death sentence and had decided to set a session on 29 December 2015. The court decided to stop the criminal case against the accused based a request submitted by the complainant, the father of the accused, to release the accused and hand him over to him for treatment, and the court responded to this.

Christian denominations and their administrative structures

The Christian denominations in Sudan are divided into different ecclesiastical doctrines, as a result of the divisions that have occurred in the Church worldwide. In the fifth century, a split occurred between the eastern and western churches, whereby the churches of the east became known as the Orthodox churches (meaning the right opinion) and the churches of the West and is known as the Catholic Churches (meaning the global or public).⁽²³⁾ Then the reformer Martin Luther King emerged in the sixteenth century leading a reform revolution against the Catholic Church and calling for the creation of the Protestant community (protesters). In Britain, King Henry VIII defected to establish the English (Anglican) Church, headed by the royal court. The Christian denominations in Sudan were formed as a natural product of these major divisions of the Church. These divisions resulted in the birth of two Christian blocs that share the loyalty of Christians, namely the Catholic community blocs which represent the largest church denominations in Sudan before the secession of the south in 2011⁽²⁴⁾. Protestants bloc is on the other side. Another classification of Christians in the Sudan is related to have churches for the Sudanese and Christian churches among communities residing in Sudan, including immigrants and refugees. Researcher Talal Yassin⁽²⁵⁾ classified the Christian denominations in Sudan into the following churches: -

1. The Coptic Orthodox Church
2. The Catholic Church
3. The Evangelical Presbyterian Church
4. The Episcopal Church
5. Greek Orthodox Church
6. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Sudan
7. The Eritrean Orthodox Church

8. Church of Our Lady of the Annunciation for the Royal Roman Catholics 9. Armenian Orthodox Church

This is in addition to many national churches, the most important of which are the Sudanese Church of Christ, the Baptist Church, the Sudan Internal Church and other churches that were established after independence. These Christian denominations rely in the administration of their affairs on a presidential system of the Church based on two approaches ²⁶(one of which is the papal approach in which there is one person who is the head of the church and derives his powers from higher spiritual powers such as the Pope in the Vatican or Pope of Alexandria for the Orthodox Copts or Archbishop of Canterbury in The English Church. And the second approach, which is the democratic approach that prevails in managing the affairs of the Presbyterian Evangelical Church, which was known during its foundation in Egypt as the People's Church ⁽²⁷⁾. The people choose the elders and deacons, and the priests are the elders of the teachers and the elders of the Church are directors who assist the priests in carrying out their duties. In this system, the leadership of the Church is elected and removed whenever the Church sees it. On the other hand, each church community has a separate administration system as a (constitution) to manage group affairs and settle disputes that arise within the church. This constitution represents a reference for all parties that have a relationship with the church and intervene as necessary in the matter of the church. All constitutions derive their origins from the Bible as the main and only reference. On the level of the higher organization of churches in Sudan, there is the Sudanese Council of Churches, which was established in the year 1965 and belongs regionally to the Council of Churches of the Middle East and the Council of Churches of All Africa ⁽²⁸⁾ and is a member and founder of the subgroup of the World Council of Churches. The Sudanese Council of Churches is a coordinating body that organizes the

relations of the Sudanese churches with their counterparts in regional and global surroundings, and internally under its twelve churches. Presidency is chosen by representatives of the various churches but have no binding powers over the churches, but to settle disputes that may arise within any church according to the constitution adopted by the designated church and applies the regulations and systems that its constitution came up with and its provisions are binding on the parties to the conflict within the church and in the event that any church refrained from accepting the decisions of the Council of Churches in resolving disputes, membership of that church in the council is suspended and it is denied aid until it returns to the decisions of the council. Also, the official authorities in the country recognize the supremacy of these ecclesiastical constitutions and their role in resolving disputes within the church. These churches possess a lot of fixed and movable assets and they represent resources that depend on them in serving the interests of the sect's followers represented in education, administration and the Diakonian service (i.e. to help the needy) (29). Then the church property management file has become of great importance to the parishes of the church, especially managing the assets that enjoys a high preferential value in the real estate market or agricultural lands and service institutions, which made it a target for the government to extract these properties from Christian Sudanese unrightfully and consider them unworthy because they are Christians. In sum, we can point out that the different Christian denominations in Sudan have a precise system governing the management of their internal affairs and its constitution derives its authority from the Bible and the Council of Churches, and the official authorities in the state have a coordinating role and may intervene whenever necessary, according to what is dictated by that constitution adopted separately by each church. It is this spiritually and morally solid organization that enabled the Church for ages to control the movement of followers

and the leadership of the theological awakening in Sudan and made the cohesion of the Church in Sudan a force that was able to withstand the winds of the state's policies opposing the Church's orientations and activities for a long time. However, this steadfastness did not last long after the separation of the south in (2011), as the crack quickly began to circulate in the walls of the church from the outside, and its internal cohesion eroded thanks to the authority's attempts to sow discord among the church leaders for reasons that will be mentioned later.

The impact of the secession of the south on the church in Sudan

The Southerners controlled the joints of most of the churches in Sudan, and when they decided to separate, there was no prior arrangement on how the responsibility for managing these churches would be transferred to Christian Sudanese . One of the officials in the Evangelical Assembly of Sudan Evangelist (the North Council) stated that "the separation of the south was the main reason for the church's cracking in Sudan. Administrative vacuum resulting from departure of the Southerners from the Sudan was not filled in an organized manner, which led to declining churches activities.

Some churches have become completely empty of worshipers, thus prompting donors to stop funds they were providing, and the conflict over the limited local resources of the churches intensified and led to the emergence of conflicting factions for various reasons such as seeking to control the administrative chairs and to win the churches heirs with the intervention of the government to sow discord among the Christian Sudanese and weaken them.

Some believe that the reason that the southerners were not interested in arranging the transition of the administration of the Council of Churches to the Sudanese was their hope that the Council of

Churches would remain united in the two countries after separation. But that belief was mistaken because the church administrations of some denominations were constrained by restrictions of religious violations and discrimination against Christians of the ruling regime to fight the Christian Sudanese . Therefore, the same source added that the Presbyterian Evangelical Church³⁰ (what happened after the secession of the south was the intervention of Ministry of Guidance and Endowments in the Church's affairs, saying, "the Ministry of Guidance and Endowments circulated a letter to all churches in 2012 about the necessity of Sudanizing all jobs in the church. This should be done in accordance with the constitution and law of each community, but those in charge of this change did not fall in line with the concerned authorities. The matter in the state, especially in the Presbyterian Evangelical Church, and the state's intervention in the administrative affairs of the church led to advent of groups that opted for escalation supported by the state apparatus to dismantle the church's structure from within and to produce differences within the Presbyterian Church. A situation that led to courts and consequently harming Christians, which was the agenda of the ruling authorities". Before the secession, the southerners had a loud voice in opposing the policies of the ruling regime that violated their religious rights. They, as the same source in the Presbyterian Evangelical Church told us, were "a source of political protection for Christians by virtue of their presence in high positions in the state," adding "and they were ready to speak out against the state's abuse toward their freedom to practice their religious beliefs. In other words they were the first line of defense in the battle to secure religious identity and ensuring human rights for Christian minorities in Sudan." Upon the secession of the south, the Sudanese Churches' cover was removed, and the painful strikes by the relevant state agencies and security services implementing policies of the ruling regime against Christian Sudanese continued.

The state intervention in church affairs

The evangelization movement witnessed a steady prosperity since early 1960s and the conversion from Islam to Christianity, especially those with Islamic backgrounds, increased,³¹ as was mentioned in a research initiated by Patrick Johnstone in the sixties and continued until 2010, to count those who converted from Islamic backgrounds known as (Believers on Christ from Muslims Background (BMBs). The statistics that covered several countries Africa alone (31), including Sudan, which witnessed during the research period (1960-2010), concluded that (60,000) sixty thousands of the population converted from Islam to Christianity (this is before the secession of the South). The study also included ethnicities who converted to Christianity from people with Muslim backgrounds. Ethnicities included persons from Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile and Darfur. By applying the results of this study on the demographic map of Christians in Sudan, we find that there are church leaders now bearing explicit Islamic names such as (Ahmed, Muhammad, Ibrahim, Ayoub, Hamad, Saleh, Hassan, Hussein, etc.). Many Sudanese families have the same, especially in former South Sudan, Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile and Darfur. Currently there are many religions such as Islam, Christianity, and African religions within the same family. The phenomenon of multi-faiths did not constitute any danger in light of coexistence and social interference that prevailed in the Sudanese society. But after the advent of then current regime, led by General Al-Bashir, which took over power using extremist and militant Islamist approach and being was limited by an extremist Islamic agenda that place faith deep in the political and social struggle. The rights of religious minorities have become subject to how far these religious minorities were close to the ruling regime, which continued to pursue an explicit policy of polarization among the Christian denominations based on the strategy of creating differences within the church, as it did with political parties and armed

opposition groups, and led to its weakening.

