

A close-up portrait of a woman with dark skin and braided hair. She is wearing a red top with a green trim and a necklace of black and white beads. The background is a solid color, split into orange and yellow sections.

STEWARDS OF PEACE

The Role of Women & Youth
in Post-Conflict Sudan

Report on a Series
of Workshops
with Sudanese Women
& Youth

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



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Front Cover:

Young woman in Nuba Mountains region of Sudan

Photo credit: USAID

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NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions. NDI works with democrats in every region of the world to build political and civic organizations, safeguard elections, and promote citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

Democracy depends on legislatures that represent citizens and oversee the executive, independent judiciaries that safeguard the rule of law, political parties that are open and accountable, and elections in which voters freely choose their representatives in government. Acting as a catalyst for democratic development, NDI bolsters the institutions and processes that allow democracy to flourish.

Build Political and Civic Organizations: NDI helps build the stable, broad-based and well-organized institutions that form the foundation of a strong civic culture. Democracy depends on these mediating institutions—the voice of an informed citizenry, which link citizens to their government and to one another by providing avenues for participation in public policy.

Safeguard Elections: NDI promotes open and democratic elections. Political parties and governments have asked NDI to study electoral codes and to recommend improvements. The Institute also provides technical assistance for political parties and civic groups to conduct voter education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. NDI is a world leader in election monitoring, having organized international delegations to monitor elections in dozens of countries, helping to ensure that polling results reflect the will of the people.

Promote Openness and Accountability: NDI responds to requests from leaders of government, parliament, political parties and civic groups seeking advice on matters from legislative procedures to constituent service to the balance of civil-military relations in a democracy. NDI works to build legislatures and local governments that are professional, accountable, open and responsive to their citizens.

International cooperation is key to promoting democracy effectively and efficiently. It also conveys a deeper message to new and emerging democracies that while autocracies are inherently isolated and fearful of the outside world, democracies can count on international allies and an active support system. Headquartered in Washington D.C., with field offices in every region of the world, NDI complements the skills of its staff by enlisting volunteer experts from around the world, many of whom are veterans of democratic struggles in their own countries and share valuable perspectives on democratic development.

INTRODUCTION

The people of Sudan have endured over two decades of civil war and conflict. Men, women and youth all suffered from the devastation of violence and instability, but society's most vulnerable and marginalized members, namely women, children and youth, often bore the brunt of the effects of the conflict. Forced migration, poverty and food shortages were just a few of the obstacles that women, children and youth, who comprise the majority of Sudanese society, faced during the war.

The signing of the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) on January 9, 2005, signaled an opportunity for a more open, more democratic and more participatory government. Few women and youth have been formally included in decision-making or policy formation to date, but with peace now on the horizon, it is important that all members of society have an opportunity to offer both input and influence over the peace process and the post-conflict period that ensues. A lasting peace in Sudan will only become a reality when all members of Sudanese society throughout all areas of the country come to feel invested in the peace and the dividends it brings. All members of society are important stewards of Sudan's peace, including women and youth.



NDI staff and participants in the workshop for South Sudanese women in Kenya.

It is within this context that the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) undertook a series of workshops as a first step toward preparing some of Sudan's most marginalized groups – women and youth – for a new era in Sudanese history. This series of workshops facilitated by NDI was designed to strengthen the capacity of Sudanese women and youth to play a full and active role in the future of their country. Much of the work focused on three areas: identifying and developing skills necessary to increase participation; providing a platform for cross-cultural dialogue; and creating an agenda for advocacy. Most of all, however, these activities were designed to help women and youth realize the benefits of strength in unity and act upon it.

Six workshops for women and youth were organized over the course of 10 months in 2004. Two forums for women were held in Khartoum, Sudan, and one in Limuru, Kenya. Three workshops for youth were held: one each in Khartoum, Sudan, Kampala, Uganda and Nairobi, Kenya. Over 200 women and youth participated in these programs.

Primary funding was provided by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), whose financial support allowed NDI to conduct five of the workshops. A sixth was funded by Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), which also served as an important partner in several of the other workshops.

WOMEN WORKING TOGETHER TO SUSTAIN PEACE

"If we have no peace, it is because we have forgotten that we belong to each other."

— Mother Teresa

Women suffered disproportionately in Sudan's civil war. They lost fathers, brothers, husbands and sons to fighting and forced conscription, and were even occasionally frontline soldiers themselves. All too often, women along with their children suffered at the hands of combatants who perpetrated terrible crimes against them, such as forced displacement, rape, abduction and slavery.



Women from North and South Sudan work together to develop priorities for post-conflict Sudan during a breakout session at the Khartoum workshop.

In Sudan as in many countries, women are the main socializers in the family, and the primary link that joins family to society. Culturally, women are the peacemakers in the family, and by extension can and do act as a stabilizing force for peace in society as a whole. Because of this societal role, women's participation is vital to sustaining peace in Sudan. However, women have been largely excluded from the peace negotiating and peace implementation processes for varied reasons. First, the enormous loss of life in Sudan's civil war has created massive economic insecurity and left a staggering number of women as heads of households. Due to limited resources, many Sudanese women and their children live in abject poverty. This obstacle as well as a traditional gender bias has led to a marginalization of women in the efforts that

produced the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement. An Operation Lifeline Sudan report noted that there was scant involvement of women in the Sudanese peace process. "The women of Southern Sudan would be expected to overcome their acute trauma and contribute in new ways to the future of their communities... [however] all but a handful of those sitting around the table discussing the future of Sudan are men," said the report.

As Sudan enters a new era guided by the CPA, laws will be enacted to create and protect the rights of women. Already, it is anticipated that a new national constitution will address the question of gender bias and that affirmative action will be considered in the South. In spite of the progress that has been made, women are ill-prepared to fully embrace the opportunities these new developments will offer due to the devastation of the war and the numerous obstacles it created. In addition, although women of both the North and the South suffered during the war and share many common concerns, communication difficulties and cultural prejudices have kept women from joining forces in the efforts to improve their lives to promote peace in Sudan.

To address these issues, NDI undertook a series of workshops in 2004. The workshops were designed to begin the process of empowering women's organizations in Sudan through building capacity and developing skills essential to playing an active role

in government as well as helping to sustain peace in the post-conflict period. Three workshops for women were facilitated by NDI and were a first step towards helping the women of Sudan to accomplish the following objectives:

- ✎ Define their role in the peace process;
- ✎ Prepare to contribute effectively to the peace;
- ✎ Bridge the communication gap between women's organizations in the North and South;
- ✎ Build trust and confidence between culturally diverse groups with common interests;
- ✎ Identify key issues common to women across cultures;
- ✎ Increase their participation in areas deemed to be vital to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country;
- ✎ Increase their ability to hold representatives accountable; and
- ✎ Nurture existing networks of women's organizations.

Workshop 1:

The Role of Women in Post-Conflict Sudan

Organized by NDI in cooperation with the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), the first workshop – in Khartoum, Sudan, from January 6-8, 2004 – drew together an ethnically diverse group of over 40 women representing more than half the country's 26 states. Although currently living in the North, participants were, by ethnicity and origin, from both the North and the South. The meeting of so many cultures is not at all a common event in Sudan – many participants called the workshop a historic event and the first time in memory that the women of Sudan had been given an opportunity to reach out to their countrywomen across cultures.

