

Building a Peaceful and Democratic Sudan: Sudanese Diaspora Perspectives.

A Proposal for Constructive Engagement

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PREFACE

This study was conducted by Sahan Consultancy on commission from ICCO (Inter-Church Organisation for Development Cooperation). The main objective of the report is to involve the Sudanese – Dutch Diaspora in the Netherlands actively in the peace initiatives in Sudan. This is with the aim of widening the civil society peace constituency in the Netherlands with respect to the Sudan. The report is the result of two meetings, a wider public debate and a smaller expert gathering convened among the Sudanese – Dutch Diaspora in the Netherlands on February 19 and March 13, 2004. The report compiles the views and insights articulated by the Sudanese Diaspora as a contribution to the formulation of Dutch government policy positions and strategies towards the peace initiative in the Sudan. The voices, views and perspectives of the Sudanese Diaspora about the peace process in Sudan formulated in this report have not yet been heard in the Netherlands. The added value of the report to the ongoing discussions in the Netherlands is thus its articulation of the knowledge and insight of the Sudanese Diaspora as exile provides the opportunity for a more detached perspective than is possible for those inside the country. This policy-relevant report recommends the concrete actions that are necessary to address the enduring conflict and political instability in Sudan.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Ending conflict and restoring peace, order and democratic governance in Sudan will have a positive impact on the stability of the Horn of Africa and beyond. The slow pace of the peace process in Sudan compels us to redouble our efforts and join forces for pressurising and persuading all parties to bring the conflict to an end. This policy-relevant report recommends the concrete actions that are necessary to address the enduring conflict and political instability in Sudan. The report further proposes that there is an urgent need to effectively mobilise all the available social forces, social capital, intellectual ideas, economic means, creative initiatives and activities in order to deal with the challenges of managing and resolving the conflict in Sudan in a collective spirit. This urgency makes the contribution of the Sudanese Diaspora to the peace, democratisation and development efforts in Sudan indispensable. Furthermore, the Sudanese Diaspora is now ready and willing to participate in the positive changes they wish to see in making a new Sudan. In short, the Sudanese Diaspora wants to be a part of the construction of a peaceful and democratic Sudan.

The main objective of this report is to involve the Sudanese – Dutch Diaspora in the Netherlands actively in the peace initiatives in Sudan. This is with the aim of widening the civil society peace constituency in the Netherlands with respect to the Sudan. The report is the result of two meetings, a wider public debate and a smaller expert gathering convened among the Sudanese – Dutch Diaspora in the Netherlands on February 19 and March 13, 2004. The report compiles the views and insights articulated by the Sudanese Diaspora as a contribution to the formulation of Dutch government policy positions and strategies towards the peace initiative in the Sudan. The voices, views and perspectives of the Sudanese Diaspora about the peace process in Sudan formulated in this report have not yet been heard in the Netherlands. The added value of the report to the ongoing discussions in the Netherlands is thus its articulation of the knowledge and insight of the Sudanese Diaspora as exile provides the opportunity for a more detached perspective than is possible for those inside the country. The report broadly identifies entry points, strategic actors, organisations and institutions where concrete activities and actions can be initiated in the immediate, short, medium and long-terms. It also charts strategic policy frameworks at different levels in which appropriate interventions can be undertaken.

Building a peaceful Sudan

Building a peaceful Sudan is possible but it is a daunting challenge for the Sudanese people as well as the wider international community. Peace building is a laborious and intricate process and should be undertaken in phases. It is also an ongoing process.

Therefore, the focus of building a durable peace in Sudan must be on a gradual process and not on imposed outcomes and quick fixes. Furthermore, the peace process in the country should be initiated and dictated at different social and political levels. It should not be built only from the top-down but also from the bottom up, diligently and in a complementary spirit. These are immediate, short, medium and long-term objectives. They can be undertaken as a sequence of phases but some activities can be carried out simultaneously.

To the Dutch government, the EU and the wider international community in general, the report recommends immediate action in the following areas:

- Intensify collective pressure on all the conflicting parties to sign a final and comprehensive peace settlement for the sake of the Sudanese people
- Apply focused pressure on individuals and groups obstructing the peace process such as economic sanctions, freezing their assets, travel bans on them and their families, weapons

embargos, isolation and diplomatic marginalisation, sanctions on foreign corporations doing business with them and the establishment of an international commission of inquiry on massacres and mass murders committed by them and their armed militias

- Earnestly pursue the peace process in Sudan as domestic forces are weak, in disarray and lack the will and the capacity to end the conflict peacefully
- Undertake measures to curb the arms pouring into Sudan which are fuelling the violent conflict, and which originate mainly in Eastern Europe since neither Sudan nor other countries in the Horn region produce weapons
- Address the peace process in Sudan not in isolation but in its regional context since Sudan has borders with 9 states and domestic conflict in the country has attracted regional interests for various reasons that impinge on national political dynamics

To the Dutch embassy in Khartoum and Dutch NGOs active in Sudan such as ICCO, the report recommends short, medium and long-term action in the following areas:

- Facilitate a policy strategy that ensures the reconciliation process involves a broad array of stakeholders representing diverse sections of society such as community leaders, religious figures, traders and the business community, journalists, Diaspora, local NGOs, intellectuals, women peace movement members, and other interest groups
- Support community-based or grassroots initiatives that link upwards with village, district and regional initiatives and could result in the creation of a well organised and empowered social base for peace and development in Sudan; as experiences elsewhere in Africa show that peace building can only be effective if both top-down and bottom-up processes and initiatives are consciously linked between different strategic sites and actors
- Channel more resources and innovative thinking into activities geared to enhancing and upgrading the capacities of sub-national and local institutions and organisations at various levels such as providing training to the local peace brokers, organising seminars, workshops and public debates, etc, where information, skills, experience and new ideas are exchanged and shared
- Sponsor media projects that can be used to educate the people about the need for peace and social harmony and the promotion of a culture of peace in Sudan since the media is a powerful tool in peace building and democratic development
- Provide more support to locality-based peace initiatives undertaken and promoted by women's groups

Building a Democratic Sudan

Building a democratic Sudan means more than just holding elections. Elections are important but are only the beginning of a transition to a sustainable democracy. Building a democratic system of governance in Sudan would require, among other things, the democratisation of power relations in society. Authority and power needs to be diffused and distributed fairly among stakeholders. Institutional instruments must be developed that ensure that power is diffused and democratically exercised at all levels. Thus, the precondition for building a democratic Sudan is the transformation of the repressive power relations in society. This is however a long term project and cannot be realised overnight.