The Christian South's struggle against the Muslim North had created a historical accusation against the Church since independence of Sudan that the Catholic Church and humanitarian organizations played a pivotal role in the rebellion that erupted in 1955. This accusation has been entrenched in the minds of successive Sudanese governments that had believed that the Church uses voluntary organizations as tools for evangelization and advocacy for Christianity. A member of the Council of Synods (a board of directors) in the Presbyterian Evangelical Church we spoke to answer our question, "Why does the state insist on stigmatizing Christians as spies, agents, traitors working against the homeland simply because they have a religion that is different from the majority?" His answer was that such reflects further blatant interference in violating the rights of Christians. The interference of the authorities in the internal affairs of the church is extremely hazardous because it was an encroachment upon the religious freedom of Christians. A question arises here about how the state interfered in the Christian affairs and mechanisms used by the state in that intervention? A member of the Presbyterian Evangelical Church answered this question by saying, "In the mid-nineties, the state established a security unit within the Ministry of Social Welfare responsible for Christian affairs and church activities under the title of Community Security Unit, which used to issue security summons for activists within the church. Members of this unit were from NISS. After signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, 2005, a unit was established within the General Administration of Guidance at the Ministry of Guidance and Endowments to oversee Christian affairs as part of Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) titled Department of Churches), later on the community security unit was transferred to the Ministry of Guidance and Endowments. The church administration in the ministry appointed a Christian as the head and kept

the rest of the security cadres. This administration had worked to attract Christian pastors, some of whom were believed to be (Muslims claiming Christianity). Noteworthy persons recruited were considered untouchables within their sects and unaffiliated to a particular church or were expelled from their churches. They later became the cat's paw used by the ministry to create discord within the sect." Writer Jacob Suleiman ⁽³²⁾ goes on to describe these alleged priests as (government sources within the Sudanese churches) helping the government to destroy certain churches that the government considers a permanent source of concern without a clear reason, which constitutes discrimination by the state against Christian Sudanese . This policy resulted in the suppression of opponents of the regime in the church and allowed loyalists to practice various forms of revenge, culminating in the death of Sheikh Yunan Abdullah, member of the Evangelical Church in Omdurman in 2017. But what was the reason for the government's direct intervention in church affairs? A member of the Council of Synods in the Presbyterian Evangelical Church said, "There are three reasons that drive the government to interfere in the Church's affairs. The first is a political reason that the government wants through espousal of some pastors and their support to use them for religious political fronts as they are already members of the ruling party and would adorn the face of the regime regionally and internationally. Secondly, there is a religious reason that they reflect the state's justice to cater for freedom of religion and the rights of Christian minorities and that Christianity exists as a religion in Sudan. Finally, there is an economic reason coupled with a religious interpretation rooted in extremism. The ruling regime aims to fake real estate rental contracts of the Presbyterian Church mission to allow pro- government investors. There was widely held religious perspective that Christian funds are permitted to be seized and their women to be taken as concubines, something permissible to Muslims."

The Presbyterian Evangelical Church is one of the largest churches in Sudan that has many followers and significant number of assets and movables. The church owns lands in distinct locations within Khartoum, Omdurman and Khartoum North. Church’s investments in these lands were the straw that broke the camel’s back in raising problems regarding Church administration. The differences quickly turned into a conflict and later became a fighting. This fighting continued repeatedly within other church groups, and its focus had always been about managing church institutions. All inherited norms and constitutions in force in the church have been violated in favor of groups loyal to the Ingaz regime within the church and whose names were mentioned in the article of Jacob Suleiman referred to in earlier. The Ingaz regime devised other tools to strike the Christian Sudanese by creating hotbeds of conflict within the Sudanese Christian community by bringing in people who were not Christians in order to ignite sedition and unrest so as pass their agenda to eradicate Christians and Christianity from Sudanese society and destruction of church property in Sudan. Some of these assets for some churches are detailed below ⁽³³⁾: -

The church	Fixed registered churches	Unregistered churches	Schools	Health institutions	Cars	Houses	Social centers	Agricultural project
Coptic Orthodox Church	21	0	41	5	63	81	5	
Catholic Church	372	272	126	1	367	167	33	7
Evangelical Church	39	266	3	0	48	72	27	2
Episcopal Church	4	100	35	0	39	38	15	0

Thanks to these assets, the Christian leaders entered the cycle of conflict of interests. A member of the Presbyterian Church believes that “the process of Sudanization brought new leaders, who identified more with the ruling regime and preferred full cooperation to

be at the head of managing and protecting these assets. Intervention by the Ministry created the current dispute within their church.” In the conclusion of this paragraph, it is apparent the dispute that existed between Christian sects had clear reasons. Namely that it was made by the ruling regime by injecting agents, of dubious background, among the Sudanese Christian community to destroy the Christian community from within. Surely this exercise was commonly applied by NISS. As a Christian school teacher reported for the purposes of this report “Christians tainted by the government and allies of the ruling regime played a role in the church and violations of followers’ rights and contributed greatly to weakening the organizational heritage of church administration.

Violations of the rights of Christians

A common fact known to all that violations of the Christian minorities’ rights in Sudan were well documented. Court halls witnessed several cases and grievances filed by church administration, which were rejected at times. Such had demonstrated the apparent contradiction in the judiciary departments responsible for protecting the constitution and how to circumvent intransigence of the executive, prosecution, police and security apparatus in respecting and implementing those provisions. This raises doubts about the motives behind this contradiction between the legislative and executive organs of the state. The most prominent violations of the rights of the Sudanese Christian minorities are found in the following areas:

- * Confiscation of the right to own land, build churches, attacking, burning and demolishing of churches.
- * Deprivation and restrictions on the right to religious freedom, observing, proselytizing and advocating believes, and creation of service institutions and voluntary organizations.
- * Security prosecutions and unfair trials of priests and Christians in

general.

* Denial of legal and constitutional rights and international intervention.

Violation of the right to own land and build churches

Khartoum is a populace center produced by the conditions of war in the peripheries. The policy of exclusion, social inequality and economic injustice led to the emergence of a massive displacement to Khartoum accompanied by an expansion in the activity of Christian minorities and their natural need for places of worship to practice religious rituals as a right guaranteed by the right to citizenship and Sudan's 2005 interim constitution. Khartoum is a good indicator to measure the level of violation of the rights of Christian minorities in Sudan, as it is an official decision-making center. This hypothesis is reinforced by the US embassy note in Khartoum No. 861 dated 10/1/2015 CE, in which it requested, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to meet officials in the state of Khartoum to answer inquiries related to the human rights situation and the status of churches therein in order to prepare the annual report on the situation of human rights and religious freedoms in Sudan, which is prepared by the US Department of State. The state of Khartoum held a workshop titled "Situation of Christians in Khartoum State" in collaboration with the Ministry of Guidance and Endowments and the Religious Coexistence Council. A report was prepared by Khartoum Electronic Media Center (KEM)³⁴ covering the workshop. The report shows that some churches were officially registered at land authorities. As for the rest, there were unofficial churches that had either been built inside public places or in residential houses or on rented farms for the purpose of facilitating the worship process, all of which were outside the scope of the housing plan approved by the Ministry of Urban Planning,

Khartoum state. Researching the possibility of legalizing the status of these informal churches, the report states that the procedures begin in accordance with the Land Administration Act, 1994 as follow: -

1. Obtain certification of church building or places of worship in accordance with relevant regulations and laws; the land is to be allocated by the Ministry of Urban Planning, provided that it is part of a planned area, as stated in the article (article 2/2 of the 1994 act). This article applies to both mosques and churches.

2. With regard to places of worship that are removed due to their presence outside the planned areas, the removal takes place on the basis of activities that are practiced in those non-planned places provided that compensation is made in planned places.

3. Legal justifications for granting places of worship include population's density and the actual need for such services, whether it is places of worship or other services.

4. Approval from the Supreme Council for Call and Guidance must be obtained for building of churches within areas planned by land authorities. These procedures are indisputable in the event that the competent authorities are committed to impartiality in their application without distinction. But in the actual practice that was not taking place, because Khartoum State authorities prevented construction of any new churches. In a statement to BBC Radio on July 14, 2014, Kory Ramli, Secretary General of the Sudanese Council of Churches, stated that "the Sudanese government's announcement that it will not allow building permits for churches" surprised him. A statement was issued by the Presidency of the Sudanese Christ Church Complex issued on 13 May 2017 about extent of suffering faced by the church administration to obtain the license of a plot of land to build a church as a right guaranteed by the constitution.

The Sudanese Church of Christ went during those years through harsh conditions represented in restricting freedom of worship through ob-

stacles facing the community regarding the allocation and possession of plots used for prayer and worship purposes in all states of Sudan. The community faced many sterile procedures due to failure of the competent government authorities to grant and allocate plots of land to the church. The community had to purchase lands. Nevertheless, there were not spared from the restrictions either by refusing to complete the procedures and register the purchased land in the name of the church or confiscation of property documents.” Since 1969, no sect has obtained new approval to build a church. These violations and the blatant discrimination to which Christian Sudanese had been subjected to by security services and governmental administrative apparatus had motives and roots related to the regime’s structure and strict Islamic and political orientations, which do not recognize the religious, ethnic and cultural diversity of the Sudanese people. Moreover, they were grossly hostile to the right of Sudanese citizens to embrace other religions other than Islam, and this was officially demonstrated in the speech of President Omar al-Bashir in the eastern city of Gedaref in December 2010 on the eve of the referendum in southern Sudan. He stated in front of a mass rally “In the event of the separation of South Sudan, we will amend the constitution, so there is no room to talk about cultural and ethnic pluralism.” He further elaborated, “Islamic law will be the main source of the constitution, and Islam will be the official religion of the state, and the Arabic language will be the official language of the state” (35). He outlined the indicators of the religious identity of the Sudanese country as a Muslim majority in a way that strengthens discrimination against religious minorities in Sudan, especially the Christian minority. It determines the state’s discriminatory policy against Sudanese citizens, who convert to Christianity. This statement also gave a green light to regime officials, who belong to the state security and administrative apparatuses to violate rights of Christians and

denying them constitutional rights stipulated in international law. We conclude from this that the churches seeking to obtain a plot of land within the housing plans in the state of Khartoum for the purpose of building a church or institution to serve followers had become impossible, no matter how committed they were in complying with laws and regulations set by the competent authorities and fulfilling necessary conditions. It became clear that the identity of the Islamic state from the perspective of the decision-maker remains an impassable barrier preventing the fulfillment of the constitutional rights of Christian minorities. Article VI of the Interim Constitution, 2005 became mere ashes in the eyes that hide the fact of religious discrimination against Christian minorities in Sudan. A member of the Presbyterian Church Council who spoke to us reveals that “all the current churches are lands purchased from individuals and there is no even a single church that came through official certifications except for two churches whose ownership was from the British administration before the independence of Sudan in 1956. These are the Anglican Church that was substituted a plot of land on 15th Street in Al-Amarat and the Evangelical Church of Omdurman, which was located in the residence of the English army

Freedom to practice religious rituals, preaching and proselytization

The land authorities in Khartoum State played a pivotal role in destroying and confiscating churches, calling for re-planning, thus restricting Christians and denying them the freedom to practice their religious rites and worship freely in places they chose pending legalization according to the requirements of laws and regulations. This abuse is reflected in the resolutions (78 / 2015- 214/2016), according to which a directive was issued to remove 25 churches belonging to eight Christian denominations in different places of Khartoum. These

denominations have exhausted all stages of administrative litigation to stop the implementation of those decisions, which constitute a clear violation of the constitutional rights of citizens to freedom of worship, preaching and calling. Fears had increased, before the secession of the south, of northern Christians being subjected to persecution, discrimination and crack down. But the then Minister of Religious Affairs and Endowments sent assurances in a meeting with the German Radio Deutsche Welle on 5 January 2011, when he denied “for any justification to fear on the situation of the Church in North Sudan after the secession of the South.” The minister added that throughout the history of the church’s existence in Sudan, pressures of a religious and discriminatory nature were not formed because the churches in Sudan, according to the minister, are “diverse and not exclusive to southerners. There are churches of the Coptic community and others belonging to the people of the Nuba Mountains, the Blue Nile and other religious sects. Which are not part of South Sudan.”