Participants in the workshop used their time together to focus on two areas where they saw the greatest need: *rehabilitation and reconciliation*. Identifying problems and suggesting solutions, the women from the North and South agreed on significant areas of common interest and developed a keen desire to tackle these issues across the ethnic divide. Participants pledged to increase networking efforts among organizations as a step toward achieving this goal.

Rehabilitation is the process of renewal and sustainable recovery for a society that has been ravaged by unrest and destruction. This process is an enormous undertaking for a society that has been at war for decades. Workshop participants emphasized the importance of taking steps for

Identifying problems and suggesting solutions, the women from the North and South agreed on significant areas of common interest and developed a keen desire to tackle these issues across the ethnic divide.

rehabilitation and highlighted five areas that should be addressed in the initial stages of the healing process to ensure women's rights are advanced in Sudan.

- ◆ **Civic Education:** Many Sudanese in general, and women in particular, are uninformed about their basic human rights. Women should be involved in developing civic education curricula to ensure the female perspective.
- ◆ **Decision-Making:** Women have almost no role in decision-making at the community, regional or national level. Currently, Sudan's law and cultural traditions are not supportive of increased participation for women. There is a need to strengthen the capacity of women to prepare them for decision-making and to increase the number of women participating in elections and government. Sudan should adopt a quota system to jump-start the participation of women in all decision-making institutions.
- ◆ **Redistribution of Resources:** Women do not have a role in the critical issue of redistribution of resources as it relates to rehabilitation. Generally, women lack skills to participate in this area, and there is gender-biased exclusion at the local level. Leadership training for women, lobbying and advocacy by women and an increase in the number of women at decision-making levels will help address these inequities.
- ◆ **Education:** The poor quality of education, particularly at the primary and secondary level is a social problem for all of Sudan and affects Sudanese of both genders. It is particularly harmful to women, however, who lag far behind men. The current curriculum is gender-biased and should be revised with input from women. Better trained and highly motivated teachers are needed as well.
- ◆ **Discrimination:** Women suffer from discrimination in employment and education and in society in general. Women must be empowered through access to information about rights and to skill-building so they can affect positive change. The government needs to provide equal rights under the law to both males and females. In the same vein, both the government and civil society must heighten national awareness that some cultural and religious beliefs are discriminatory. Women should lobby for the ratification of Covenant on the Elimination of Discrimination Among Women.

Reconciliation is often a necessary precursor to rehabilitation, since it calls for mutual understanding and respect. Workshop participants identified six areas that need to be addressed in order to build a solid foundation for reconciliation efforts in Sudan.

- ◆ **Settling the Past:** Reconciliation starts with the acknowledgement of wrongdoing and atrocities, followed by apologies and forgiveness. Sudan must recognize there is unity in diversity and should model its reconciliation efforts on the South African approach. Women must participate in reconciliation efforts, have access to trauma counseling centers and be provided with a platform for public testimony by victims.
- ◆ **Building Trust:** Sudan must be aware of the opportunities and threats relating to reconciliation and use all available tools – role plays, dramas, songs – to build trust across cultures.

- ◆ **Integration of IDPs & Refugees:** The government must create jobs and provide access to credit and vocational training to returning Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and refugees.
- ◆ **Civic Education:** There is a lack of knowledge and communication on basic rights, good governance and conflict resolution. Sudan must recognize the importance of civic education in this regard and integrate it into schools. Media can be an effective tool to quickly educate the populace.
- ◆ **Media Development:** There should be comprehensive civic education programming in the media, particularly with regard to cultural diversity, women's health and women's rights. Women's participation in all levels of media will enhance this effort, and there is a great need for capacity building for women in all fields relating to media (reporters, anchors, technicians, researchers, etc.). A three-year program to train approximately 2,000 women in all fields related to media is recommended.
- ◆ **Women in Politics:** Traditional and cultural norms inhibit the inclusion of women in politics. Women also lack awareness of election laws and procedures. Civil society should push for just and fair legislation, and there needs to be a concerted effort to increase the number of women in political parties. A network of organizations should be created to prepare and submit a list of priorities concerning the needs of women. These priorities should be presented to all donors who are active in Sudan's reconciliation efforts.

Women must be empowered through access to information about rights and to skill-building so they can affect positive change.

Workshop 2:

Increasing the Effectiveness of Women in the Political Process

The CPA mandates a six-year interim period that officially commenced on July 9, 2005. This period is crucial for Southern Sudan because it will culminate in a self-determination referendum. The devastation of the war and the absence of an education system for the last 21 years have left Southern Sudanese women woefully unprepared to participate and contribute fully in the years leading up to this important vote. Representatives of Southern Sudanese women's organizations were brought together in Limuru, Kenya, from January 28-29, 2004, in recognition of the critical need for inclusion of women in the process of post-conflict political reconstruction in Southern Sudan during the interim period. NDI organized the workshop in association with the Sudan Women Association in Nairobi (SWAN).

With a view toward enhancing women's participation in government policy and politics, the workshop participants focused on four primary goals: strengthening women's organizations and their dialogue; cooperation and networking; enhancing women's leadership skills; and assessing mechanisms that will facilitate the way forward. The following topics were explored in relation to these goals:

- ◆ **Women in Post-Conflict Societies:** Participants were eager to learn about the role they can play in the interim period. The example of the success of women in another post-conflict country – Sierra Leone – highlighted the need for the women of Sudan to nurture solidarity and support through local, regional and international networks.
- ◆ **Women in Leadership & Politics:** Without a voice in decision-making, women's concerns are not prioritized, likely resulting in reduced access to the cultural, social and educational institutions that contribute to influencing and shaping attitudes in society. Workshop participants identified the need to seek knowledge on the electoral process and their constitutional and human rights. They also believed it important to strive for institutional, political and legal representation. Training in leadership skills will be needed to achieve these goals, and participants outlined which qualities they possessed and which they lacked. Training women for political office is a top priority and certain participants were charged with identifying role models in Sudan and sharing their findings with others.
- ◆ **Trust-Building Among Women:** Participants acknowledged they perceived each other with suspicion and, as such, were not effective in isolating issues affecting women. Southern Sudanese women expressed the notion that networks have gotten off track, and the women identified a need to streamline these networks to increase efficiency and effectiveness.
- ◆ **Coordination and Cooperation:** Although the women drew strength from each other and grew more confident in expressing themselves publicly, the workshop highlighted the disparate nature of Southern Sudanese women's groups, which participants identified as a major obstacle. There is little coordination and the activities of the organizations within the network

overlap. Communication was seen as a major hurdle because of the many groups to which women belong. The women themselves realize that empowerment begins at home and are enthusiastic about what they can accomplish if united. A database listing the unique skills and perspectives of each organization as well as additional platforms for exchanging ideas and reflecting upon experiences are necessary mechanisms to move toward a more organized and effective women's community in Sudan.

Workshop 3: Women For Peace

The third workshop – held in Khartoum, Sudan, from September 21-22, 2004 – was organized to address the question: How can women continue to work together in a broad and all-inclusive network? Facilitated by NDI and funded by NCA, the workshop was attended by 30 women from the previous Khartoum workshop along with key representatives of other organizations to further develop ideas for a women's peace-building network in Sudan.