To the EU, Dutch government, the Dutch embassy in Khartoum and Dutch NGOs active in Sudan such as ICCO, the report recommends short, medium and long-term action in the following areas:

- Help the Sudanese people in gaining capabilities to develop institutional instruments that ensure that power is diffused and democratically exercised at all levels of society as the transformation of the repressive power relations is a precondition for building a democratic Sudan
- Formulate renewed development policies that redirect donor aid away from supporting only governments towards the people themselves by way of sustained commitment to funding mass education as education is key to enduring social, political and economic progress and lasting social change
- Channel more funding and expertise to democratisation projects that are geared to promote social emancipation, empowerment, political participation and good governance in the country at different social levels
- Sponsor new development projects that are geared to capacity enhancement and genuine social emancipation programmes since empowered and emancipated people are best positioned to use their maximum potential for self-development and to make a break with the past and take their destiny into their own hands

Unique Position of the Diaspora

In this globalising world, the Sudanese Diaspora is strategically placed to build social, economic and political bridges through transnational networks. Accordingly, the Sudanese Diaspora is uniquely positioned to act as a bridge-builder between the Netherlands and Sudan. As such it is essential they be given a proactive role. For example, because of their presence in the Netherlands and in other EU countries, the Sudanese Diaspora occupies a strategic position which enables them to build up and tap the benefits from vast transnational social, economic and political networks. The Diaspora's position also makes it an indispensable human agency for channelling wealth, information, innovative ideas, intellectual capacities and skills and creative business practices from the West to the Sudan. There are three areas where the Sudanese Diaspora proactively contributes to the shaping of a viable Sudan in the short, medium and long terms. These are the promotion of peace, the inculcation of democratic political habits and development.

To the Sudanese Diaspora the report recommends action in the following areas:

- Organise yourself as a united, visible, assertive and proactive Diaspora community and exploit the strategic position you occupy by playing a bridge-building role between the Netherlands and Sudan and contributing positively to the efforts undertaken by the Dutch government and Dutch civil society organisations in promoting peace and democratisation in Sudan
- Seize the initiative by providing a positive and catalytic example of how groups -particularly at the civil society and local levels - can address and resolve their differences through dialogue, confidence-building measures, compromise and concession; and further, act as a human agency for channelling new ideas, skills, techniques and practices of peace making to Sudan
- Empower yourself by strengthening the institutional and organisational capacities of your

respective organisations through educational, workshop and training courses, as gaining this capability will enable you to play a much wider role in the activities of the civil society peace constituency in the Netherlands regarding Sudan

- Work as a pressure group and seek alliances and active cooperation with the civil society organisations and mainstream development agencies like ICCO regarding lobbying, campaigning and advocacy activities geared to influencing the Dutch government, EU and international efforts to impact positively on Sudan in terms of policy changes, development programmes, debt cancellation, trade concessions, democratic governance and human rights issues

- Help establish the Diaspora Platform for peace, democratisation and development in Sudan in the Netherlands, thereby galvanising a formidable force among the Sudanese Diaspora in the other EU countries and thus growing into a strong lobbying constituency abroad

To the Dutch government and the mainstream development agencies, the report recommends action in the following areas:

- Seek partnership with the Sudanese Diaspora and benefit from its unique strategic position as a body comprising individuals and groups that have come from different areas in Sudan and which have access to information through informal channels and reliable local contact to which they alone have access

- Consult closely with the Sudanese Diaspora as its strategic position enables it to articulate the voices and yearnings of those inside the country that cannot otherwise be heard, and more importantly, to bring better quality information, views and perspectives to human rights activities, journalists, development practitioners and policy makers in the Netherlands involved in the development in Sudan from a distance

- Gain knowledge of and additional insights into development in Sudan from the perspectives of the Sudanese Diaspora as exile enables a more detached view than is possible for those within the country

- Formulate a policy framework of how to tap creatively the intellectual resources, information, innovative ideas, networks and human capital of the Sudanese Diaspora for the promotion of peace, democratisation and development in Sudan

1. INTRODUCTION

After decades of civil war, Sudan is now on the road towards lasting peace. War has raged in Sudan since the day it emerged from colonial rule in 1956 with just a single interruption. The first civil war started in 1956 and ended in 1972 when a peace deal gave southerners limited regional autonomy. After 11 years of respite, the second civil war broke out in 1983 and has continued until today. The devastating war in Sudan – the longest running civil war in Africa - has already claimed the lives of at least two million people and made four and half million others homeless. Now another tragic development is unfolding in western Sudan (Darfur) where civil war erupted in February 2003. This conflict too, which the UN's humanitarian co-ordinator, Mukesh Kapila, has described as 'the worst humanitarian and human-rights catastrophe in the world', has already claimed some 30,000 lives.

Since 1994, the regional Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) had been trying to broker peace between the SPLM/A and the government but its efforts have repeatedly failed. Eventually, the persistent mediation of IGAD resulted in a breakthrough leading to the landmark Machakos Protocol signed in Kenya on July 20, 2002.

This historic accord was then followed by another agreement on a cessation of hostilities which was also signed in Kenya, in October 2002. This sequence of breakthroughs finally culminated in the signing of a significant Memorandum of Understanding on security arrangements on September 25, 2003 -- a milestone towards a durable peace. This landmark agreement on 'Security Issues' has raised the hopes that the current peace process in Sudan is now irreversible. It is generally anticipated that the momentum will result in a final negotiated settlement which will usher in a new era of peace and stability in Sudan. This is also the first time in years that observers of Sudan have expressed openly a belief that Sudan is closer to peace than at any time in the past 20 years and is availing itself of a long awaited opportunity that needs to be seized.

The growing prospects for peace in Sudan (between the north and the south of the country) have encouraged other negotiators outside the region to further boost the process. Although IGAD played the lead role in facilitating the peace talks, other players are now also involved in the process. These players include the UN, EU and the Troika countries including Britain, Norway and Italy who are led by America. The US has adopted a particularly high profile which is perhaps connected with its global war on terror. To this end the US is single-handedly putting pressure on both sides to lay down their guns, reconcile and bring the conflict to an end. The spectacular visit of secretary of state Colin Powell to Naivasha (the venue of the peace talks) in Kenya in October 2003 is a case in point. More importantly, the international community as a whole is now determined to intensify collective pressure on both parties and join forces in facilitating the peace negotiations in Sudan. It is this commitment and the belief that there is more hope now for achieving a lasting peace in Sudan than ever before that has galvanised a whole range of international forces, countries and institutions to give the final push to the peace talks.