Church removal and demolition:

The speech of the Minister of Religious Affairs and Endowments at that time, referred to above was a statement for political consumption and false. The two documents below confirm the decisions to remove 25 churches in different neighborhoods, which include of Al-Baraka, Dar al-Salam, Al-Bashir and al Takamul in the state of Khartoum. These were densely populated neighborhoods, being the largest in Khartoum, inhabited by Christian Sudanese displaced from war zones in the Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile, and Darfur. The first was issued on 20 June 2016, from the Office of the Director General of the Ministry of Urban Planning in the state of Khartoum and includes authorization from the Minister of Urban Planning to issue a decision to remove churches located in the residential neighborhoods referred to above.

The other decision was issued by General (police) Abdel-Baqi Mustafa Ahmed, Director General of the Land Protection Authority in Khartoum State, issued on 19 June 2016 ordering removal of 25 churches in the aforementioned neighborhoods. Copies of some government decisions to remove churches in Sudan: The first decision issued by the Director General of the Ministry of Urban Planning in the state of Khartoum:

Contents of the document is

Khartoum State

Ministry of Physical Planning

Land Department General Manager

Ref.: Id/ mt/ 1

Date 20 June 2016

Demolishing Order Number (214/ 2016)

Pursuant to powers vested on minister of Physical Planning and Public Utilities as per article 42 (2b) of the of Physical Planning and Land Disposition Act, 1994 delegated by the minister to me on letter dated 28 February 2006 ref. mpppu/ mo

I order the following:

Removal of churches encroaching upon residential plot and public spaces in East Nile area (al Baraka, Dar al Salam al Jadida, al Bashir and al Takamul

Issued under my hand and seal this 20 June 2016

Mohamed El Shaikh Mohamed General Manage

cc.

Head of the executive unit for land protection and removal of trespassing

 ولاية الخرطوم
وزارة التخطيط العمراني
مصلحة الأراضي
Land Department

التاريخ: ٢٠١٦/٠٦/١٥
الرقم: ٢٠١٦/٢١٤
العدد: ٧٠٤٠٠١

قرار إزاحة
رقم: (٢٠١٦/٢١٤) هـ

إستناداً للسلطات المفوضة السيد وزير التخطيط العمراني والرقاق العامة بموجب المادة (٤٢) الفقرة ٢٢ من قانون التخطيط العمراني والتصرف في الأراضي لسنة ١٩٩٤م والمفوضته لي من السيد الوزير بخطابه بتاريخ ٢٠٠٦/٢/٢٨م بالتمسرة: وت ع ج ع/م و .

أفرد الآتسي :-

إزاحة الكنائس المتحدية على القطع السكنية واليهانين بمناطق شرق النيل (البركة ، دار السلام الجديدة ، البشير ، التكميل) .

صدرت توقيعي في يوم العشرون من شهر ربيع لسنة ٢٠١٦م
والله اعلم ...

محسنة الشيخ محمده
المدير العام

يخون إلى :-
السيد / رئيس الجهاز التنظيمي لحماية الأراضي وإزالة المخالفات

Khartoum State

Unit for Protection of Puplic Land, Environment and Roads

Ref.: 38/a/ 1

Date: 15 June 2016

Director General, Land Department

Subject: Churches encroaching upon residential plot and public spaces in East Nile area (al Baraka, Dar al Salam al Jadida, al Bashir

and al Takamul)

Reference: Directive of East Nile Locality Commissioner to list unofficial churches in the locality.

Reference to the subject mentioned above and following the field visit for locations of churches in al Baraka, Dar al Salam al Jadida, al Bashir and al Takamul accompanied by the Land Department, surveying engineer and NISS representatives, we would to inform you that the trespassing is as follow:

25 churches, 3 in public spaces and the rest are on residential areas as shown in the list below.

For your order to demolish

Genral (police) Abdul Ghani Mustafa Ahmed

Unit for Protection of Puplic Land, Environment and Roads



ولاية الخرطوم

جهاز حماية الأراضي الحكومية والبيئة والطرق وإزالة المخالفات

المدير العام



التمرة : 1/أ/38

التاريخ: 2016/6/15م

السيد/ مدير عام مصلحة الأراضي

٤٤
٤٦٦٦١١٩

2016/6/15

**الموضوع/ الكنائس المتدبر على القطع السكنية والميادين العامة بمناطق شرق النيل
(البركة - دار السلام الجديدة - البشير - التكامل)**

المرجع:

- توجيه السيد/معمد محلية شرق النيل الخاص بحصر الكنائس العشوائية بالمحلية.

بالإشارة للموضوع أعلاه، وحسب الزيارة الميدانية المشتركة التي تمت لمواقع الكنائس القائمة بمربعات البركة ودار السلام الجديدة والبشير والتكامل برفقة مندوب الأراضي ومهندس المساحة وجهاز الأمن نفيديكم بأن التعدي عباره عن :

- عدد (25) كنيسة منها عدد (3) كنائس في الميادين العامة والمتبقي في قطع سكنية كما هو مبين بالكشف المرفق.

-للتكرم بإصدار قرار الإزالة

2016/6/15

الفرقة البركة
مدير عام جهاز حماية الأراضي الحكومية والطرق والبيئة وإزالة المخالفات

لدي محمد
مديرة

مرفقات:

١-الكشف



These assurances were practically blown out by what was stated in the two previously mentioned decisions regarding the removal of 25 churches. In addition to that, the repression practiced by the security apparatus on church leaders and the confiscation of their properties similar as reported by the Hurriyat electronic newspaper on 12 December 2015 on Christian Post website that “the government of Sudan continues to practice a policy of persecuting Christians. It destroys houses of worship and churches in a systematic way and persecutes and arrests priests.” Rather, the site went to clarify the security appa-

ratus's targeting of Christians and restricting their activities. In December 2012 NISS stopped a youth group going from Khartoum to al Obeid and Umm Rawaba to greet the churches there in their festive practice of greeting organized by the Christian Youth for decades to congratulate their Christian brothers from the regions in all denominations". This reflects the state's inconsistency between an interim constitution ,whose texts meets requirements of religious rights of Christian minorities and executive bodies that work authoritatively and mightily to empty and destroy these texts and laws .As for the right of Christians to preach their religion ,it is completely forbidden and not tolerated by the Sudanese authorities protecting the constitution .It was mentioned in the same report of the previous Christian Post" ,The Undersecretary of the Ministry of Endowments ,Hamid Yusef Adam, sent a warning message to the Presbyterian Evangelical Church in Sudan on 3 January 2012 threatening to arrest church leaders if they carry out missionary activity ".There is nothing left for the Christian Sudanese except to practice their rituals and propagation from under the ground as a covert action or to speak out against it and face injustice ,arbitrariness and the might of the ruling regime in Sudan .Article VI of the Interim Constitution 2005 ,on Religious Freedoms and Rights is no longer valid to secure and protect rights of the Christian minority in Sudan ,for which the viability and sanctity of the constitution is doubted .In an interview with a member of the Sudanese Council of Churches ,who is a university lecturer) he refused to be named for security reasons (for the purposes of this report ,he stated :The restrictions on Christians carried several aspects ,for example:

- cancellation of the Christmas holidays ,since independence had been considered an official holiday enjoyed by all Sudanese ,Christians and Muslims alike that provides a great opportunity for social communication and visits between Christian and Muslim families.

Thanks to the policy of the ruling regime ,it was turned into a mere holiday for Christian individuals and lost its social content.

- canceling the Sunday holidays in schools for Christian students, which necessitates them to attend school in schools and universities and forcing them not going to church to perform prayers .Before that, schools of Christian denominations worked on Saturday to break on Sunday to enable students to participate in performance of their religious rituals on Sunday

- The Commission for the Rights of Non-Muslims is considered a constitutional institutions established after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement to take care of the rights of Christians and it still exists as a constitutional text as it was not abrogated or amended .However, it was completely frozen and its effect were made void and deprived northern Christians of enjoying the rights after the CPA.

- a council for religious coexistence was established in Sudan after the Christian-Islamic Coexistence Conference was held in mid-nineties .It was agreed that its administration would be equally shared between Christians and Muslims .The General Secretariat will be rotated every four years .The first Secretary-General of the Council was Professor Al-Tayeb Zain Al-Abidin .After end of his term a Christian was supposed to take over in the new term .But no Christian was assigned to the position ,instead Dr .Farouk Al-Bushra was appointed in contradiction to what was stipulated in the byelaws of the council

- In the Ministry of Endowment, a special section was established in the Department of Churches Affairs in 2003-2004, to take care of the rights of Christians and churches, and a Sudanese Christian priest of a civil service criteria was appointed as the head of that administration.

But after the secession of the south, the section turned into a unit for social security, headed by a Muslim, and all of its employees were social security personnel responsible for implementing security decisions towards Christians, including summons, arrest, and confiscation. Church institutions provide many services for followers, such as education and health and had strong relationships with supporters and donors from outside Sudan. But these activities were curtailed and the communication line between the church and its supporters abroad was severed and strictly prohibited procedures for granting certificates and entry permit for foreigners linked to the church.