The primary work of the forum was to finalize documents on a women's networking strategy, officially form a Sudan women's peace-building network and develop priorities for that network. Resolutions agreed to by the group focused on four major categories.

- ◆ **Network Formation:** A network was formed that includes women's organizations from all over Sudan who are cooperating in the exchange of information, networking and dialogue. Participants agreed to begin drafting a constitution for the network and to register it officially.
- ◆ **Issue Identification & Dissemination:** Participants identified issues of concern regarding the implementation of the peace plan and agreed to disseminate the information to relevant political groups and leaders.
- ◆ **Training Priorities:** Participants prioritized the competencies that would be required for women to involve themselves fully in the peace. Skills in lobbying, negotiation, communication and organization were at the top of the list.
- ◆ **Continued Outreach & Inclusiveness:** All women's groups will be invited to work together in peace building and peace management. The network will be expanded to other women's organizations as rapidly as possible to ensure that the skills and ideas developed are spread to the wider female constituency in Sudan.

In all three workshops, participants emerged with a renewed sense of hope and direction, and the decision to form a national, cross-cultural network of women's organizations signals great hope for the effective inclusion of women in helping to sustain peace in Sudan.

NDI's work with women's groups in Sudan provided an opportunity for women to recognize issues of common concern and to "speak with one voice." In all three workshops, participants emerged with a renewed sense of hope and direction, and the decision to form a national, cross-cultural network of women's organizations signals great hope for the effective inclusion of women in helping to sustain peace in Sudan.

BUILDING BRIDGES THROUGH YOUTH

"A nation that does not invest in its youth is doomed."

– Oliver Tambo

Youth in Sudan have lived their entire lives in a perpetual state of civil unrest. Sudanese youth have few reference points for developing mechanisms for peaceful coexistence in a culturally diverse society. At the same time, youth have the most at stake. The future is theirs, and the success or failure of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) will determine the quality of their lives for many decades to come.

In the wake of peace, grassroots youth movements throughout Sudan are beginning to emerge and pressure the government for a greater voice in the policymaking process. NDI developed a series of workshops for Sudanese youth to support these groups and help strengthen their capacity to effectively participate in government and in civil society.

The workshops were designed to encourage dialogue between individuals of different ethnic, tribal, religious and cultural groups and, more specifically, to bring together youth of the North and South to develop a common agenda. The workshops were the first step toward helping the youth of Sudan accomplish the following objectives:

- ✎ Discuss their ethnic, tribal and religious differences in a constructive forum;
- ✎ Identify areas of common interest;
- ✎ Generate ideas, issues and programs youth want to pursue;
- ✎ Develop the skills needed to promote youth participation;
- ✎ Outline a strategy for youth involvement in the socio-political life of post-conflict Sudan; and
- ✎ Learn from the experiences of youth in other countries such as Kenya and South Africa.

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Workshop 1:

The Role of Youth in Post-Conflict Sudanese Societies

From March 5-7, 2004, NDI assembled 46 youth representing 30 different organizations throughout Southern Sudan for a workshop to compare perspectives, exchange ideas and discuss their role in the peace process. The workshop, held in Kampala, Uganda, was the first of a series of three workshops for youth in Sudan. Representatives attending the workshop were part of the South Sudan Youth Participation Agency (SSYP A) coalition, which has members in Kenya, Uganda and several regions inside southern Sudan. Although the SSYP A has been in existence for two years, this workshop offered a rare opportunity for coalition members to meet face-to-face and to devote significant time to planning a strategy for the involvement of youth in a post-conflict Sudan.

As the workshop began, participants identified apathy, lack of participation of youth in politics, lack of networks that promote youth participation, a culture of war and low literacy levels as the biggest obstacles to increased youth activism. The youth developed an action plan to address some of these barriers. This draft action plan – including the points outlined below – was later reviewed and amended at a workshop for youth from the North and South in Nairobi.

- ◆ **Southern Sudan Youth:** The Diaspora youth understand that whether or not youth participation is increased will depend on their compatriots in Southern Sudan. There is a great need to involve youth within Southern Sudan in training and development programs so that they will be empowered to lobby for a common youth agenda.
- ◆ **Cultural Divide:** Reaching across the North-South divide and developing areas of common interest will strengthen the youth position as well as promote peace. Dialogue and cooperation between North and South youth will promote unity in diversity.
- ◆ **Networking:** SSYP A needs to be strengthened to handle coordination of youth programs. To benefit from lessons learned, SSYP A should establish contacts with youth organizations outside of southern Sudan and identify possible issues, activities and programs of common interest. The network must encourage the open flow of information, meetings & consultations.
- ◆ **Peace Sensitization:** Youth support the establishment of peace clubs and community dialogue centers as ways to increase the chances of long-term peace. Peace sensitization programs need to be developed so that prejudices can be acknowledged and common ground shared.
- ◆ **Skill-Building:** Activities must be undertaken to enhance youth leadership. Youth organizations need capacity building assistance in a number of areas: organizational development and planning; management and leadership skills; good governance; and expanded knowledge of networking strategies.

- ◆ **HIV/AIDS:** Youth are extremely concerned about the impact of HIV/AIDS on their community and strongly support the development of, and their inclusion in, HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns inside Southern Sudan.
- ◆ **Funding:** Youth will lobby and advocate for funding of program activities within the different member organizations. Communication with the donor community must be continued, as youths seek partnerships for the implementation of the different recommendations from the workshop.
- ◆ **Resource Center:** There is a need for the establishment of a resource center that could serve as a secretariat for the SSYPA, as well as a clearinghouse of information on youth related-organizations. A database should be developed to record and store information about SSYPA members and other organizations.



Participants in the March 5-7, 2004, youth workshop in Kampala, Uganda, develop action plans to increase youth involvement in Sudan.

In the workshop, the youth also began to look at the broader context of governance and their agenda for Southern Sudan as the country begins the first steps toward democratic rule. The youth developed an extensive list of resolutions and recommendations for the SPLM, civil society and donors as all begin to consider important issues like a Southern Sudan constitution, governmental structures and development priorities. A few of these recommendations are highlighted in summary form below.

- ✎ The SPLM leadership should adopt a youth development program and have a national youth policy.
- ✎ A war tribunal should be established to try persons for war crimes and crimes against humanity.
- ✎ A Referendum Commission should be established with sizable youth representation to ensure a free and fair plebiscite on self-determination.
- ✎ The SPLM should encourage the full involvement of youth in carrying out massive civic education.
- ✎ The SPLM should design micro-finance and credit institutions to benefit youth.
- ✎ The SPLM should establish a clear national employment policy that provides favorable employment to professional youths.
- ✎ The SPLM should design a policy of universal primary education.
- ✎ The SPLM should adopt a national policy on the eradication of HIV/AIDS.
- ✎ The SPLM should immediately embark upon the collection of firearms in the civilian population.
- ✎ The SPLM should explain to youths and some communities why some of them were forcefully conscripted and apologize for wrong-doings by soldiers.

The Kampala youth workshop was followed up by several smaller consultations between the SSYPA and NDI. As a result of these meetings, the network continued to grow stronger, and the leadership developed a better understanding of how to build an ongoing dialogue and cooperation among the groups in the coalition. Over time SPLM began to consult more and more with youth groups, who were eventually invited to participate in important decision-making processes. While the SSYPA is eager to move forward on efforts to increase youth participation and to support efforts to sustain peace, a lack of resources and funding remain major obstacles.