Fortunately, the Khartoum government and the SPLM/A signed key agreements to resolve the last remaining issues needed to end the conflict in Naivasha, Kenya on May 26, 2004. This is a major step forward to peace in Sudan. However, there is now a fear that the ongoing civil war in Darfur might gravely destabilize the whole process if it is allowed to drag on and is not addressed effectively.

Jacob J. Akol, 'Sudan: Peace in our time', *New African* (January 2004), No. 425: 10-13.

For more information, see ICG (International Crisis Group), "Sudan: Now or Never in Darfur", *Africa Report* N 80, 23 May 2004.

See further ICG, "Sudan: Towards an Incomplete Peace", *Africa Report* N 73, 11 December 2003.

1.1 The Netherlands and Peace Diplomacy

The positive outlook has inspired the Dutch government to adopt a highly visible and prominent role (alongside the US and other Western Troika) in the peace process in Sudan. The active engagement of the Dutch government in the peace mediation in Sudan is partly a response to its new foreign policy priority regarding Africa. The premise of this new policy is that sustainable development is not possible without peace and stability. This is for the simple reason that peace and stability is a prerequisite for sound governance, economic growth, sustainable development and social progress. The current Dutch government has therefore committed itself not only to arbitrating conflicts in Africa but also to helping get them put on the international agenda. The Netherlands' foreign policy towards Africa is outlined in a new policy document which is entitled: 'Strong people, Weak states: The Dutch African Policy in a long-term Perspective' published in 2003. In the document, the government has developed for the first time a regional policy approach to Africa that sees countries as parts of a region. According to Van Ardenne, "That is something we have not done in the past. Our policy in recent years has focused too narrowly on individual countries. But many problems transcend borders". This policy change is very important since some of the enduring conflicts in Africa have now developed into networked wars linking diverse groups who are active in different countries. This makes it imperative to deal with these intersecting wars not only at a country but also at a regional level. It is in line with this regional policy approach that the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region have been chosen as a priority regarding conflict prevention and resolution. The reason is that the countries in these two regions are those most affected by the enduring cross-border conflicts on the continent.

1.2 Horn of Africa

In the Horn of Africa, Sudan is now the first test case of the Dutch government's new regional policy approach. For this reason, when Sudan embarked on the road towards lasting peace in mid-2002, the Dutch government immediately offered to mediate the process. This was a sensible diplomatic intervention as now is the time to seize the momentum and give an extra push to the peace dialogue in Sudan. The commitment of the Dutch government to the peace process in Sudan took concrete form during its participation in a donor meeting in Oslo in January 2003. After that donor meeting the Dutch government offered to host a follow-up conference in the Netherlands on the reconstruction of the post-conflict Sudan. Subsequently, the government organised the Sudan Coordination Meeting in Noordwijk from April 1 to 3, 2003. Since then the special interest that the Dutch government accorded the ongoing peace process in Sudan has attracted considerable public attention. As a result, the peace dialogue in Sudan has now gained wider publicity in the Netherlands as different political institutions, knowledge centres and social constituencies have started discussing the Sudan. These are governmental, academic, mainstream development agencies and civil society organisations. However, the Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands estimated to be around 7629 has yet to receive proper attention. This is clearly an important constituency with a major stake in the ongoing peace process in the Sudan, the country of their origin.

1.3 Sudanese Diaspora and Peace in Sudan

Mobilising the Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands for peace and development initiatives undertaken in Sudan is imperative. Diaspora can contribute to the peace process in different

For further information see, *Sterke mensen, zwakke staten: Het Nederlandse Afrikabeleid in een Meerjarig Perspectief* (October 2003).

See further the speech Van Ardenne, 'Priorities within Dutch Development Policy' that she delivered at a conference in Tokyo, Japan, 24 March 2003.

ways. Furthermore, actively involving the Sudanese Diaspora in the peace process can help widen the civil society peace constituency in the Netherlands regarding Sudan. It was in response to this compelling need that ICCO (Inter-Church Organisation for Development Cooperation) in collaboration with Sahan Consultancy initiated and also facilitated a Sudanese Diaspora public meeting on the ongoing peace dialogue in Sudan. The title of the meeting was – Sudan: Joining Forces for Peace: Potential Role of the Sudanese Diaspora.

The purpose of the meeting was to listen to the Sudanese Diaspora's views on the peace process in Sudan since their voices and perspectives have not yet been heard in the Netherlands. It was also a response to an emotional, televised plea made by the Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation, Agnes van Ardenne, on her return from Sudan on January 29 this year. According to Van Ardenne, "we need to let the world know about the human drama currently unfolding in Sudan. However, to get a better picture and reliable information about the problem we need to listen to the voices that are not being heard".

Another purpose of this initiative was to provide the Sudanese Diaspora with a platform to exchange information and ideas, views and opinions about how a lasting peace can be achieved in Sudan and about the kind of Sudan they wish to see in the future. The added value of the meeting to the ongoing discussions in the Netherlands was to gain knowledge and insights from the perspective of the Sudanese Diaspora since exile allows for a more detached appraisal than is possible for those inside the country.

The initiative was also a response to a second plea for urgent action made by Agnes van Ardenne in an online debate initiated by NCDO in 2003. In this discussion the Minister stated that "African Diasporas are in a unique position as they live in two cultures, or between two cultures, and thus have the advantage of intimate knowledge about different social situations, local conditions and networks and cultural experiences in Africa to a far greater degree than people with a Dutch background. The comparative advantage and added value of the African Diaspora enables them to bring better quality information and different views and perspective to development practitioners and policy makers in the Netherlands". In this respect, the Sudanese Diaspora can become more conscious of the need to turn their unique strategic position (bridge-building position) into assets for the homeland. For instance, they can build up an effective lobbying constituency in the Netherlands with the aim of influencing Dutch government policy positions and strategies towards the peace and development initiatives in the Sudan. In a similar line, Bert Koenders of the Dutch Labour party responding to the online debate said, "what is now required is a new bottom-up alliance between Diaspora and civil society-based organisations in the Netherlands. The time for talking is over, it is now time for more proactive collaboration in advocacy and lobbying activities aimed at influencing policy makers in the Netherlands and at the EU level". This is particularly important as mainstream development agencies like ICCO can tap and benefit from the social capital of the Sudanese Diaspora for their lobbying, campaigning and advocacy activities.