- The ruling regime continued to turn a blind eye to many violations carried out by some extremist groups against Christians and their institutions, such as statements printed and distributed to incite Muslims not to participate in their religious events on the part of their Christian brothers, and in doing so to fan the spirit of enmity between citizens. A member of the Council of Churches believes that “most of the violations against Christians, their institutions and their properties are a state policy that charts the features of the relationship between Christian Sudanese and the state they belong to and hopes to safeguard all their religious rights and freedoms. This state policy should not be confused with the issue of Religious coexistence between the components of Sudanese society, which is a social and human value.”

Establishing service and voluntary organizations

Violations of religious freedom rights of Christians were continued by the state executive. Service institutions and civil society organizations affiliated to churches were not spared the oppression of authority and its various apparatuses. A good number of institutions were either closed or confiscated. Several sources detailed their situations. Some were taken forcefully or willfully, as the case of the

house of the Internal Mission of Sudan. A Presbyterian Evangelical Church priest reported in a testimony of a house owned by Sudan Internal Mission in Khartoum 2 of an area of 2588 square meters of leasehold deed that expires in 2029. However, before the expiry of the contract, Sudan Internal Mission management was subjected to both coercing and seducing acts by NISS, which ordered them to give up the remaining period and compensating them financially so that they do not lose, because when the lease period expires, the ownership of the entire plot will be transferred to the government, and there will be no compensation. “They had no choice but to accept the compensation set by the security to take over the piece and its ownership was transferred to the economic security.” Even voluntary organizations headed by Christian Sudanese have been subjected to revoking their licenses and preventing them from working even though they operate in accordance with the Voluntary Organizations Act in Sudan and have the necessary license. They were organizations that do not work with the church but rather engage in activities in other areas such as social peacebuilding, religious co-existence and capacity building projects and do not target these religious groups, whether they are Muslims or Christians. One of the organizations that works in this regard and has carried out a large number of training projects for native and community leaders, youth, and women in conflict areas on community peace and peaceful co-existence in local communities. Their project aims to be implemented in partnership with local government authorities. However, the security apparatus instructed the governmental Humanitarian Aid Commission, responsible for issuing and renewing licenses of national and foreign organizations in Sudan to revoke the license of this organization and prevent it from operating under the pretext that their staff were Christians, though they were all Sudanese and none of them was foreigner. Mr. (MA), a member of the board of directors of this

organization, informed us about that, saying, “What happened is that the security revoked our license even though we work in partnership with state governments inside Khartoum and states where there are conflicts and the training we provide is the same peace building program that the government proposes. But the security authorities refused to renew our license since 2016 and confiscated our offices and equipment and closed the premises, and they told us that we were working to preach Christianity and some of your employees are priests in the churches. We made several attempts to restore our registration and our license, but those efforts did not bear fruit. “

Torching, removal and closure attacks on churches

When the Ingaz Government came to power with its hard-line Islamic approach and its reliance on religious discrimination, facts on violation of the religious rights of Christian Sudanese rose to the surface, and became more extreme until they reached burning churches. The state’s religious institutions mobilized their followers, from radical Islamic individuals and groups that adopted a similar discourse to that of the religious, biased state against non-Sudanese. As a result, major violations were committed against the Christian churches in Sudan, and many churches were burned in a blatant violation of the rights of Christians to have places of worship. The burning of churches is a criminal and hostile act against Christian Sudanese , but those responsible were not brought to trial or subjected to legal accountability. Many churches have been attacked or burned by groups of Islamic militants driven by some state officials, or removed by official state institutions on flimsy arguments that contradict the constitutional rights guaranteed to Christian Sudanese . As an example of these attacks, the synod of the Presbyterian Evangelical Church in Sudan, located in the suburb of Al-Jarif, east of the capital, Khartoum, owns a large agricultural plot, houses, schools and places of worship in which Christians

practice their religious and devotional rites. This community was established before Sudan gained independence in 1956. History of Al Jarif Church and the educational complex and the attached farm date back to the 1924. On April 21, 2012, this synod was attacked by a group of militant Islamic groups, who burned the complex with all its components from a house of worship to schools and properties, in addition to that some properties were looted and all books in the main library were burnt. We met a member of the Presbyterian Evangelical Christian Council in Sudan, a priest affiliated to Al Jarif Church complex, which was set on fire. He explained what happened as follows: Presbyterianism in al Gereef is an ancient and largest Christian group in the Sudan and owns the biggest ecclesiastical complex in Sudan before independence. Its history dates back to the period before the 1924. This ecclesiastical complex was established and had the first agricultural school in Sudan dating back to 1906, as well as a school for girls. This land was granted to the church by the British colonial government beside a farm belonging to the church. The assault started by Khartoum commissioner, who tried to take out an area of one acre of the church farm for his personal benefit. When he failed in his attempts, he suggested to a fanatic Islamic group to attack and burn al Gereef Church complex. Leader of this group, Muhammad Abdul Karim, a known fundamentalist mobilized his own followers and some other people. On 21 April 2012 they attacked and burned the church and the attached educational complex. They burnt books, equipment and all the property in the compound. Later on, Khartoum commissioner ordered the demolition of the church and the compound. The buildings were demolished by machineries of his locality without a formal decision issued to remove this complex because it was present lawfully before independence.

This incident shed light on the extent of the attacks against Christian

Sudanese by the official authorities in alliance with Islamic militant groups in Sudan.

Existing churches are also subjected to removal and demolition by the authorities on various pretexts, especially since most of the Christian Sudanese who have been subjected to abuse live in peripheral neighborhoods, especially in Khartoum.

Existing churches were also removed by the authorities in an explicit targeting manner, as most Christian Sudanese who were subjected to violations of their religious rights were concentrated in Khartoum at the peripheries due to the fact that they mainly come from conflict areas in South Kordofan and Blue Nile, and they live in dense slums. Usually the residents of these neighborhoods create their own places of worship by allocating a plot of land to mosques for Muslims and another for churches for Christians. This is done in agreement between the citizens of these neighborhoods on their own, as the government does not recognize their right to live in these squatter neighborhoods, except that when government authorities intervene to plan and legalize these neighborhoods. They usually allocate the area of the existing mosque in its place and do not destroy it, but rather consider it the engineering point that the layout of the neighborhood in question is designed, while existing church is removed and they refrain from allocating a plot of land to it, which makes the Christians who live in the same neighborhood without a house of worship while their Muslim counterparts enjoy this right. When Christian citizens demand the authorities their right to have a place of worship, they never get an answer, and in a testimony from a member of the Sudanese Council of Churches who belongs to the Evangelical Church in Sudan, he said: "The government is now confiscating churches' licenses, and most Christian Sudanese live in infor-

mal settlements in the capital Khartoum. Usually there is a mosque and a church, and when government authorities plan the neighborhood, they install the existing mosque in its place and allocate the plot of land that it is built in, while the existing church in the same neighborhood is removed and they refuse to license. Unfortunately, this is an ongoing approach from government authorities and we have many events to remove churches in various districts of Khartoum and refuse to license them, and what makes us feel sad as Sudanese citizens believe in Christian religion that these violations are the official policy of the state. Recently, 27 churches in various districts of Khartoum were removed in a blatant violation of the rights of Christian Sudanese and a major violation of the existing constitution. I visited all these removed churches to see with my own eyes.”

Security’s prosecution, expulsion, dismissal, trials and confiscation of property:

priests and church servants of the Christian Sudanese were subjected to prosecutions by the security apparatus to restrict and impede their right to practice their religious rites and care for their Christian followers in accordance with Christian religious teachings. All this was done in order to deprive the Christians of Sudan of exercising their constitutional right to worship. The priests were also accused of spying for foreign parties. The aim was to prevent them from practicing their religious activities. They were originally Sudanese citizens and religious men only. As a former Presbyterian Evangelical Church stated in our interview with him for the purposes of this report, saying: “Christian Sudanese in the eyes of the Ingaz government are spies and agents working against the homeland! (This exclamation mark was added at the request of our interviewee). So we were being pursued by the security apparatus through a series of summons, arrests and unfair trials that do not rely on any data of any kind because they are already lies,

and the properties of Christians and churches have been confiscated based on false and unrealistic pretexts. Property and money of my brother were confiscated on the pretext that he spent them in Christianization, just as the lands and properties of the church were confiscated for the benefit of senior security officers for the purpose of investing in them. Christians' property is considered spoils for them and we have even the names of some of these officers. This is the official state policy against its Sudanese citizens Christians”

In another meeting with one of the pastors of the Pentecostal Church, he gave us his testimony, saying, “I personally was subjected to raids by the security apparatus more than once, they were even following me in the neighborhood where I live. So I decided to move to another neighborhood. They arrived at my home, where I moved and spoke to my wife.” In my absence, they are following my Christian missionary activities. They accuse priests that we are spies and this is strange to us because we are Sudanese citizens before we are Christians, but the government does not want Christian Sudanese . I am not alone, but hundreds of priests and Christian clerics have been summoned by the security apparatus in a Church security unit and interrogation, as well as many priests were brought to trial for spying for other countries. Therefore, many priests decided to leave the homeland and migrate because of these harassment and violation of their constitutional right to exercise their natural and constitutional right to be Christians or belong to any other religion. Three years ago the government's security apparatus closed the Pentecostal churches, where I am pastor, forcing our pastor to sign agreeing to a decision to close, while threatening him, that it was his interest. Their argument in closing the church was that the faithful of this church were wearing disgraceful clothing that offends the public. Sudanese priests had been subjected to many unfair trials and complaints were always filed against them by the security apparatus. Var-

ious charges were submitted against them, penalties that may be up to death. Cases vary from accusations of spying for foreign bodies, undermining the constitutional system or inconvenience. Stirring up public opinion accusations claimed and submitted to courts. As the whole matter is that the authority is primarily concerned with fighting the Christian Sudanese . In 2014, Sudanese priests, one priest from South Sudan, a Sudanese citizen and a Czech journalist were arrested and accused of major charges: espionage, inciting hatred and undermining the constitutional order. The Sudanese Criminal Law of 1991 provides for the death penalty if convicted of these charges. We met with a priest of the Evangelical Church and an activist following up the files of cases brought by NISS against Sudanese priests. He informed us about their suffering with the regime's misuse of the law. Legal institutions of the state were designed to defeat the Christians of Sudan in a manner contrary to any kind of values, laws and rights. They have planned to employ the judiciary in fabricating charges against priests by the security apparatus. Strangely, they fabricate charges against us unimagined of and have nothing to do with logic. An example was the case brought by NISS against two Sudanese priests and a foreigner working in a humanitarian organizations and two pastors: Hassan Abdel Rahim, Koua Shamal, the young man Abdel Moneim Abdel Mawli and a foreigner from the Czech Republic called Peter Jask. They were subjected to unfair trials and accused of spying and undermining the constitutional system. Later on, they were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 12 years to 15 years, and Peter Jask was fined \$ 15,000. They were released a year later because the international community intervened at a very high level, such as the European Union and others.