Workshop 2:

The Role of Youth in Post-Conflict Society, Part II

Promoting the concept of unity in diversity among youth across Sudan, NDI gathered representatives of 34 youth organizations in Nairobi, Kenya, from March 28-31, 2004. Workshop participants came from Khartoum, different regions in Southern Sudan and the Diaspora in neighboring countries, such as Kenya and Uganda. Many of the attendees were meeting their counterpart youth from the North or South for the first time, and with funding from NCA, the workshop was extended to allow time for a greater understanding of cultural differences and the development of mutual areas of interest. In the congenial atmosphere of the workshop and with additional time granted, North and South participants were together able to explore a wide range of strategies for addressing the needs of the youth in all of Sudan.

Participants began their activities by identifying a number of barriers to peace and youth participation in Sudan. Among the challenges youth identified were a breakdown in law and order, lack of physical infrastructure, poverty, proliferation of small arms, tribalism and discrimination, illiteracy and lack of participatory government. In particular, youth were deeply concerned about the inadequate participation in leadership and decision-making by younger people, many of whom they feel have suffered greatly during the war. The recent peace negotiations were cited as an example of the exclusive nature of government, movements and political parties in both North and South Sudan. Nevertheless, the youth participants see great potential in their country. Human and natural resources, recent opportunities for dialogue and the cessation of armed conflict all give youth hope that the quest for democracy and good governance is not in vain.

In the congenial atmosphere of the workshop and with additional time granted, North and South youth together were able to explore a wide range of strategies for addressing the needs of the youth in all of Sudan.

Part of the workshop program included presentations on the Kenya Youth Assembly and the efforts undertaken by South Africa to promote youth participation in government and decision-making. Youth participants were intrigued and encouraged by both examples and made a number of recommendations for adopting and molding strategies and institutions from other countries to the Sudan situation. Four areas were singled out as of particular importance to the youth of Sudan.

- ◆ **Truth and Reconciliation Commission:** The way forward is through forgiveness and reconciliation, without forgetting the lessons and challenges of past experience with conflict. Consideration should be given to a truth and reconciliation commission that reflects the specific tribal, cultural and religious dimensions of the Sudanese conflict.
- ◆ **Demobilization:** There should be an exploration of opportunities for youth involvement in the disarmament process. The demobilization should only come after the six-year interim period, when older soldiers can be retired and put on a pension scheme.
- ◆ **National Youth Council:** The Sudanese leaders in the North and South should not only recognize the role of the youth in the struggle but also establish specific programs for youth development, regardless of ethnic, religious and political divides. A National Youth Council, with inclusive and effective structures, should be established with financial, material and moral support provided by the government. Members of the Council should be elected directly by the youth from the North and South. Separate funding sources in addition to government support should be identified to safeguard the autonomy of a National Youth Council of Sudan.
- ◆ **Youth Think Tank:** A youth think tank should be established to allow youth to participate in national debates and to create a blueprint for youth participation in decision-making.

The way forward is through forgiveness and reconciliation, without forgetting the lessons and challenges of past experience with conflict.

Youth participants from the North and South also explored and agreed upon areas they believe are vital to sustaining peace and ensuring an effective Government of National Unity that addresses the true needs of the people. Participant recommendations were numerous and ranged from the development of a secular constitution to the provision of basic needs and HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns.

- ◆ **Secular Constitution:** Youth support the formulation of a secular constitution to guarantee the rule of law in Sudan's post-conflict society.
- ◆ **Cultural Diversity:** The cultural diversity of the Sudanese people should be respected and promoted for the sake of forging a common cultural heritage with its foundation in unity in diversity. Commitment to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's unique culture and way of life and political tolerance among all the stakeholders are vital to sustaining peace.
- ◆ **Youth Political Participation:** There is a need for an open forum to allow for the active participation of Sudan's young people in the national debates about reconstruction, peace management, democracy and good governance. The youth of Sudan can serve as ambassadors of peace and quicken the process of creating, nurturing and sustaining a new Sudan that is not haunted by past violent conflicts.
- ◆ **Youth Representation:** There is inadequate representation of the youth in general, and young women in particular, in all the key leadership and decision-

making structures in Sudan. Sound policies need to be developed for youth integration in the new structures of governance and development.

- ◆ **Accountable Government:** Youth are keenly interested in promoting an accountable and transparent government, and adherence to the rule of law by all the leaders and citizens of Sudan. Youth need a better understanding of governance and development to play a strong role in ensuring a transparent government.
- ◆ **Education:** There are high rates of illiteracy among the youth, especially young women. Youth strongly support the development of formal education, functional literacy campaigns and capacity building in various fields.
- ◆ **Basic Needs Access:** Access to basic needs like food, shelter, health, water and security by all the citizens of Sudan should be a top government priority.
- ◆ **HIV/AIDS:** Youth are deeply concerned about HIV/AIDS and its negative impact on social stability and human resource development in post-conflict Sudan and urge the government to act early to limit the spread of this disease.
- ◆ **Micro-Enterprise:** Youth are concerned about government strategies for guaranteeing the economic well-being of youth through access to credit facilities and participation in income generating activities. There is need for intensive skills development and capacity building in different occupations and professions for youth.
- ◆ **Human & Equal Rights:** There must be fairness and justice for all, and respect for human rights and dignity for all persons regardless of their race, ethnicity, language, social status, religion or political affiliation.
- ◆ **Sustainable Peace:** The youth are concerned that lasting solutions to the conflict need to be further developed.

The question of how the youth could prepare to advocate on issues of importance to them was much on the minds of the participants. Capacity building is necessary for youth to participate effectively in government and decision-making, and the participants had many recommendations in this regard. Skills seen as vital for youth include:

- ✎ Leadership & management skills;
- ✎ Accountability sensitization;
- ✎ Participation skills for proactive engagement in society & government;
- ✎ Good governance skills;
- ✎ Conflict management, peace building and peace management;
- ✎ Research, mobilization and facilitation skills;

- ✎ Outreach and communication skills, including the art of public speaking, public relations debating and writing;
- ✎ Lobbying and advocacy skills;
- ✎ Micro-finance enterprise skills; and
- ✎ Vocational training skills in carpentry, masonry, joinery, tailoring and other related fields.

North-South youth networking was a focus of the participants, who through the workshop saw the many advantages that strength in unity could provide for youth throughout Sudan. From joint projects to regular dialogues, youth from both the North and South pledged to create a united front and developed an action plan, inclusive of the four areas cited below, for ensuring this dream.

- ◆ **Commitment to Understanding:** The participants committed themselves to fostering tolerance, understanding, teamwork and a sense of togetherness in all their future undertakings.
- ◆ **Youth Forum for Dialogue, Communication and Cooperation:** The participants committed to developing better communication, dialogue and cooperation among youth groups and to exploring effective structures for networking between youth from the North and South. A regular North-South forum for interaction and dialogue – the Youth Forum for Dialogue, Communication and Cooperation – needs to be established.
- ◆ **North-South Focal Point:** Youth identified a need to create a focal point to enhance linkage between northern and southern groups. Youth agreed to establish channels for communication and exchange of information among themselves. By using this connection, the participants resolved to formulate and implement joint North-South youth programs to benefit all youth in Sudanese society.
- ◆ **Sudan Youth:** There is a great need to conduct more training sessions on the ground inside Sudan in both the North and South.