A third urgent point to which we are responding is the need to strengthen the capacity and social position of the Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands' wider multicultural society so as to play a greater role in the civil society activities in the Netherlands. This, however, first requires the recognition of the invaluable potential of the Sudanese Diaspora and the need to work on raising their civic consciousness and social responsibilities both in the Netherlands as well as in Sudan. It is clear that only empowered Sudanese Diaspora will be in a position to contribute positively to the peace and development initiatives in Sudan. It is our hope that other Diaspora groups from other countries in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region can also be mobilised so as to contribute positively to peace and development activities undertaken in their respective homes of origin.

1.4 Motivations of the Meeting

The meeting was motivated by the following considerations:

- The vital importance to draw attention to the need to tap the intellectual resources, information, innovative ideas, networks and human capital of the Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands for the promotion of peace and stability in the Sudan
- The need to mobilise the Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands for peace action across group interests, identity, religious, regional and political lines so that they can join forces to contribute positively to the ongoing peace initiatives in the Sudan
- The need to gain knowledge and insights on developments in Sudan from the Diaspora perspective since exile creates a long distance outlook different from the outlook of those inside the country
- The need to awaken the latent potential and social capital of the Sudanese Diaspora and profit from it for the peace and development in Sudan
- The need to benefit from the unique strategic position that the Sudanese Diaspora occupy since they come from different parts of Sudan and have access to information through informal channels and reliable local contacts to which we have no access. Sudanese Diaspora is therefore strategically placed to relate and articulate the voices and yearnings of those inside the country that would not otherwise be heard. They are also strategically positioned to bring more reliable information, views and perspectives to human rights activities, journalists, development practitioners and policy makers in the Netherlands involved in development in Sudan from a distance
- The need to involve the Sudanese Diaspora actively in the peace process in Sudan so as to widen the civil society peace constituency in the Netherlands regarding Sudan.

We held two meetings, a wider public debate and a smaller expert gathering on February 19 and on March 13 respectively. In both meetings the composition of the Sudanese Diaspora participating in the public debate consisted of diverse sections of society such as civil society actors, members of women's associations, human rights activists, religious figures, technocrats, intellectuals, students and young people, etc. This wide range of representation enriched the discussion by providing input from different sources. See below the picture taken in the public debate.

Picture 1

More importantly, the meetings because of their open and friendly nature have encouraged the public to air their views, concerns, ideas, expectations, frustrations and perspectives in an uninhibited manner. In the words of one participant: "this is the first time since I have been in the Netherlands that my views were openly asked. Last night when I was at home I did not know what I would have to say. But now I am here I have the feeling that I can say what I want to say which is a relief for me". In the meetings we developed two discussion points. The first was: Diaspora perspectives on how lasting peace can be achieved in Sudan. The second discussion point put forward was: The Diaspora is in a unique position to contribute positively to the peace process in Sudan. Under each discussion point a set of corresponding questions were then raised and these are listed in the Annex. The rest of the report transcribes the essence of the Sudanese Diaspora's views, perspectives and suggestions on three chosen areas: building a peaceful Sudan, building a democratic Sudan and the unique position of the Sudanese Diaspora in the challenges of post conflict Sudan. The discussion was conducted in such a way as to encourage the contribution of

the Sudanese Diaspora to the formulation of the Dutch government policy positions and strategies towards the peace initiative in Sudan.

2. BUILDING A PEACEFUL SUDAN

Building a peaceful Sudan is possible but at the same time it is a daunting challenge both for the Sudanese people as well as the international community. Peace building is a laborious and intricate process and should be undertaken in phases. These are immediate, short, medium and long-term objectives. They can be undertaken as a sequence of phases but some activities can be carried out simultaneously. In the immediate and short-term the international community should put most of its effort into maintaining pressure on all parties to bring the conflict to an end.

2.1. Immediate and Short Term Actions

Today Sudan is much closer to peace than at any time in the past 20 years and thus the international community should keep up the pressure on all parties. With skilful diplomacy and willingness to use its leverage, the Netherlands government in collaboration with other EU countries and the wider international community can help bring about the negotiated settlement of the diverse conflicts in Sudan. According to the Diaspora, the present centralised government in Khartoum is responsible for many tragedies in Sudan and cannot be trusted. In other words the sincerity of the current government is questionable. This is the foremost reason that the Diaspora is baffled by the Dutch government's intention to deal with the current government of Sudan. The political actors in Sudan with which the international community is currently dealing have blood on their hands. Most of them are involved in the promotion of the cultural intolerance and perpetration of the wars in Sudan and the Dutch government and the international community as a whole should stop dealing with them. However, if dealing with them is unavoidable as the current situation makes clear, they should be pressured to bring the conflict to an end for the sake of the Sudanese people.

The current peace talks between the Khartoum government and the SPLA will not lead to a tangible peace in Sudan unless the war in Darfur is ended and the marginalized parties are brought to the negotiating table. The war in Darfur has already resulted in the deaths of many thousands and more than a million people have been uprooted from their homes and villages. The government in Khartoum is directly responsible for the civilian atrocities in Darfur committed by the military and the Janjaweed paramilitary forces. The situation in Darfur has now deteriorated into a human disaster which UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has called "ethnic cleansing". Furthermore, the ongoing civil strife in Darfur is the greatest threat to the peace and stability in Sudan. It also has the potential to inspire insurgency in other parts of the country. Thus, unless the situation in Darfur is addressed, there is a very real threat that the north-south problem will simply be replaced by a north-west problem. Most parties outside the SPLM/A and the government feel marginalised by the peace process. Thus, the failure to secure the meaningful participation of opposition groups could threaten the entire peace process.

There are different instruments that can help maintain pressure on all parties such as economic sanctions, freezing their assets, travel bans on individuals and their families, weapons embargos, isolation and diplomatic marginalisation, imposing sanctions on foreign corporations with which they do business and the establishment of an international commission of inquiry into massacres and mass murders committed by them and their armed militias. All these coercive measures by the international community could help bring the conflict to an end and pave the way for real peace in Sudan.