Also, there was the case of priest Michael and other priests. They had been arrested since 2014 and charged with espionage and provoking sedition between tribes and inciting hatred against the state. Penal-

ties for these charges reach death penalty. They spent more than two years in detention and trial. But they were also released after intervention of the international community.

Christians are subjected daily to unfair trials in Sudan. In the month of October 2107, Christians were sentenced to a fine and imprisonment for their opposition to sell part of the church land in Omdurman in favor of an investor. We were subjected to a violation even in the law. The trials faced by Sudanese priests and Christians are part of the regime's plan to eradicate the Christian religion from Sudan. As an inherent right of every Sudanese citizen to convert to the religion he wishes in accordance with the applicable Sudanese constitution and international laws that are part of the Sudanese constitution. The security apparatus targets priests in any church or religious activity they carry out inside their churches and even their conversations to the media are considered crimes against them, and even the prayers they perform and the sermons they offer inside the churches or participations in religious conferences. There are very serious restrictions against Christian Sudanese .

Hate speech and discrimination against Christian Sudanese

The ruling regime in Sudan, since its coming to power through a military coup in 1989, had adopted strict Islamic religious policies, which forms the backbone of its ideological structure. The National Islamic Front party carried out this military coup and controlled the reins of governance in Sudan. The regime adopted from its first day religious policies based on the Islamization of all aspects of political, social, cultural and religious life in Sudan, and for this the regime announced the imposition of the application of Sharia and its laws on all Sudanese and canceled old laws in force in Sudan and issued new laws that

were derived from Islamic law and announced the main reference for the constitution is Islamic law and the Holy Qur'an. The regime also changed the course of war that was burning in southern Sudan between the central government in Khartoum and the rebel SPLM in southern Sudan, from a political war linked to several national demands to a religious war, as most of the SPLM fighters were southerners, who embrace Christianity. Therefore, the regime declared a ruling that war in the south is a jihad for the sake of God, and that it is a war against infidels and other enemies of Islam. The regime mobilized followers in jihadist militias to fight in the south and told them that those who die in this war would directly go to heaven. This hardline Islamic approach adopted by the regime put the Christian Sudanese in a very narrow angle, as they became second-class citizens and their rights were not the same as before Ingaz regime took over power. Therefore, they were considered second-class citizens in their homeland due to their religious classification as thought by the religious orientation of the ruling regime and its adoption of the Islamic law as a reference for politics and law in Sudan. President Omar al-Bashir stated that the Sudanese army was committed to implementing Islamic law in Sudan, "The army will remain the guardian of the law in Sudan" ⁽³⁶⁾. It was clear that the arrival of the National Islamic Front party, which descended from the Muslim Brotherhood, aims to build an Islamic state in Sudan, where Christians are second in terms of the number of followers of religions in Sudan, a target of discrimination as they are not a real religion. The Sudanese President had previously confirmed their religious orientation based on Sharia and their affiliation as officers in the Sudanese army to the Muslim Brotherhood when he said in an interview with the Al-Wasat magazine, "The organization that brought us together as military officers within the Sudanese army was the Islamic movement, aiming to implement Islamic Sharia in the country." .

Christian Sudanese have a growing feeling that their religious rights in light of the hardline Islamic trend of the regime will be threatened and targeted. They began to complain since early 1990s, when their protests over what they sensed as targeting by the Islamic government in Khartoum. On the eve of the secession of South Sudan, Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir announced before a mass gathering in the eastern Sudanese city of Gedaref on 20 December 2010 that the state after the secession of the south will not recognize the cultural, ethnic and religious diversity of the Sudanese people, saying: “In the event of the secession of the south, we will amend the constitution, so there is no room to talk about diversity. Al-Bashir, who also defended two policemen, filmed lashing women, “Sharia and Islam will be the main source of the constitution. Islam will be the official religion of the state, and Arabic will be the official language of the state” (37). When we sat down with a member of the Sudanese Council of Churches, at the same time a chaplain and pastor of one of the churches in Khartoum and a human rights activist on issues of religious rights for Christians, he said: “The main reason why we are being subjected to difficult violations of our rights as Sudanese citizens is our believe in the Christian religion, which is the oldest heavenly religion in Sudan. This is the president’s speech in the city of Gedaref in December 2010 when he said that there is no obscurity of religions after the secession of the south. Sudan will be an Islamic state. This speech was a green light for the official state apparatus to expel Christian Sudanese from Sudan and violations of their constitutional and legal rights and their treatment as third-class citizens. He was aware that this speech was broadcast live in media and the official national television of the state. These acted also as a catalyst for militant Islamic groups to sow hate speech against Christian Sudanese . Immediately these groups started issuing anti-Christian leaflets and posters calling on Sudanese citizens to boycott and our religious occasions, like Christmas, Eas-

ter, etc., this has had a great impact on us.” In the same direction a member of the Board of Evangelical Church states, when he told us in our interview that “what the extremist Islamic groups do by spreading hate speech is against the law and the constitution, but the state does not move. This anti-Christian timber expresses completely there desires, and therefore these violations we were exposed to are state policies. The issue is not religious coexistence because religious coexistence is a social issue, but our problem as Sudanese Christian citizens is the relationship between Christian Sudanese and the state and this is currently for us a very dark file.” He continues to talk to us” We are oppressed by the government because we are Christians and descended from the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile.

Denial of religious holidays and the right to employment

Since Sudan gained independence in 1956, there had been official holidays on religious basis in Sudan that were announced by a decision issued by the Council of Ministers in accordance with the law that organizes public holidays in Sudan. These holidays include Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, the birthday of the Prophet and the New Islamic Year. For Muslims, Christmas and Easter for Christians, those holidays were for for all Sudanese regardless of religion. However, after the separation of the south, the state canceled Christian holidays, so that there are no longer official Christian holidays, while maintaining the same status for Muslim holidays, whereby the holiday is declared to all the people. As for Christians on their religious holidays, the holiday has become more of specific for Christians, which denied them enjoyment of their right to religious holidays, due to absence of an official state holiday. A member of the Sudanese Council of Churches and a lecturer at a Sudanese university, gave us his testimony in this regard, saying: “The government canceled the Christmas holiday after the secession of the south, a decision was issued by the cabi-

net denied us the exercise of our constitutional right to enjoy freedom of religion, belief and equality between all Sudanese without discrimination.” On the basis of religion, Sudanese Christian students, for example, go to sit for exams on Christmas Day, because schools no longer have a Christmas holiday. This happened to my daughter. I personally, on Christmas Day, brought her to the university because she had an exam on Christmas Day, so she could not go to Christmas prayers, but instead to the university. This happens painfully for us as Christian Sudanese, as it has a negative social impact, because no one reaches us on Christmas Day because there is no longer any holiday. In 2017, the government issued a decision to cancel Sunday holidays for churches’ schools in Sudan. These schools were suspended on Friday and Sunday, instead of Friday and Saturday because the students who study in them are Christians and Muslims. So Christian students can go to Prayers in churches on Sundays and Muslim students can go to mosques on Fridays. However, the government’s decision to compel these schools to cancel the Sunday holiday and replace it with Saturday had prevented Christian students from exercising their right to worship and go to prayers on Sundays.

When we spoke to one of the priests and a member of the Evangelical Church Council, a teacher in the schools of Comboni affiliated to the church, he made the following statement: “Canceling the Sunday holidays in our schools prevented our students from going to prayer on Sunday in the church adversely affecting their feelings: feeling dismayed and hated by the state for being Christians. Another major problem that Christian students studying in public schools suffer from is that there is no longer teaching of the curriculum of Christian education, which is required to sit for the Sudanese certificate exams that qualify to enter universities. So every student studies a religious curriculum according to their religion. I collect these students on Fridays every week in churches and some private schools teach them

the curriculum of Christian education, which deprives them of their Friday holiday. Thus they have only one day's holiday per week instead of two, and this constitutes a major denial of the religious and constitutional rights of the Sudanese Christian students.