*Workshop 3:***The Role of Youth in Post-War Society**

Building on the two workshops already conducted under this program, NDI organized a workshop in Khartoum, Sudan, from September 23-26, 2004, to develop the capacity of youth leaders, to explore areas of common interest and to address the future role of youth in the implementation of the peace agreement. All areas of Sudan – North and South, East and West, and Central – were represented at the workshop. Some youth participants traveled from their respective areas, while many, regardless of origin, were currently living in the Khartoum area. Close

to 50 participants from different youth organizations met in this forum. Many of the youth had not met before, and many represented organizations were not known to all participants. In this way, the workshop was a new opportunity to build relationships outside previous youth networking efforts.

Southern Sudanese youth began to engage in dialogue that led them to see how their differences could be used as an advantage and how an issue-oriented youth agenda across cultures was necessary to improve the lot of youth in Sudan.

The participants demonstrated a high degree of commitment in attending the workshop during the challenging security environment that existed in the days the workshop was conducted. Through the activities of the workshop, the youth developed a strong interest in working together and building on their differences. Southern Sudanese youth began to engage in dialogue that led them to see how their differences could be used as an advantage and how an issue-oriented youth agenda across cultures was necessary to improve the lot of youth in Sudan. The youth never mentioned religious, ethnic or political affiliation as a legitimate reason for pursuing their activities separately and, instead, outlined a program of cross-cultural activities including those listed below.

- ◆ **Youth Organizations:** The youth resolved to begin with themselves by disseminating information, knowledge and skills acquired from the workshop.
- ◆ **Trust and Confidence Building:** The participants identified trust and confidence building among youth as being of major importance. They agreed to continue the dialogue, exchange information and ongoing networking after the workshop. If funding is available, the youth groups would like to expand upon their trust and confidence building efforts.
- ◆ **Conflict Resolution:** Participants saw an important role for youth in resolving conflicts and identified their responsibility – and their unique ability as youth – to build trust and confidence among all Sudanese to sustain peace. Youth believe this is an area where they can make a significant contribution to reintegration, rehabilitation and resettlement efforts.
- ◆ **Youth Forum:** The participants also recommended the creation of a youth forum so that dialogue and cooperation among all Sudanese youth can continue. They saw this workshop as a first and very important step and believe it must be an ongoing process to allow youth to work together in rebuilding Sudan.

- ◆ **Skills Building:** Finally, the participants recognized the need for more skills training and capacity building so that they can effectively participate in local, regional and national debates and have a voice in determining the future for Sudan. Specific areas of interest included organizational management, communication, and speaking techniques.

Workshop participants underscored the need for continued dialogue and the importance of a neutral facilitator as a partner in this process. This last workshop along with the two previous workshops demonstrates that youth clearly share common concerns and are interested and ready to work together to address these concerns. The youth from both North and South are ready and willing to work together to develop realistic action plans and to perform in their roles and responsibilities in a post-conflict Sudan.

CONCLUSION

Despite a large number of women's and youth organizations in Sudan – and the numerous others that are blossoming as a result of the CPA – the participation of women and youth in policy and political decision-making in Sudan has been minimal. This is not because of a lack of desire on the part of women or youth to play a more active role in government. Youth and women alike are eager to contribute more fully, and as Sudan is adjusting to the realities of a post-conflict society, many have begun to demand it.

While institutional barriers are a major cause for marginalization of women and youth, there are other underlying issues that deserve attention, and several emerged during NDI's series of workshops. The price of marginalization has been high, and even without significant institutional barriers, women's and youth organizations will find it difficult to navigate the political system without efforts devoted to building individual and organizational capacity. These workshops helped women and youth prioritize the competencies they require, and chief among them are lobbying, negotiation, communication and organizational skills.

This is not to say that women and youth lack an agenda or well-developed ideas. In fact, although many had not yet formalized their positions, neither the women nor the youth in the workshops can be faulted for a shortage of proposals for improvement of their respective constituencies, society or government. Already, women and youth have specific policy positions on issues ranging from education and resource distribution to HIV/AIDS and micro-finance.

Most of all, the workshops proved to participants that there is a great deal of common ground among them. Seeing this as a positive sign, participants spoke over and over about the necessity of building trust among one another to leverage their numbers and unique abilities. What was most remarkable, however, was the recognition that women and youth of different cultures in Sudan have the same concerns and often share the same opinions on important policy matters. Participants learned that what unites them is much greater than what divides them, and two of the most significant achievements of the workshops were the creation of a women's network that includes women's groups and organizations from all over Sudan and the recommendation for the establishment of a Youth Forum for Dialogue, Communication and Cooperation as a focal point for North-South dialogue. By the end of the workshop, no participant doubted that there was indeed strength in unity and diversity.

NDI's work has helped give women and youth in Sudan the opportunity to organize themselves, to recognize issues of common concern and to "speak with one voice." This represents a first step toward increasing the effective participation of women and youth in decision-making. NDI will continue its work in this area and encourages others to review this report for areas where they may also be of assistance to women and youth – two groups that, with help, can be strong stewards of peace in Sudan.

APPENDIX A:
Workshop Agendas

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POST-CONFLICT SUDAN

January 6-8, 2004 – Khartoum, Sudan

Day One – Tuesday, January 6, 2004

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 08:30 – 09:30 | Welcoming of Participants and Opening of Workshop Bjarte Tora, NDI and Anne Lise Fosslund, NCA Review of logistical information and Workshop Agenda Alexious Butler, NDI |
| 09:30 – 10:40 | International Perspectives on Reconciliation Peace Uwineza, Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace Questions and Answer session |
| 10:40 – 11:00 | Tea Break |
| 11:00 – 13:00 | Small Group Work – The importance of reconciliation as a process of healing, justice and counseling Participants will break up into groups of seven to develop proposals for women's participation in Sudanese reconciliation efforts |
| 13:00 – 14:30 | Lunch break |
| 14:30 – 16:30 | Small Group presentations on reconciliation |
| 16:30 – 17:00 | Tea Break |
| 17:00 – 17:30 | Wrap-up |

Day Two – Wednesday, January 7, 2004

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 08:30 -09:30 | International Perspectives on Rehabilitation Presentation by Abla Kadi Q&A |
| 09:30 – 11:30 | Small Group Work on rehabilitation – How can women be involved in the different areas of rehabilitation? |
| 11:30 – 12:00 | Tea Break |
| 12:00 – 13:00 | Small Group presentations on rehabilitation |
| 13:00 – 14:30 | Lunch |

- 14:30 – 15:30 Utilizing visions, policies and strategies to increase women's involvement in reconciliation and rehabilitation
- 15:30 – 16:00 Tea Break
- 16:30 – 17:00 Summary session – Review of past two days of workshop