Peace making is not solely an occupation for men. Women also play an important role in the peace making process. For example, in her October (2003) speech at the UN Security Council on Resolution 1325, 'Women, Peace and Security' in New York, Minister of Development Agnes van Ardenne stressed that "Women are not simply victims of conflicts but are also active agents in conflict prevention, mediation and resolution. We know that peace is more likely to last if all parties, men and women, work together to achieve it". According to the International Alert report (2003), "Women view their most important role in peace building as working to transform attitudes and practices, structures and competencies, to lay the groundwork for the local and global changes that permanent peace requires". Yet, the International community and the Dutch government in particular have not given much attention to the issues concerning women and their role in peace building at community levels in Sudan. The role women play in Sudan, which usually takes place behind the scenes, receives neither the attention nor the support it deserves. This policy imbalance needs to be redressed. The added value of the Sudanese women to the peace process needs to be recognised, appreciated and streamlined into the peace initiatives at all the levels. The Dutch government and its embassy in Khartoum and the Dutch NGOs active in Sudan can support and facilitate this effort.

Regarding external actors, America is now pushing the peace process in Sudan single-handedly but it is also time for greater international engagement so as to intensify collective pressures on all parties. To achieve an immediate peace more focused pressure should be applied to whichever party is obstructing the process. Furthermore, neither Sudan nor any other country in the region produces the weaponry that is now fuelling the ongoing violent conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Imported arms which originate mainly in Eastern Europe are the source of the problem and need to be curtailed. Therefore, the Dutch government during its chairmanship of the EU should help lobby to put the problem of trade in arms to Sudan higher on the agenda.

It is also important to note that the peace process in Sudan cannot be conducted in isolation but has to be addressed in its regional context. Sudan is the largest country on the continent and has borders with 9 states, most of whom will undoubtedly be affected by the outcome. This is for the simple fact that the conflict in Sudan has both national and regional dimensions that need to be addressed simultaneously. Over the years the domestic conflicts in Sudan have attracted regional interests for various reasons related to different national political dynamics. For example, Egypt opposes a divided Sudan because it wants to protect its vanguard position on the Nile and a divided Sudan would create a new state on the river. Rebels in northern Uganda risk losing support from Khartoum.

The peace process in Sudan is currently being pushed forward by external actors. Domestic forces are weak, in disarray and lack the ability to end the conflict peacefully. For this reason, in the immediate term, the forceful involvement of the external actors in the peace talks is of paramount importance. The external pressure is already bearing fruits and should be further intensified until all the warring parties sign a final and comprehensive peace agreement. The rest of the section considers the medium and long-term actions.

2.2. Medium and Long-term Actions

The task of building a peaceful Sudan cannot be left entirely to the political elites. It should be the

See further the report produced by International Alert, 'Women Building Peace: Sharing Know-How', (June 2003).

Fortunately this is one of the lessons that Sudan can learn from earlier experiences elsewhere in Africa, such as Congo and the southern parts of Somalia. In both situations the peace dialogue is

task of all the political, social and economic stakeholders and actors in the country. This would mean the adoption of an all-inclusive and broad-based strategy – a policy strategy that involves a broad array of stakeholders representing diverse sections of the society in the reconciliation process, such as community leaders, religious figures, traders and the business community, journalists, Diaspora, local NGOs, intellectuals, women's peace movements, and other interest groups. However, at present not even all the political elites are represented in the current Sudan peace talks, let alone the non-political actors. This policy strategy is ill advised, narrow and can limit the social base for peace in Sudan. For instance, the ongoing peace dialogue between the Khartoum government and SPLA political leaders has left out several political actors who have the capacity to derail the whole process. Therefore the precondition for building a peaceful Sudan is the participation of all the political and non-political actors in the process. It is only in this way that a conclusive and lasting peace can be realised in Sudan.

The peace process in the country should be initiated and dictated at different social and political levels. It should not be conducted purely from the top-down, but also from the bottom up in a diligent and complementary spirit. At present, there are several peace initiatives being undertaken both in Sudan and abroad. However, for the most part, they have been initiated at international and national levels and are exclusively top-down undertakings. Another problem is that these initiatives are not interlinked in such a way as to maximise their efficiency or results. The simple fact is that most of the initiatives are conducted in isolation; sometimes the actors involved in these activities are not even aware of one another's existence. Because they are fragmented undertakings there is in effect an acute lack of coherence among the different peace initiatives in Sudan and abroad. Similarly, there is also a lack of coherence in the activities undertaken by local and international agencies, NGOs and institutions operating in the country. There are great advantages to be gained by ensuring that these ongoing initiatives and activities are appropriately interlinked. For example the different institutions and actors involved in these initiatives would then be able to learn from one another, share experiences, coordinate on some of their respective activities and establish networking relationships. Interlinking would also enable them to complement one another or join forces for targeted operations. For example, community based or grassroots initiatives if they are linked upwards with village, district and regional initiatives can result in the creation of a well organised and empowered social base for peace and development in Sudan. This process, however, needs to be facilitated.

The Dutch embassy in Khartoum and the donor agencies from the Netherlands active in Sudan such as ICCO can play this facilitating role. This will also require the adoption of a clear policy strategy in advance that identifies entry points where concrete actions can be initiated. Experience elsewhere has shown that peace building can only be effective if both top-down and bottom-up processes and initiatives are consciously linked between different strategic sites and actors. This means that integrating the initiatives undertaken by the international organisations such as the UN, EU and donor countries with those pursued at national- and sub-national levels by NGOs both domestic and external, community and grassroots organisations. The combination of all these initiatives is vital as experience in Congo Kinshasa, Liberia and Somalia all demonstrate the dangers of concentrating exclusively on top-down and national-level processes of peace building in Africa.

2.3. Media and the Culture of Peace

In Sudan, the media has long been used to manipulate the perceptions of people and to create a culture of violence. However, the media can also be used to promote a culture of peace. Because

largely the enterprise of the political elites that dominate the process. And in both instances the restoration of peace and order has repeatedly failed because the political elites operate without the collaboration of other important stakeholders in the process.

the media can be used to spread a message to a wider public, access to the media is critical: whoever owns the media in fact holds the power of information. In Sudan, the central government in Khartoum monopolizes the media and thus there is effectively no media freedom in Sudan. The Sudanese government has used the media to incite hatred and broadcast propaganda that has poisoned social relations between communities. The media has thus been used to create divisions rather than to promote the unity of the people. The media in Sudan must be democratized. At present the media in the country is still publicly owned. Private owned and independent media should be encouraged. Moreover, the media in Sudan should be reformed. Sudan must be equipped with a media that broadcasts unbiased messages to the public as a whole and particularly to the grassroots. The media should be used to spread the message of peace at the sub-national and local levels. In this respect, the media can be used to educate the people about the need for peace and social harmony and how to promote a culture of peace. The media in Sudan must be decentralized. Peace programmes should be developed for broadcast via radio and TV and spread through printed press (newspapers, websites) in languages familiar to the target groups.