Freezing the constitutional and official institutions catering for rights of Christians

There were some formal constitutional councils and commissions to take care of the religious rights of Christians and councils for peaceful coexistence between Muslims and Christians in Sudan, which are bodies when formed, laid down the foundations participation of Christians and Muslims in the management. In fact, the Islamic regime in Sudan was not driven by a real desire to establish such institutions, but for political and imposed international pressure. The regime, subsequently, had violated laws and constitution to strip these institutions of their role that was instrumental in protecting Christians' rights from violations. Among these institutions is the Sudanese Religious Coexistence Council, which started its actual activity in the year 2003, and the idea of establishing the council came from an international conference for religious coexistence held in Khartoum during that period as a result of the international pressures that the regime was exposed to due to its anti-Christian Sudanese approach accusing them of being spies of SPLM what they were subjected to under the umbrella of these accusations. The government adopted resolutions of this conference, including the establishment of the Sudanese Religious Coexistence Council. A regulation and byelaws were passed been established, providing that the membership of the council's board of directors is shared equally Christian and Muslims. Term of the council's president is for a period of four years, and the council's chairmanship rotates by a system of one term for each. When the presidency of the council is for a Muslim the vice-president is a Chris-

tian and vice versa. In 2003 when the council began work, the presidency of the council was given in the first session to a Muslims, Professor Ahmed Al-Tayeb Zain Al-Abidin, who is a member of the Islamic Movement in Sudan and his deputy was a Christian. Upon expiry of his term, another Muslim was appointed in 2007. He continued in office without renewal and the Council continued its work very far from the goals for which it was established and has no interest in the violations that Christians were exposed to in Sudan. Rather, it has become one of the propaganda tools to justify state violations against Christians. In this context ,we talked to a member of the Council of Churches ,a Sudanese Christian figure ,a founding member of the Sudanese Religious Coexistence Council and a member of its board of directors .The main objective of establishment of the Sudanese Religious Coexistence Council as agreed upon in 2003 was to take into account the religious rights of Christians and Muslims together and not to allow any discrimination or violations of these rights from any official or otherwise .Unfortunately the council was stolen by the ruling regime itself. They did not adhere to the statute or regulations ,so they totally controlled it and we were directly excluded .One Muslim has remained as head since 2007 until now and has turned it into an office that talks falsely about the rights of Christians and being the first violator within the council by denying them the exercise of their statutory right to exchange the presidency and work on an equal footing .Therefore ,this council has no value for Christians in Sudan .Rather ,it became one of the methods of exclusion and deprivation that we are subjected to as Christians from participating in the management of our affairs with the state agencies “.In addition ,our speaker said”:Also from the recommendations of that conference ,which the state formally adopted, to establish a section in the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Endowments under the name ” Department of Churches Affairs “similar to the section in the Ministry” Department of Mosques Affairs ,“provid-

ed that at the head of this section there should be a Sudanese Christian to whom the required civil service specifications apply according to employment requirements taking into account that this section is specialized in the Sudanese Christian religious matters and therefore can only be managed by a Christian person as the case in the mosque affairs section ,which cannot be managed by a non-Muslim person due to religious privacy .An official government decision was issued to establish a church affairs section in the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Endowments in 2003 and a Christian official was appointed to head .The department began its work in caring for affairs of Sudanese churches as part of the state institutions concerned with this matter .But immediately after the secession of the south in ,2011 the head of the Christian section was expelled and replaced by a Muslim and was transferred to a unit under NISS ,though maintaining the same name ,the Department of Church Affairs in the Ministry .All the problems that we suffer now as Christian Sudanese ranging from security arrests ,prosecutions ,trials ,confiscations ,removal of churches and other violations a real stemming from this section ,which is been directed as a tool of repression against us in a contradiction that cannot be understood .Even staffs of this department are now publicly stating that they are officers in NISS ,and that when they come to investigate priests or summon them to direct offices of the authority instead of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Endowments. Another official institution that was concerned with the protection of the rights of Christian Sudanese is the Commission for the Protection of the Rights of Non-Muslims in the National Capital ,which is a constitutional body established after signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in .2005 This commission was established by a republican decision and included in the Sudan's constitution of ,2005 currently in force and the commission has not yet been abolished .Therefore its existence and continuity are constitutionally binding on the govern-

ment of Sudan .However ,since the secession of South Sudan in,2011 this commission has ceased to exist and the government has dissolved it in a major constitutional violation .Therefore ,we sat down with one of the priests ,who was a member of this commission since its inception until the day it was dissolved after the secession of the south. He said” Of course ,the Commission for the Rights of Non-Muslims in Sudan is a constitutional commission stipulated in Sudan’s Constitution of 2005 and in effect to this day .Members are from Christians and Muslims .Its primary purpose was to protect the rights of Christian Sudanese and followers of other religions and non-Muslims to protect them from abuse .I was the a responsible member thereof from the date of its establishment in 2005 until its dissolution in 2011by the government .The decision to dissolve this commission is contrary to the constitution and laws because they were not been amended to date .We have turned with the government to restore our constitutional rights and not to dissolve this commission .But no one responds .In my opinion the dissolution of the commission was intended to pave the way for the confiscation of our rights as Christians in worship ,freedom of religion ,the destruction and confiscation of churches ,and ultimately either we leave our country Sudan and become homeless in the world as it happens to many of our brothers or we leave our Christian religion.“

It is evident that the Ingaz regime was targeting Christians in a greater scheme according to deliberate plans consistent with its extremist Islamic approach and hostile to other religions. More and above it is part of the nature of the formation of this tyrannical regime hostile to freedoms and rights and does not care about the governing constitution and laws General Bashir violates he constitution, assaults on Christian Sudanese citizens themselves or their rights. After the secession of South Sudan, the regime stripped official institutions that

were concerned with caring for the rights of Christian Sudanese , to force them desert Christianity, and turn them into official tools of repression.

The situation of Christian Sudanese in the Darfur region

Darfur is known as the state of the Qur'an in Sudan because of its deep connection with Islam. But during the past years, Darfur witnessed a movement to convert to Christianity among a large segment of young people. This is explained by the Bishop of the First Baptist Church in Darfur, who is a member of the Fur tribe and who was appointed for this important ecclesiastical position in 2017. We met him and we requested a lengthy interview with him for the purposes of this report. He lives outside Sudan to escape abuse and prosecution, because of apostasy, that carries a death sentence. He reported: Among the most important reasons for converting to Christianity in Darfur are: -

1. The ruling Islamists in Sudan dealt with the Muslims in Darfur, where the Darfuri Muslima were killed by the weapon of their Muslim brothers, tortured, persecuted and women were raped by the Islamists.
2. The silence of the elders of the Islamists towards what Muslims were exposed to in Darfur and not standing up to injustice and persecution taking place in full view of the world
3. The Christian states and the Christian people supported the cause of the people of Darfur and sympathized with the oppressed and assisted them.

The Bishop of the Baptist Church in Darfur estimates that the number of Christians in Darfur is between (20-25) thousand believers belonging to the Baptist , Pentecostal and Evangelical churches. Numbers of those who convert to Christianity daily in Darfur is estimated at (10) ten thousand individuals, adding that they “practice their religious rites in a secret manner in around (500) home churches (where a number of families or individuals congregate to practice their devotions and read the Bible in a secret manner). These practices are often subject to prosecution and tracking by the security services and society, the later being exposed to government pressures to punish their Christian children.

Religious freedoms for Christians in Darfur

The Bishop of the First Baptist Church in Darfur, who is the first Bishop of Darfur to hold this chair, says: “There are no religious freedoms for Christians from Darfur under a state that raises slogans of Islam where multiple religions lead to the emergence of a state of extremism and militancy towards Christians. As an imam of a mosque in Soug El Shaa’bi stated in a sermon (jihad is a duty in Darfur and Darfurian funds are considered spoils). The bishop goes on saying “lack of religious freedoms in Sudan has led to the secession of the south, and the outside world considers lack of religious freedom a direct reason for spread of problems in Sudan. In my opinion, religious freedoms lead to solving all problems facing Sudan today. Also, there is no freedom to preach Christianity in Darfur. “ Most Christian Darfurians live outside Sudan to escape persecution of the regime and harassment of their society, where they can practice their rites freely and safely.

Barriers and harassment of Christians in Darfur

On the obstacles and harassment of Christians in Darfur, the Bishop of the Baptist Church says “there are barriers and harassment from the government first and then from individuals in the community”: - The government’s harassment is represented in:

- Difficulty in obtaining identification documents for Christian Darfurians, as the name is verified and monitored and all forms of persecution are practiced against Christians.

Christian Darfurians cannot mention their religion in a form for any personal document, forcing them to conceal their true religion in order not to be deprived of their rights and persecuted.

- Tracking and targeting Christian activists from the sons of Darfur at home and pursuing them externally, as happened to the bishop himself. As we were told, he was kidnapped from his residence in the city of Aweil in southern Sudan and an attempt was made to terminate his. Had it not been to some international organizations and Council of Churches of Southern Sudan he would have lost his life. In the city of Juba, another attempt to murder him was undertaken by a Darfuri leader, who follows the Islamist regime in Khartoum. Security authorities in South Sudan were prompted to warn him and asked him to leave the south to preserve his safety. He left to Uganda. The authorities systematically discriminate against Christian students from Darfur. Many of them were dismissed from universities, especially Omdurman Islamic University and Al-Zaeem Al-Azhari University. Harassment faces Christian Darfurians at Khartoum airport, where they are interrogated in a provocative way and sometimes arrested from inside the airport.

- Exerting pressure on Christians to work for the sake of the system

and uncovering the church's activities in Darfur, as happened to a priest named Munir. He was threatened to have his property confiscated or in exchange to reveal secrets of the church's work in Darfur.

- There are a large number of young Christian Darfurians, who have been subjected to trials and others languishing in camps in Darfur and Khartoum. Three Christian youths were kidnapped in Nyala in July 2018. A number of Christian Sudanese have also been arrested from Darfur region, according to the online newspaper Al-Jamahr newspaper, which reported on 17 October 2018, that the security forces arrested 12 Christians in Nyala, who were distributing copies of the Bible to Muslims. The Christian Convent organization reported according to the newspaper that the men were taken handcuffed by NISS members and arrests were made from inside the Nyala market on Saturday, 13 October 2018.

Community harassment of Christian Darfurians

Bishop (AH), Bishop of the First Baptist Church in Darfur, says of the harassment imposed by society on Christian Darfurians:

A Darfuri doctor, asked to marry a girl, but when the girl's family learned that he was a Christian, they refused, and when the girl insisted, she was killed by her father, in Zalingei city, in Darfur.

Three Christians from Darfur were forced to divorce their wives and remove their children after they announced their conversion to Christianity.

Conversion to Christianity is a sufficient reason for social isolation. If someone is brought to trial, they may be killed as an apostate.

- A woman, who converted to Christianity, was locked by her husband inside the house to starve to death. Her daughter entered and enabled her to flee and take refuge in the church.
- A policeman was fired after he announced his conversion to Chris-

tianity

As for pastor (HA), who Darfurian who converted to Christianity in the 2009 in Khartoum. He confirmed that since converting to Christianity, he was pursued by the security authorities in Khartoum until he decided to flee to Juba, the capital of South Sudan. We met him there for the purposes of this report, he said the following:

Concerning the rights of Christians in the Sudanese constitution and laws, he believes that they do not enjoy any religious freedom and cannot build churches inside Sudan The constitution provides a measure of freedom, but in practice this freedom is not present, on the contrary, there is repression, torture and threat. Those who practice church activity inside Sudan are in real danger. Preaching Christianity is a crime that the government sternly faces. The priest (HA) goes on to say, "As Christians, we do not reject governments, but we reject the government's behavior toward Christians." And the priest (HA) notes, "Most of those who were subjected to abuse are those who come from Islamic backgrounds from Darfur."