Day Three – Thursday, January 8, 2004

- 08:30 – 09:30 International Perspective on Civic Education

Presentation by Marjorie Walla, Institute for Education in Democracy

Q&A
- 09:30 – 11:30 Small Group Work on civic education
- 11:30 – 12:00 Tea Break
- 12:00 – 13:00 Group presentations
- 13:00 – 14:30 Lunch
- 14:30 – 15:30 Brainstorming session - Developing priorities, indicators and strategies to ensure mainstreaming of policy
- 15:30 – 16:00 Tea Break
- 16:00 – 17:00 Review of workshop development of considerations and proposals
- 17:00 – 17:30 Workshop Closing
- 18:00 Closing Dinner
with Remarks by Ambassador Harriet Babbitt

INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF WOMEN IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

January 26-29, 2004 – Limuru, Kenya

Day One – Sunday, January 26, 2004

03.00pm Transport to the Venue

07.30pm Dinner

Day Two – Monday, January 27, 2004

08:30 – 09:30 Welcoming of Participants and Opening of Workshop
Bjarte Tora, NDI
June Malet Kuol, SWAN

Workshop agenda – expectations - objectives
Review of logistical information
Alexious Butler, NDI

09:30 – 10:30 The current political environment – an update
Presenter Mr. David Mozersky. International Crises Group

10:30 – 11:00 Tea Break

11:00 – 13:00 Women in the political process in a post-conflict environment
International experience from Sierra Leone
Zainab Bangura
Questions and answers

13:00 – 14:30 Lunch break

14:30 – 16:30 Group work – Enhancing women’s participation in the
political process

16:30 – 17:00 Tea Break

17:00 – 18.00 Group presentations

19:30 Dinner

Day Three – Tuesday January 28, 2004

| | |
|---------------|--|
| 09.00 – 10.30 | Values and principles, process and procedures, rules and regulations in the democratic process Presentation by Zainab Bangura |
| 10.30 – 11.00 | Tea Break |
| 11:00 – 13:00 | Qualities and qualification of a leader. Presentation by Dr. Catherine Ndungo, Kenyatta University |
| 13:00 – 14:30 | Lunch |
| 14:30 – 15:30 | Group work |
| 15:30 – 16:00 | Tea Break |
| 16:30 – 17:30 | Group presentations |
| 17:30 – 18:00 | Summary session – Review of past two days of workshop |
| 19:30 | Dinner |

Day Four – Wednesday, January 29, 2004

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 08:30 – 09:30 | Steps in Trust and Confidence Building Presentation by Bjarte Tora, Country Director NDI Kenya |
| 09:30 – 11:30 | Group work |
| 11:30 – 12:00 | Tea Break |
| 11:00 – 12:00 | Group presentations |
| 12:00 – 13:00 | Workshop closing/ Next Steps |
| 13:00 – 14:30 | Lunch |
| 14:30 | Departure |

WOMEN FOR PEACE

Workshop Norwegian Church Aid

September 21st-22, 2004 – Khartoum, Sudan

Day One – Tuesday, September 21, 2004

| | |
|-------|--|
| 09:00 | Opening of the workshop Introduction Workshop objectives and logistics |
| 11:00 | Tea and coffee break |
| 11:30 | Women and identity |
| 13:00 | Lunch |
| 14:00 | Objectives and structure for possible cooperation Presentation of alternatives Group discussions |
| 15:00 | Presentation on Reconciliation. Dr. Amna Rahma and Anne Lise Fosslund Presentation on Education |
| 16:00 | Tea and coffee break |

Day two - Wednesday September, 22, 2004

| | |
|-------|--|
| 09:00 | Review lessons learned from Day One. |
| 09:30 | Presentation on Civic Education, Joy Kwaje Presentation on Human Rights, Priscilla Joseph |
| 11:00 | Tea and coffee break |
| 11:30 | Objectives and structure for possible cooperation Plenary discussion. |
| 13:00 | Lunch |
| 14:00 | Plan of Action |
| 16:00 | Tea and coffee break |

APPENDIX B:

Workshop Presenters & Facilitators

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POST-CONFLICT SUDAN

January 6-8, 2004 – Khartoum, Sudan

- ◆ Anne Lise Fosslund, Norwegian Church Aid
- ◆ Peace Uwineza, Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace
- ◆ Abla Kadi, Lebanon
- ◆ Marjorie Walla, Institute for Education in Democracy
- ◆ Joy Kwaje, Sudan Council of Churches
- ◆ Sommia Khalifa, Ahfad University & former Executive Director of Babiker Badri Scientific Center for the Advancement of Women's Studies
- ◆ Afaf Al Rahman, former member of Sudanese Parliament
- ◆ Hildebrand Bijleveld, SudMedia
- ◆ U.S. Ambassador Harriet Babbit

INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF WOMEN IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

January 28-31, 2004 – Limuru, Kenya

- ◆ June Malet, Sudan Women Association Network
- ◆ Bjarte Tora, NDI
- ◆ Zainab Bangura, National Accountability Group, Sierra Leone
- ◆ Dave Morensky, International Crisis Group
- ◆ Catherine Ndungo, Kenyatta University Lecturer

WOMEN FOR PEACE

September 21-22, 2004

- ◆ Dr. Amna Rahma, Ahfad University for Women (Omdurman, Khartoum)
- ◆ Anne Lise Fosslund, Norwegian Church Aid
- ◆ Joy Kwaje, Sudan Council of Churches
- ◆ Dr. Priscilla Joseph, Inter-Religious Dialogue Society

THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN A POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY

March 5-7, 2004 – Kampala, Uganda

- ◆ Bjarte Tora and Dickson Omondi, NDI
- ◆ Daniel Gbondo NDI, Sierra Leone
- ◆ David Mozersky of the International Crisis Group (ICG)

THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN A POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY

March 28-31, 2004 – Nairobi, Kenya

- ◆ Barasa K. Nyukuri, a Governance Consultant
- ◆ Raphael Mulle, Secretary General of Kenya Youth Assembly
- ◆ Hon. Obed Bapela, Member of Parliament, South Africa
- ◆ Bjarte Tora, NDI

APPENDIX C:

Youth Resolutions & Recommendations

The Resolutions and Recommendations of South Sudan Youth Participation Agency (SSYPA) workshop of the Role of the Youth in Post-conflict Sudanese Society

March, 5th-7th 2004 – Havana Hotel, Kampala, Uganda.

BACKGROUND

In pursuit of its overall vision of seeking, potential avenues for increased involvement of and in ensuring effective interventions by all South Sudanese youths inside the New Sudan and in Diaspora; and

In making them to realistically comprehend their essential roles and responsibilities, so as to ascertain their full participation in overcoming the huge post-conflict challenges of rebuilding the war-ravaged South Sudan, by establishing a viable and formidable national youth platform, that shall identify, mobilize and properly utilize available resources for purposes of national rehabilitation, reconstruction and development; and

With the commendable support of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) for international affairs, that funded and facilitated this historic forum, the first ever of its kind;

Over forty (40) participants representing various civil society youth organizations hailing from Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and upper Nile regions of the new Sudan and Diaspora, the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SRRC) and the SPLM Uganda Chapter Secretariat, took active part in attending the three-day workshop held at Havana Hotel in Kampala (Uganda) under the auspices of the South Sudan Youth Participation Agency (SSYPA), on the Role of Youths in Post-conflict Sudanese society.