Among the mass media in Sudan, radio broadcasting has the greatest reach and impact. Thus, if used purposefully, radio has the most potential to promote positive development outcomes. Most people in Sudan are still illiterate and the print media has a very small target group. Likewise, television still remains a medium of the urban elite to which most people in Sudan have no access. Even for the few television owners, reliable electricity supply remains a problem. It is for this reason that radio has a wider range of broadcast services. Radio is becoming a classless medium to which almost everyone can have access. In Africa and the Sudan in particular, the radio is still the poor man's modern mass communications medium.

The media is a very powerful instrument in the struggle against oppression and for freedom. It is for this reason that the media can play an effective role in contributing constructively to advancing social freedom and progress in Sudan. Similarly, the media because of their wider reach have the potential to play a key role particularly in the struggle for the democratization of power in Sudan. For example, the media can be exploited to empower the voiceless, promote communal dialogue and serve as a channel for information, education and social awareness. Radio especially has so far been the most effective mass communication medium for promoting social awareness. This is mainly because it is inexpensive, broad in spectrum and widely accessible. For instance, many development actors, such as the agricultural extension services of some countries in the South working closely with agencies such as FAO, have harnessed rural radio to empower and educate local communities.

Furthermore, the media is a powerful tool in peace building and democratic development. There are numerous examples, lessons and best practices from countries in Africa and elsewhere showing how the media has been effectively utilised in peace-building activities and programmes. It is therefore imperative that civil society organisations and local NGOs in Sudan be encouraged and supported in establishing diverse media projects aimed at promoting a culture of peace in Sudan. The Dutch embassy in Khartoum, Dutch NGOs active in Sudan like ICCO and others and the Sudanese Diaspora can join forces to ensure that media projects are created for peace activities. This is for the simple fact that media can play a critical role in consolidating peace after a peace agreement is signed. One good example which can be replicated in other parts of Sudan is the initiative taken by Pax Christi in collaboration with the Dutch broadcast organisation, NCRV, to support Radio Voice of Hope in southern Sudan. It is also important to note that some Sudanese Diaspora had already taken the initiative of buying radio station equipment and sending it to

See further, 'The Power of the Media: A Handbook for Peacebuilders', published by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention (ECCP), 2003. The contributors to the book narrate examples of best practices in media projects on peace-making activities.

local communities. An example is the Nuba mountain radio station in the Nuba region. This radio station is now in operation and is playing a very important role in informing the community about the prospects for the peace and mobilising them for the challenges that need to be addressed in post-conflict Sudan. Now, the community is in need of trained personnel that educate the public about the culture of peace and advocate for the respect of human rights. In this respect, the Sudanese Diaspora can connect ICCO and other organisations to the local people if they are ready to provide for personnel training. In short, media has the potential if it is positively exploited to promote effective peace building, a culture of peace and democratisation in Sudan.

See an instructive article by Yvonne Heselmans, 'Lessons learned by Radio Voice of Hope', printed in Conflict Prevention Newsletter published by the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation in collaboration with International Alert, Saferworld and Accord, May 2003.

3. Building a Democratic Sudan

Building a democratic Sudan means more than just holding elections. Elections are important but they are just the beginning of a transition to a sustainable democracy. Building a democratic system of governance in Sudan would require among other things the democratisation of power relations in the society. Authority and power needs to be diffused and fairly distributed among stakeholders. Institutional instruments must be developed that ensure that power is diffused and democratically exercised at all levels. Thus, the precondition for building a democratic Sudan is the transformation of the repressive power relations in the society. This is however a long term project and cannot be realised overnight.

3.1. Democratisation of Power and Governance

According to the Sudanese Diaspora the democratisation of power and governance in Sudan requires, first and foremost, the creation of multiple seats of political and economic power in the country. At present Khartoum, the capital city is the only seat of economic and political power in the entire country. Consequently, whoever controls the capital city practically controls everything in the entire country. The emergence of multiple centres of political and economic power in different parts of the country should thus be encouraged. Khartoum cannot be allowed to remain the sole political, economic and intellectual centre in the country. More importantly, this policy strategy would effectively address the issue of power and economic sharing which lies at the core of Sudan's current problems. Sudan will therefore need to draft new constitution and also develop institutional instruments that ensure that power and wealth is equitably shared among the Sudanese population. In short, a new ethos of governance must be promoted in Sudan that results in a far-reaching decentralisation of political arrangements. The Diaspora can play an effective role by lobbying in the Netherlands and at the EU level against the continuing centralised administration of Sudan. This effort requires the Sudanese Diaspora to become more actively involved in the democratisation process in Sudan so as to widen the civil society- based democratisation constituency in the Netherlands regarding Sudan.

The second point is that the democratisation of power and governance in Sudan will require the grooming of a new leadership at different levels of society. According to the Sudanese Diaspora, the old leadership has failed Sudan and is not qualified to rule a transformed and decentralised Sudan. A new leadership is urgently required that has the vision and commitment to address the challenges of post-conflict development and which will promote people-centred development in Sudan. A new Sudan deserves a government which listens to the people through extensive and widespread consultations with social actors at all levels. Consultations are vital because they will generate the broader perspectives necessary for drawing up representative policy plans. Consultations will create a sense of responsibility and ownership among all stakeholders who feel that they have something to contribute to the welfare of the society as a whole. It is imperative that no policy issue should be decided by the government without first soliciting the views of all the concerned actors from the grassroots to the highest levels. It is only in this way that the interests of all the stakeholders can be taken into account. After all, democracy means involving the people in the decision-making process through a participatory mechanism. Thus the vision of a new Sudan clearly requires the grooming of a responsible, sensible, wise, pragmatic, enlightened, efficient and purposeful alternative leadership.

The third point is that the state-centred development supported by donor aid since independence has largely worked against the democratisation of the political system in Sudan. For example, since the 1950s, a substantial part of the development aid to Sudan has been spent on supporting the institutions of the national government structures. This state-oriented development aid policy has helped indirectly to sustain the concentration of power in the hands of small groups, and sponsored the personal and autocratic style of governance in Sudan. See below the picture taken

in the expert meeting.