The situation of Christians in the Blue Nile

The status of Christians' rights and religious freedoms in Blue Nile does not differ from that of Christians in the rest of Sudan. In the state of Blue Nile, Christianity owes a large number of groups that inhabit the areas south of the state, and Christianity is spread widely among the groups of Aduk, Kuma, Kunza and Jumjum. There are also a number of churches in the state, most of which are located in Kurmuk Province, the largest of which is the Shali Al Feel Church that was established in 1937 and Yabus Church in addition to small churches located in Platoma, Baie and Al Lillie. For decades, since the independence of Sudan, Christians have been subject to oppression and harassment to compel them to abandon their Christian faiths. This include:

- Campaigns of forced Islam that were sponsored by the Suda-

nese government in the beginnings of the sixties, which began expelling the missionary sponsors of the church in those areas in 1964 and denying Christians any material or financial support.

- Intensive campaigns to preach Islam, so a number of mosques were built in the city of Shali to compete with churches and to attract local population and urge them to change their Christian faiths.

As was done in the 1974 with huge funding from the Gulf, the Shali Islamic Institute was built

- When the institute failed to persuade the Christians to abandon their religion,

it was turned in 1984 into a military garrison and a place for violence and terrorism instead of religious teachings.

Therefore coercing residents to change their religious beliefs by force and terrorism under the guise of counter-insurgency, many acts of lynching, killing and torture were committed. The population was forced, especially adherents of Christianity, to leave the area and tens of thousands settled in Benqou refugee camp in Ethiopia.

- During 2005-2011, after signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005, the region witnessed relative peace and stability, as most of the population returned to their homes, and churches were rebuilt for Christian lessons, prayers, and chants.

- After the independence of South Sudan, the suffering of the Christians returned to the state. Upon resumption of war between the government and SPLA Christian villages in southern parts of the state became military targets for the forces of the regime and target for the Antinov attacks that destroyed schools, markets, water points, health centers, mosques and churches. Residents were forced once again to

flee their hometowns in search for safety in refugee camps in Ethiopia and southern Sudan, while some remained in forests and creeks for fear of air strikes and military battles.

Samuel Al Samani says “Because of the intense aerial shelling and the targeting of civilians, all people fled to the camps, fearing for their lives, and there is no way to live in these areas. Everything was destroyed, including schools, health centers, market, places of worship, and all people now live either in the camps or the jungle to protect them from aerial bombardment. People walking on their feet for long distances to their original churches from hiding places to fill them with prayers, asking Lord for protection and answering peace for them. As for Damazin, the capital of the region, where the strict Islamic Ingaz Government exercised a ban on establishing churches and placed restrictions on Christians to practice religious rites, Christians suffered from fear and terror, and the intransigence of the security services that classified them as collaborators with the insurgency became subject to arbitrary arrests, torture, and extrajudicial killings.

Conclusion: examples of practices and policies that violate the religious rights of Christians in Sudan

As we mentioned earlier, most of basic religious rights have been included in the various constitutions of Sudan, but in practice they were violated by the laws, policies, and announced or hidden executive decisions. The following are examples of some of these violations:

A- Lack of licensing for lands to establish new churches, especially in major cities. Theoretically this is possible, but the reality on the ground and the executive practices at different levels do not allow

this right to be obtained except in some rare cases.

B- Continuous demolition of churches that are without license, despite the endeavor to obtain certification like the rest of establishments that are approved except for the churches.

C- Confiscation of the right to enjoy the education of children in Christian education, similar to their Muslim counterparts, by refusing to appoint Christian teachers in schools within the plan of federal and state ministries of education, and not including Christian education books within the program for providing textbooks in ministries. As a result, the Church and the family bear these burdens, although the Christian education curriculum is a formal curriculum in the Ministry.

W - The state has retracted from naming the Christmas holiday as a public holiday in Sudan and confining it to Christians only. In fact, many Christians, especially school and university students, find it difficult to exercise the right to enjoy the festive holidays. Rather than participating with their families on Christmas prayers and their joys, they are forced to be absent or go to schools or universities, especially when that coincides with the exams.

C- Managing church and Christian affairs by Muslim and security officials within the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Endowments. It is not enough for a Christian person to be among or at the head of this administration, as at the beginning of the establishment of the department, or what was recently done. There should be a full administration, just like the departments that take care of Muslims, mosques and Da`wah affairs within the ministry.

H- The leaders of the Christian religion have no status with the state,

but rather do so selectively on specific occasions. Often, church leaders are treated in a humiliating and indecent manner by some state agencies.

X- Training institutions such as Bible schools and theology colleges need a process of localization and recognition of their graduates with diplomas and employment. Consideration must also be given to issuing a special regulation from the General Administration of Admission with conditions for admission of students to accredited colleges of theology in higher education, as are some of the conditions for admission of students to colleges of Islamic universities from schools of Qur'anic schools and institutes. Bible schools are almost parallel to high schools, but their graduates are not accepted now in theological faculties according to the general conditions for admission to higher education institutions.

D- The use of the term “for non-Muslims” in legal institutions to refer to Christians and other religions is tantamount to a veiled confession.

The December 2018 revolution and the beginning of improving the conditions and rights of Christians with progressive alternative policies³⁸ The December 2018 revolution has transformed Sudan. Sudan will not be the same as it was despite the fact that the transformation is still in its infancy. Among the most important manifestations of these transformations are the emergence of a new generation of political leaders and youth who rebel against all patterns of the old Sudan, which distinguishes Sudanese societies on a religious, ethnic and political basis. It is for the first time that there will be a constitution document (the next draft constitution) without mentioning the issue of religion as a source of legislation. The principle of positive discrimination has been included for the first time in the interest of war-affected

and oppressed regions and societies throughout the 30-year period. The main question, how do Christians benefit from this new situation? These are positive and very important transformations for Christians, and we must build on them in order to reach a citizenship state where equality of rights, duties, and religious and cultural freedom is concerned. To achieve this, we present the following alternative political proposals and an emergency program for the government in order to integrate Christian citizens and their religious institutions into public life in order to achieve the slogan of the revolution: freedom, peace and justice:

Alternative Policies Proposal and Ambulatory Program for Incorporating Christian Rights and Duties into Civil Life

Current or alternative policy	alternative government policy of freedom and change	the government's emergency program
1. Lack of approval by governments to build new churches, which resulted in building churches without licensing that are often destroyed from time to time and without compensation	1. Adoption of a national policy that allows licensing to build new churches and incorporation of this into the policies of the ministries of urban planning similar to the rest of public utilities	1. A committee to study the status of existing Christian places of worship and regularize their conditions, while setting a national policy for the ratification and construction of churches
2. Demolishing many places of worship and destroying their property by the government without compensation instead of settling its order for certification or compensation		2. Issue an immediate decision from the competent authorities prohibiting destruction of any church built without license in the past until the completion of the work of the above-mentioned committee

<p>3. Reverting and canceling the Christmas holiday as a national holiday three years ago although it was an official holiday since independence</p>		<p>3. An immediate decision by the competent authorities to adopt the Christmas holiday as a public official holiday for one day for muslims and three days for Christians as is the case before the abolition</p>
<p>4. The Ministry of Religious Affairs recently interfered unlawfully in churches administrative affairs, which exacerbated administrative disputes within denominations, which are disputes that could be resolved by constitutions, laws, and regulations of each sect.</p>	<p>4. The Ministry adopts ecclesiastical constitutions, regulations, and laws governing the different denominations to be the reference of the ministry and any government agencies when dealing with the administrations of various ecclesial communities.</p>	<p>4. Reviewing and canceling all decisions issued previously by the Ministry with regard to the internal administrative affairs of the different denominations, with reparation for the harm caused by those decisions or unlawful interventions</p>
<p>5. Not to include the church in the ministry's budget, similar to the mosques and Islamic places of worship where Christians bear all the costs of the services of their worship services and their servants while paying the salaries of the imams of mosques.</p>	<p>Adopting policy of equal citizenship in rights and duties. Budget of the ministry is greatly paid equally by taxpayers, Muslims and Christians</p>	<p>Decision to form a committee to study the equality of church worship houses and Christian servants similar to mosques and imams within the framework of the ministry's budget</p>

<p>6. In the sense that Christian education is an official subject in the curriculum of education, however, the cost of its curriculum and its teaching is outside the state budget, as it is borne by the Christian community in full, except for setting, printing and correcting examinations, guidance and supervision, if any.</p>	<p>6. Incorporation of the cost of teaching Christian education into the budget of the federal and state ministries of Christian education, according to case requires that it should include (1) accreditation of the appointment of Christian education teachers in terms of salaries, promotion, training, etc. (2) include the cost of printing and distributing of Christian education book in the budget of school textbooks in the Ministry similar to the rest of other textbooks</p>	<p>6. issuing an immediate decision to study the status of Christian education and its teachers and work to include them within the budget of the federal and state ministries of education as appropriate.</p>
---	---	---

<p>7. Administration of churches and Christians affairs by Muslims and security apparatus within the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Endowments where the church and its leaders are dealt with mainly on security basis where they are called upon and dealt with in a way humiliating to their dignity, prestige and religious symbolism</p>	<p>7. Restructuring the ministry so that (1) the Churches Affairs Division is upgraded to a public administration headed by a Christian cadre and with the required civil service qualifications and accepted by the leadership of the Sudanese Church (2) Creating a high level post of second deputy in the ministry occupied by a Christian figure who meets the conditions of civil service is nominated and approved by the leaders of the Sudanese Church in coordination with the Sudanese Council of Churches (3) appointment of a State Minister of a Christian figure nominated and approved by the leaders of the Sudanese Churches in coordination with the Sudanese Council of Churches (4) Appointment of a number of Christian officials in different grades according to the new structure, shall be nominated and approved by the leaders of the Sudanese Church in coordination with the Sudanese Council of Churches</p>	<p>7. Cancel the administration Current church affairs in preparation for its restructuring and appointment of director of public administration. To achieve this, the Minister of Religious Affairs and Endowments shall submit these proposals to the competent authorities with continuous consultation with the church leaders and the Sudanese Council of Churches in the various stages of implementation.</p>
--	---	--