PREAMBLE

Aware that, the history of our country depicts serious practices of marginalization and domination along sectarian parameters of Arabism and Islam, with the black African and Christian-animist South being the oppressed, youthful energies subsequently found employment in perpetration of destruction, more so, than for national development purposes; and

Conscious that, through-out the course of the liberation process, owing to poverty, ignorance and illiteracy, the youths often at times became victims of political manipulation and misrepresentation by selfish influential personalities rivaling for control of the vestiges of power; thus

Relationship between the youths and with each other apparently manifest mistrust, suspicion and lack of confidence in matters of their own unity, progress and cooperation, thereby depriving them of their inalienable right to self assertion in matters of national decision making and governance as an entity; and

Confident of the general desire by all the youths of South Sudan in wanting to take a centre-stage in the post-conflict rehabilitation of their war-ravaged country, after realizing their own potentials and energies in doing so, and with the overwhelming enthusiasm in ushering in a new dispensation of a peaceful, just and prosperous South Sudan thereafter;

Having gathered in this historic workshop in the spirit of oneness and brotherhood, and upon critically analyzing the issues relevant to our unity and cooperation, we the representatives of our various youth civil society organizations, hereby unanimously ratify the following resolutions and recommendations:

GENERAL CLAUSE

In realizing that our organizations possess the commonality of objectives which aim at the empowerment of the South Sudanese youth so as to acquire knowledge of the untapped talents and energies that lay in them, hence investing them in transformation of entire society towards prosperity, we affirm that:

- i) In order to strengthen our efforts and enhance our full involvement in the phase of the post-conflict rebuilding of our country the New Sudan, we have committed our organizations in working in partnership with the South Sudan Youth Participation Agency (SSYPA) and in greater cooperation with each other;
- ii) The South Sudan Youth Participation Agency (SSYPA) has been established and fully supported by us to, coordinate and mobilize local and international resources, for integrated youth development programs as a civil society organization; and
- iii) The leadership of the SPLM/A, in order to ensure youth participation among other national stakeholders in matters of national decision making and governance, should promptly convene a national youth congress that shall

design and adopt modalities for the revampment and consolidation of the New Sudan Youth Association (NSYA) as a truly youth instrument.

- iv) The good offices of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) for international affairs had considerably been of help in support of youth initiatives, such as this fruitful workshop, should be requested to finance and facilitate a youth workshop on: "The Role of youth in Democracy and Good Governance." During the Transitional Period' Since the youths of South Sudan are the vanguard for the sustainability of the peace and democracy in the post-conflict Sudanese society.

POLITICAL ISSUES

IGAD Peace Process:

On issues connected to the IGAD Peace Process that strives to establish a realistic and durable comprehensive peace settlement to the Sudanese conflict, the workshop passed the following as recommendations;

- a) That the youths of South Sudan fully support and acknowledge the IGAD forum as the only genuine and viable platform for mediation and resolution of the persistent Sudanese conflict;
- b) Both parties to the conflict (SPLM and GoS) should talk in good faith so as to end the brutal war that has cost many lives of innocent youths.
- c) Since the youths of South Sudan had often been in the forefront of the liberation struggle, we appeal to the SPLM leadership to include youth representation in the direct negotiations on it's delegation; for it's always the youths who are the custodians of any sustainable peace thereafter;
- d) On the occasion there's a final deadlock to the peace negotiations by the deliberate act of the Government of Sudan delegation the peace negotiation, aimed at intransigence and procrastination in concluding a final comprehensive peach package, the IGAD mediators and the observer countries should recommend and refer the case to the United Nations Security Council immediately;
- e) The SPLM delegates to the IGAD peace negotiations should always seek to consult with and brief the majority of the South Sudanese masses, especially at the grass roots, on the peace process, so as to ensure participation of the civil society and support youth organizations in doing the same to youth constituencies;
- f) The people of South Sudan, especially the youths should understand the importance of unity of purpose amongst themselves during the interim period and thereafter, by forgiving one another for whatever atrocities committed during the liberation process and respecting their diversities, for the sake of realizing their common destiny and rebuilding the New Sudan.

- g) A clear political objective and broad-based government that accommodates divergent political interest and accountable to the peoples of South Sudan should be established so as to avoid lapse back into anarchy that becomes only advantageous to the common enemy and detrimental to all Southerners.
- h) The SPLM leadership should encourage the international community to invest in the reconstruction of South Sudan in accordance with its development priorities and programs and in supporting youth organizations in carrying out an effective role in the reconstruction process.
- i) The youths should endeavour to encourage the SPLM leadership to adopt a national youth development program and fully finance it's activities by making recommendations towards a national youth policy; and
- j) The international community, upon the final signing of a comprehensive peace settlement to the Sudanese conflict under the auspices of the United Nations, should establish a war tribunal on Sudan so as to try persons involved in gristly activities of war-crimes and crimes against humanity.
- k) In realizing that, upon the signing of a final comprehensive peace agreement, the question of its sustainability remains the major concern to the youths of South Sudan, the workshop considered the following recommendations:
 - i) The immediate commencement of a South- to- South dialogue aimed at resolving the question of governance in South Sudan, by the calling of the SPLM leadership and support of the international community, to ensure broad-based inclusion of all Southern Political forces in government and nurture a sense of ownership of the peace initiative.
 - ii) The SPLM leadership should continue with the process of national reconciliation so as to enhance the re-integration of hitherto antagonistic political and military factions into the mainstream system.
 - iii) The establishment of a Referendum commission with sizeable youth representation in ensuring a free and fair plebiscite on the exercise of self- determination for the people of South Sudan.
 - iv) The SPLM leadership (government) should encourage full involvement of South Sudan youth organizations in carrying out massive civic education of the masses so as to comprehend by educating them of the complex issues associated with the referendum on self-determination and that the international community should support the youth in this regard.
 - v) That since the Northern government may consider interfering with the process of the referendum on the exercise of self-determination, the SPLM leadership should adopt mechanisms of monitoring the activities of dubious characters while in South Sudan for whatever reasons;
 - vi) That in order to curtail the likelihood of violations, the International Crisis Group (ICG) and other international human rights agencies should be encouraged to continue researching and documenting potential

incidences of violations by the signed parties to the agreement and making their findings internally known; and

- vii) There should be an international peace keeping force to be deployed under the mandate of the United Nations in-between the two armies (SPLM/A and Government of Sudan) on the North-South divide to ensure disengagement of forces and in supervising the referendum exercise on the right of self-determination.

Yet on the presence of an international peace keeping force in the south, against the back drop of experiences in Sierra Leone; where children mothered by Sierra Leone, where children mothered by Sierra Leonean young women and fathered by soldiers belonging to the peace-keeping mission were subsequently abandoned, the participants recommended that:

- ◆ Unnecessary inter-marriages with the peacekeepers and the youths (males or females) should be discouraged through civic education by youth organizations on its subsequent dangers e.g. burden of bringing up children without fathers.
- ◆ The peace-keepers should be subjected to regular HIV/AIDS testing during their stay and the youths involved in love affairs with them be encouraged to do the same and made aware of safe sexual intercourse by their families and peer groups.