Picture 2

Undemocratic rule by authoritarian decree rather than by the rule of law has been a disaster for Sudan. In hindsight a people-centred development policy could have promoted democratic process in Sudan. Development policies urgently need to be formulated that redirect donor aid away from government support towards the people themselves. There, needs, for example, to be a sustained commitment to funding the basic education of a whole generation since education is the key to social change. There is also a need to sponsor socially oriented projects that are geared to social empowerment and emancipation. Democracy cannot be imposed as a top-down project. It has to be nurtured as an organic process and this point needs to be understood by the Sudanese power elites.

3.2. Renewed Efforts in Building Democratic System of Governance

Building a democratic system of governance in Sudan will require renewed efforts. Democratic political behaviour cannot be imposed on society, it has to be organically constructed, and it has to be constructed at the lower levels of society.

Therefore, the gradual reform of sub-national and local social institutions should be a priority task in the democratisation process. A democratic system of governance can only take root if it is based on solid sub-national and local social institutions.

Consequently it is of vital importance to ensure that the basics are right. To help the process the Dutch government along with other donor countries and Dutch NGOs like ICCO, should channel more funding and expertise to democratisation projects in Sudan. These new democratisation projects should be geared to promoting social emancipation, empowerment, political participation and good governance in the country at different social levels. In practice, this means setting up training programmes, organising workshops, open debates and stimulating the transfer of knowledge and experience already existing in the country and also other countries in the Horn of Africa. In this regard, like conflict resolution, the democratisation process in Sudan can also be addressed through a regional approach. This approach would set in motion a dynamic process in which civil society organisations and actors as well as the political elites in the countries in the Horn of Africa can learn from each other, stimulate each other and work together across national borders. The advantage of this regional approach is that the existing knowledge and experience can be pooled and then turned to valuable political account for the benefit of the people in the region as a whole.

3.3. Setting up Capacity Enhancement Projects

In addition to democratisation projects, other new programmes should be developed such as programmes fostering capacity enhancement and genuine social emancipation. Sudan is badly in need of just such programmes for the simple reason that empowered and emancipated people will be in a position to use their maximum potential to develop themselves, fight to make a break with the past and take their destiny into their own hands. Thus, the latent capacity of the people has to be tapped as a matter of urgency. Sudan has been running without the full capacity of its inhabitants. Large sections of society have been excluded from participating in the political and economic activities of the country. To help address this problem, future donor development assistance should focus more on capacity enhancement programmes such as those noted above. However not only donor countries and their respective NGOs but also the Sudanese Diaspora can play a crucial role in this new alternative development agenda. The Diaspora is in a position to bring back new intellectual capacities, experiences and political and technological ideas from

the global to the local. Thus, it is for this reason that any policy strategy geared to facilitate the enhancement of social and institutional capacities of the people in Sudan needs to take the Diaspora into account.

4. UNIQUE POSITION OF THE DIASPORA

In this globalising world, the Sudanese Diaspora is strategically placed to build social, economic and political bridges through transnational networks. Accordingly, the Sudanese Diaspora is uniquely positioned to act as a bridge-builder between the Netherlands and Sudan. As such it is essential that they be given to take on a proactive role. For example, because of their presence in the Netherlands and in other EU countries, the Sudanese Diaspora occupies a strategic position which enables them to build up and tap the benefits from vast transnational social, economic and political networks. The Diaspora's position also makes it an indispensable human agency for channelling wealth, information, innovative ideas, intellectual capacities and skills and creative business practices from the West to the Sudan. There are three areas where the Sudanese Diaspora proactively contributes to the shaping of a viable Sudan in the short, medium and long terms. These are the promotion of peace, the inculcation of democratic political habits and development.

With respect to the promotion of peace, the Sudanese Diaspora helps create unity both here within the Dutch-based Diaspora community and in Sudan amongst those with whom they are affiliated in one way or another. The most effective way to reconcile differences is to address divisive issues and interests through a wholly transparent dialogue. It is equally important to address the issues that unite them. In every social group there are probably more communal issues that unite than divide. Thus, it is of paramount importance to focus on the positive aspects of unity in building harmonious social relations. Peace making is about building broken relationships and that is what the Sudanese Diaspora aims to address. Conflicts are often triggered by concrete issues such as insecurity, exclusion from power and resources, injustice, unequal development, marginalisation, frustration, uncertainty, poverty, etc. Fortunately, all these issues can be effectively resolved through constant dialogue and confidence building measures among communities. This, however, requires cultivating an attitude which respects differences, and creating a culture of compromise, concession and discussion through which interest groups can settle disagreements without recourse to violence. The Sudanese Diaspora can take the lead in this enterprise. Not only can they act as a catalyst by providing a positive example of a communal peace, but they can also act as a human agency for channelling new ideas, skills, techniques and practices of peace making to Sudan. The Sudanese Diaspora holds the view that peace and stability are the foremost preconditions for social advancement, economic progress and sustainable development.

4.1. Undertaking Wider Initiatives Abroad

The Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands and in other EU countries is strategically placed to undertake wider peace, democratisation and development initiatives abroad.

The Dutch Diaspora can create and galvanise a formidable force for peace among the wider Diaspora and ensure the mobilisation of the Diaspora for their lobbying, campaigning and advocacy activities for peace in Sudan. Furthermore, the Sudanese Diaspora, through the Dutch civil society organisations with which they are linked, can act as a pressure group to influence the Dutch government, EU and international efforts to impact positively on Sudan in terms of policy changes, development programmes, debt cancellation, trade concessions, democratic governance and human rights issues. The peace process in Sudan must be sustained and this requires tapping and benefiting from the social capital of the Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands and in other EU countries. It also necessitates joining forces and effectively mobilising all the available social forces, social capital, intellectual ideas, economic means, creative initiatives and

activities in order to deal with the challenges of managing and resolving the conflict in Sudan in a collective spirit. It is this urgency therefore that makes the contribution of the Sudanese Diaspora to the peace efforts in Sudan more indispensable now than ever before. For it is accepted that the Sudanese Diaspora wants to participate in the positive changes they wish to see in the new Sudan. In short, the Sudanese Diaspora wants to participate and be included in the construction of a peaceful and democratic Sudan. The Sudanese Diaspora want to see a Sudan that is peaceful, democratic, secular, respectful of diversity, religious beliefs and the multicultural nature of its inhabitants.