<p>8. Failure to involve Christians in public institutions and bodies that affect their national rights and duties in one way or another</p>	<p>8. The state adopts a new policy that is more sensitive to the representation of qualified Christian cadres in institutions related to Christians' private rights and affairs. The most important of these are: (1) Public Authority for Radio and TV (2) Curriculum Department in ministries of secondary and primary education (3) Personal Status Courts for Christians (4) Constitutional Commission (5) Legal Reform Commission (6) Peace and Peace Negotiations (7) The Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Commission</p>	<p>8. the Minister of Religious Affairs and Endowments arrange a meeting that brings together the Prime Minister, church leaders and the Council of Churches to discuss to ensure that these proposals are implemented.</p>
--	---	---

Recommendations

1. Repeated violations of the rights of the Christian minority in Sudan should not be viewed in isolation from the entire crisis of violation of human rights and public freedoms that were detonated and sponsored by the Islamic regime for three decades. Therefore, resolving this crisis requires a comprehensive change in the nature of the system of government because the circumstances in which the crisis is born is not suitable for resolving the crisis.
2. What happens to Christian Sudanese is one of the episodes of corruption that prevailed in the state's connections and the sanctification of religious sanctities and capabilities. The spoilers took advantage of the state's legal and legal institutions and made fun of them for forgery of facts despite the constitution, which in its texts is sufficient to protect the rights of Christian minorities, and therefore must establish a national legal mechanism to defend the rights of Christian minorities in Sudan, and consider this issue a national battle to support Sudanese citizens who have been wronged by the authority.
3. The issue of violating the religious freedoms of Christians must be escalated to the highest media publishing platforms on all levels, international, regional and local. An official declaration that considers the rights of Christian minorities and followers of other religions in Sudan in word and deed to be at the core of the provisions of the social contract for the people of Sudan.
4. Using the students, youth and women's platforms internally to launch a pro-Christian campaign, while providing the necessary support under the slogan (protecting the constitutional rights of religious minorities in Sudan).
5. The escalation of religious discourse in all platforms that calls for religious coexistence, tolerance and inspiration from the stances of the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet, may Allah bless Him and grant Him peace, towards non-Muslims under the slogan (There is no compulsion in religion) and (You do not guide those whom you loved but Allah guides whomever He wills). Because it is unreasonable to leave to Islamic extremist groups to take people's minds off with this manic rhetoric in light of a moderate and more just religious discourse towards non-Muslims.

General references

- Muhammad Saeed, Mustafa, Islam and Nubia in the Middle Ages, 2011, p. 56
- Sharif Qasim, Aoun, Islam and Arabia in Sudan, Dar Al-Jeel, Beirut, 1989
- Ahmed Salem, Bin Sayed Ahmed, World Council of Churches and Evangelization in Southern Sudan, www.aljazeera.net, 3/10/2004
- Sudan Transitional Constitution of 2005 Religious Rights
- Sudan's 2005 Interim Constitution of the Bill of Rights
- The official website of the Sudanese Ministry of Guidance and Endowments
- Dr. Mohamed El-Amine Omar El Sebaei. The Origins and Development of Churches in Sudan. 2017 p. 7 www.sudapedia.sd/ar/content/135
- Talal Y. Christian Entry into Sudan 2010 AD. Al-Danak
- leh Village Forum <http://danagla.montadaoslim.com> Member of the Sudanese Council of Churches. Interview. 2018
- Dr. Muhammad Al-Amin Omar Yousef Al-Sebaei. Churches originated and developed in Sudan, p. 15
- Prof. El-Tayeb Zain El-Abidine, Ministry of Guidance, cramming herself in the struggle of the Presbyterian Evangelical Church, 2017.
Member of the Presbyterian Evangelical Church Complex, April 2018
- Yaqoub Suleiman www.alhamish.com
- Al-Mansour Jaafar. Christianity in Sudan. 2013. Civilized Dialogue. Issue 2004
- Khartoum Center for Electronic Media (KEM) (Special Report- Sudan the land of Diversity and Religious Accommodation)
- J.Sharkey. Heather. Christians among Muslims: The Church Mis-

- sionary Society Missionaries in the Northern Sudan. Journal of African History. vol. 43. No. 1 (2002). pp. 51-75 - p 51.
- Abdelrahim Nasr. Ahmed .British Policy towards Islam in Nuba Mountains. 1920-1940. Sudan Notes and Records. vol. 52. (1971). pp. 23 -32 - p23
 - Poggo. Scopas S. The First Sudanese Civil War. Africans .Arabs. and Israeli In the Southern Sudan. 1955- 1972. Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. P. 94
 - www.un.org/ar/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.htm
 - <http://st-takla.org/FAQ-Question-VS-Answer>
 - St.takla.com
 - Patrick & Johnstone. Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion. 2015 Duane Alexander Mil
 - www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?
 - Jennika Landin. 2009. LUNDS UNIVERSITET- Freedom of Religion in Sudan. Conditions for Freedom of Religion after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement

References

- 1 Khartoum Center for Electronic Media (KEM) Special Report- Sudan the land of Diversity and Religious Accommodation
- 2 Muhammad Saeed, Mustafa, Islam and Nubia in the Middle Ages, 2011, p. 56
- 3 Muhammad Saeed, Mustafa, Islam and Nubia in the Middle Ages, 2011, p. 57
- 4 Al-Sharif Qassem, Aoun, Islam and Arabia in Sudan, Dar Al-Jeel, Beirut, 1989
- 5 .J.Sharkey. Heather. Christians among Muslims: The Church Missionary Society Missionaries in the Northern Sudan. Journal of African History. vol. 43. No. 1 (2002). pp. 51-75 - p 51.
- 6 Abdelrahim Nasr. Ahmed .British Policy towards Islam in Nuba Mountains. 1920-1940. Sudan Notes and Records. vol. 52. (1971). pp. 23 -32 - p23
- 7 Abdel Rahim Nasr. Ahmed .British Policy towards Islam in Nuba Mountains. 1920-1940. Sudan Notes and Records. vol. 52. (1971). pp. 23 -32 - p28
- 8 Poggo. Scopas S. The First Sudanese Civil War. Africans .Arabs. and Israeli In the Southern Sudan. 1955- 1972. Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. P. 94

9 Poggo. Scopas S.The first Sudanese Civil War. Africans .Arabs. and Israeli In the Southern Sudan. 1955-1972. Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. P. 104

10 Poggo. Scopas S..The first Sudanese Civil War. Africans .Arabs. and Israeli In the Southern Sudan. 1955- 1972. Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. P. 105

11 Poggo. Scopas S. The First Sudanese Civil War. Africans .Arabs. and Israeli In the Southern Sudan. 1955- 1972. Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. P. 105

12 Ahmed Salem, Bin Sayed Ahmed, World Council of Churches and Evangelization in Southern Sudan, www.aljazeera.net, 3/10/2004

13 Poggo. Scopas S.The first Sudanese Civil War. Africans .Arabs. and Israeli In the Southern Sudan. 1955-1972. Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. P. 96

14 Poggo. Scopas S.The first Sudanese Civil War. Africans .Arabs. and Israeli In the Southern Sudan. 1955-1972. Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. P. 102

15 Poggo. Scopas S.The first Sudanese Civil War. Africans .Arabs. and Israeli In the Southern Sudan. 1955-1972. Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. P. 94

16 Othman Nwai “Thinking and terror campaigns against the demands of peace: who benefits ?:

https://web.facebook.com/sudanvoices/posts/2627288914216690?_rdc=1&_rdr

- 17 Sudan's 2005 Interim Constitution of Religious Rights
- 18 Sudan's 2005 Interim Constitution, Bill of Rights
- 19 www.un.org/ar/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.htm
- 20 www.un.org/ar/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html
- 21 The official website of the Sudanese Ministry of Guidance and Endowments
- 22 <http://st-takla.org/FAQ-Question-VS-Answer>
- 23 Dr.. Mohamed El-Amine Omar El Sebaei. The Origins and Development of Churches in Sudan. 2017 p. 7 www.sudapedia.sd/ar/content/135
- 24 Talal Y. Entering Christianity to Sudan. 2010 AD. Al-Danakleh Village Forum <http://danagla.montadaoslim.com>
- 25 Sudanese Council of Church member 2018 interview
- 26 <http://st-takla.org/FAQ-Question-VS-Answer>
- 27 Dr.. Muhammad Al-Amin Omar Yousef Al-Sebaei. Churches originated and developed in Sudan, p. 15
- 28 Prof. El-Tayeb Zain El-Abidine, Ministry of Guidance, cornering itself in the struggle of the Presbyterian Evangelical Church, 2017

- 29 Sudanese Council of Church member 2018 interview
- 30 Patrick Johnstone & Duane Alexander Miller. Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion. 2015
- 31 Yaqoub Suleiman www.alhamish.com
- 32 Al-Mansour Jaafar. Christianity in Sudan. 2013. Civilized Dialogue. Issue 2004 www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?
- 33 Khartoum Center for Electronic Media (KEM) Special Report- Sudan the land of Diversity and Religious Accommodation
- 34 JennikaLandin. 2009. LUNDS UNIVERSITET- Freedom of Religion in Sudan. Conditions for Freedom of Religion after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement
- 35 <http://www.doualia.com/2010/12/20/soudan-bechir-pre-voit-de-renforcer-la-charia/>
www.doualia.com
- 36 “The Rights and Conditions of Christians in the State of Sudan: The Reality of Practice and Expected” paper presented by Janab Al-Sheikh Dr. Juma Kinda Komei at the Conference for the Advancement of Religious Freedom in the Transitional Period Sudanese Human Rights.
- 37 Organization and the Dutch Embassy in Sudan Grand Villa Holiday Hotel Saturday 28 September 2019 Khartoum.