The Sudanese Diaspora can also contribute to the process of promoting democratic political and governance habits in Sudan. The Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands and others in the West lives in a democratic society and is thereby exposed to democratic political practices. This experience enables them to transfer or bring back valuable new political ideas and practices that can help the promotion of a democratic political life in Sudan. Moreover, the Sudanese Diaspora would be in a position to exert pressure and influence on the political developments in Sudan. A significant communication tool is the emergence of online (internet) forums that could link various peace forces both in Sudan and in the Diaspora into organised discussion and action groups. Furthermore, the Sudanese Diaspora can lobby hard in the Netherlands and in other EU countries to pressurise the political elites in Sudan to undertake a radical political change. It should be demanded that the Sudanese political elite must set up and promote democratic and well-functioning public institutions that are accountable to the people, transparent, and respect the freedom of expression and protest. In this respect, the Sudanese Diaspora in the West can act as democratic ambassadors for Sudan since they are in a strategic position to make a difference.

The ability to guarantee all aspects of human rights is the bedrock of a sound democracy. Consequently a genuine democratisation agenda begins with respect for all human rights. In this regard, the Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands and elsewhere in the west can play a major role in campaigning and also highlighting the human rights violations that take place in Sudan. They can take up this issue by informing concerned actors, organisations and government decision-makers in the Netherlands about particular political and human rights violations of which the international community would otherwise be unaware. For instance, using informal channels and reliable local contacts, Sudanese Diaspora can provide information on the whereabouts of arrested journalists, human rights activists, politically motivated persecutions etc. Furthermore, the Sudanese Diaspora is prepared if it is consulted by human rights organisations and other agencies such as Amnesty International and the Red Cross, to help verify information, locate local networks, provide advice and background situational analysis. The Sudanese Diaspora is prepared to engage in these activities on a voluntary basis.

Finally and with regard to development, the Sudanese Diaspora can promote peace through development. The Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands already contributes to community development in Sudan in different ways. Some send money each month to support families back home and thereby provide a lifeline to many people at the bottom of society. Financial remittances have indeed become a reliable lifeline for increasingly impoverished households in Sudan with relatives abroad. Remittance directly helps poor people in Africa cope with poverty. Remittance is thus a form of pro-poor finance and yet it has received little attention in development policy and practice in the Netherlands.

According to Emmanuel Akyeampong, 'In the contemporary global context in which African governments are dependent on Western financial institutions for the running of their economies, at the micro-level the economic survival and prosperity of families have become equally dependent on having family members in the Diaspora.' See further Emmanuel Akyeampong, 'Africans in the Diaspora: the Diaspora and Africa', *African Affairs* (2000), 99, 183-215.

Other Sudanese Diaspora has set up community projects in Sudan that focus on literacy, the education of young people and women, caring for orphans, etc. In this respect, the Sudanese Diaspora undertakes private (voluntary self-help) development projects in Sudan both through individual and collective efforts. The Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands now feels that it is strategically placed to set up community-oriented development programmes in Sudan. Another factor is the acculturation process undergone by many of the Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands. They have, for example, learnt and adopted the idea of the voluntary association from Dutch society and they are now exporting this to Sudan. The third aspect is the collapse of the national social services in many parts of Sudan due to the civil war as a result of which, many ordinary people both in the urban and in the rural areas have been left without any social provision. However, the self-help development projects that Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands has set up in Sudan are mainly small-scale. They are promoted to cater for the needs of a very limited target group. It is for this reason that some Sudanese Diaspora groups are now seeking partnerships with mainstream development agencies like ICCO with the aim of widening and sustaining their activities on the ground in Sudan.

However, despite the many valuable benefits they dispense, Sudanese Diaspora in the Netherlands still operate on the margins of society because of their weak social, economic and political position. Compounding these disadvantages is the fact that most of the Sudanese Diaspora organisations and associations suffer from severe capacity constraints. This last problem can be dealt with effectively by enhancing the capacity of the Sudanese Diaspora organisations through educational and training courses and workshops. Strengthened and effective institutional and organisational capacities would enable the Sudanese Diaspora to play a much wider role in the peace, democratisation and development initiatives undertaken in Sudan. It is through this proactive engagement that the Sudanese Diaspora can widen the civil society constituency in the Netherlands regarding Sudan.

5. CONCLUSION

This report aims to contribute to practical policy approaches and proposals for the building of a peaceful and democratic Sudan. It compiles the insights that the Sudanese Diaspora articulated as a contribution to the formulation of the Dutch government policy positions and strategies towards the peace initiative in the Sudan. The Sudanese Diaspora broadly identified entry points, strategic actors, organisations and institutions where concrete activities and actions can be initiated in the immediate, short, medium and long-term. They have charted strategic policy frameworks at different levels in which appropriate interventions can be undertaken. The report has further proposed the need to tap the intellectual resources, information, innovative ideas, networks and human capital of the Sudanese Diaspora for the promotion of peace and stability in the Sudan. For example, last year, the Dutch government organised a meeting here in the Netherlands between the warring parties and civil society organisations from Sudan but members of the Sudanese Diaspora were not invited. It should now be apparent that the Sudanese Diaspora can clearly add value to such a meeting if they are invited, not least because their perspective is shaped by their detached outlook which can complement the outlook of those inside the country. The report also highlighted the need to opt for an integrated approach linking peace building with the democratisation of power so that better governance can be realised in Sudan in the near future. This strategy is very important as this will increase the effectiveness of the intervention.

ANNEX 1

Diaspora perspectives on how lasting peace can be achieved in Sudan

Under this discussion point we raised the following questions:

- How do you believe a lasting peace can be achieved in Sudan?
- What kind of Sudan do you wish to see in the future?
- What is your vision of a New Sudan?
- What do you think of the contribution of the Dutch government towards the peace process in Sudan? What can politicians do?
- Are they pursuing the right direction?
- Would you like this to be improved and how do you think it could be improved?
- Are there shortcomings that you would like to highlight?
- What can Dutch civil society organisations like the ICCO contribute to the peace process in Sudan?

The second discussion point was:

The Diaspora is in a unique position to contribute positively to the peace Process in Sudan

Under this discussion point we raised the following questions:

- What can you contribute to the peace process keeping in mind that you live in two cultures, or between two cultures?
- What sort of valuable new political ideas and governance practices would you aspire to transfer from here to Sudan?
- How can you capitalise on your knowledge of local conditions and networks and cultural experiences in Sudan in the Dutch setting?
- Could you suggest creative and innovative ideas that address the conflict problem in Sudan from a civil society perspective?
- How do you think that the political power in Sudan can be democratised?
- How can you contribute in practice and what do you need to act in that role?
- How can your initiatives be linked or integrated with the initiatives undertaken by the ICCO and other local and external organisations in Sudan?

Annex 2

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