Relations between the Youths and Elders

Considerable revelations of disparity has been expressed by the participants in connection to the relations between the youths of South Sudan and their elderly counterparts, that can be described as that of patronage, where the youth is always subjected to manipulated following of the elderly. Such disparity of relations is attributable to cultural and political issues as stated categorically;

- ◆ Restrictive cultural sentiments that deprive the youths of making informed decisions in line with some negative cultural practices, that they consider out-dated to contemporary standards, yet are still coerced into abiding with; and
- ◆ That dispute the youths of South Sudan often been the wheels behind the liberation process, they are always excluded in matters of national decision-making, since they are habitually refereed to as “the leaders of tomorrow” a situation of suspense as tomorrow seemed not to be forth-coming at all, thus made to indefinitely wait, more so, when they are not being prepared for leadership and governance.

The workshop resolved the following as measures to nurture a mutual relations of coordinates among themselves and with the elders;

- a) Continuous dialoguing between the youths and their elderly counterparts at the family and public levels, on cultural and political issues, so as to enhance the elders in understanding and acknowledging the important role of youths in decision-making process;

- b) The youths should refrain from accepting positions of influence on offer for favours that do not promote their interests, more so than, on credentials (merits) and self-determination;
- c) The youths should have respect for their elders and legally established leadership, while the latter should be accommodative of youth's opinions and aspirations;
- d) The youths should seek opportunities of asserting themselves into the structures of government by competing for them through democratic means, other than always complaining of exclusion and misrepresentation;
- e) The youths should constitute themselves into popular youth bodies that shall promote their common interest and delink themselves from political organizations that are manipulative.
- f) The youths should establish platforms for advocacy and awareness creation that shall articulate problems facing youths and entire society.
- g) The youths should always through their various organizations continue to vigorously ensure prevalence of democracy, good governance and justice in South Sudan by being vigilant in defending them.
- h) The elders and the SPLM leadership should ensure full participation of youths into cultural political structures of the South Sudanese settings as essential stakeholders in governance of society.
- i) The SPLM leadership should understand the imperativeness of delegating and delving power to the youths as it empowers and delving power to the youths as it empowers the youths as South Sudan's future leaders.
- j) To youths should always strive to learn and acquire enough knowledge of leadership skills and keep themselves abreast with the contemporary political situation of their country and in understanding of international affairs.
- k) Since most youths fall prey to manipulation and marginalization in society owing to poverty and over-dependency on others, the youths should always seek for opportunities of becoming economically empowered, hence self-reliant and independent in making choices in accordance to their conscience, and
- l) The youth leaders should always practice transparency accountability and all qualities of good leadership in their youth organizations and later in other levels when in public offices.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Economic domination conspicuously acted as a precipitative factor in Sudan's conflict, owing to control of the country's economic resources by a minority class, subsequently relegating the majority to levels of squatters in their own economy. Given such marginalization, the youths of South Sudan remain the most marginalized, as evident by the low levels of income earning, savings and investment. Thus, the workshop committed in finding avenues for youth economic empowerment, recommended the following measures;

Poverty

- a) The people's of South Sudan have the inalienable right to benefit from whatever available national resources and revenues of their country for their development and prosperity.
- b) The SPLM leadership (southern Government) should design a national poverty eradication program as part of an overall plan for the reconstruction of South Sudan;
- c) Civil society youth organizations should lobby for support in order to embark on viable youth economic empowerment to enhance self-reliance through micro-economic/income generating activities.
- d) The SPLM leadership should endeavour to establish micro-finance and credit institutions and ensure flexible policies in the qualification of loans allocation to benefit youth business-oriented individuals and organized groups;
- e) Since land is an imperative factor in economic empowerment, the SPLM leadership (Southern Government) should enact legislations on land ownership, acquisition and utilization so as to benefit the youths, especially the young woman who at times is deprived of land ownership by restrictive cultures;
- f) The young people of South Sudan should be encouraged by youth organizations, government and other civil society institutions to become creative in income generation initiatives through civic education and capacity-building trainings with the aim of equipping them with financial, technical and management knowledge in carrying out their businesses.
- g) The youths of South Sudan should be encouraged by their youth organizations to constitute themselves into joint ventures/business associations, cooperative unions, that shall promote collective economic independence amount them in society;
- h) The SPLM leadership should rehabilitate all necessary economic infrastructures e.g. roads, and ensure security along major economic routes, so as to enable the youths to freely conduct economic activities and have easy access to market centres;
- i) Youth organizations should strive to educate the youths and inculcate in them the spirit of hard work and discourage all forms of laziness and extravagant life-styles through civic education on financial management;

- j) The SPLM leadership (Southern Government), civic society organizations and youth associations should always work in partnership and cooperation in-order to find strategies for the economic emancipation of the impoverished youths;
- k) Emphasis on vocational and agricultural education should be incorporated into the national education curriculum, as measures towards enhancing food security and self-reliance to those youths who do not have opportunities for academic studies, thus the SPLM leadership (Southern Government) should rehabilitate technical and vocational learning institutions and construct new ones.

Employment

On the challenges of unemployment, the workshop resolved the following as recommendations:

- a) The SPLM leadership through the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SRRC) should establish a clear national employment policy that provides favourable employment opportunities to professional youth individuals, fight corruption and bureaucracies in job allocation.
- b) The Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SRRC) should endeavour to give priority of employment to south Sudanese nationals than aliens in non-governmental organizations working in the New Sudan, and only do so in occasions where local expertise is in short supply.
- c) In order to ensure availability in the acquisition of local human resource for purposes of national rehabilitation, reconstruction and development, capacity building through training of Sudanese youths, should be given emphasis by the SPLM leadership and civil society organizations working in South Sudan during the transitional period since capacities (local) have been weakened due to war;
- d) The youths of South Sudan should be educated by youth organizations about the importance of self-employment strategies.
- e) Sexual abuse and restrictive cultures associated to the employment of the young woman should be seriously discouraged by law and through community civic education with the aim of ensuring participation of women in the economic growth of the country.
- f) Sports and music should be promoted by the SPLM leadership and civil society youth organizations as income earning professions;
- g) Youth civil society organizations should encourage the youths with professional skills and talents in the Diaspora to return to the New Sudan; to take active participation in the reconstruction of their country and in imparting their knowledge for the benefit of other youths back at home;
- h) In the event of the allocation of benefit packages to former youth, SPLA combatants, civil society youth organizations should strive to provide them with strategic knowledge for saving and investment to enhance self-reliance in life after military service; and

- i) War victims, who are mostly incapacitated, should be provided with basic income generation skills; hence become better instruments of production, other than remain as a burden to society.

SOCIAL ISSUES

Education and Sports

Owing to persistent armed conflict in the country and displacement that saw many young people languishing in the dereliction of refuge, and as combatants in the wilderness of South Sudan without any opportunity of going to or accomplishing their education; illiteracy and ignorance has become major problems in the development of the youths. On such a background, the workshop arrived at these resolutions:

- a) The SPLM Education Secretariat (southern Government) should immediately design and emergency education program as part of it's plan for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the south;
- b) The SPLM leadership (South Government), civil society organizations and the international community should support youth organizations interested in renovating and constructing learning structures (schools) in South Sudan;
- c) The youth organizations concerned with education activities should be supported in carrying out community sensitization campaigns on the change of attitudes towards education;
- d) Youth organizations should lobby internationally for scholarships to benefit youths who cannot finance their further education at higher learning institutions; and ensure that the allocation of scholarships by the SPLM education authorities is done so on clear criteria for qualification for fair and equitable distribution;
- e) In order to fight the high rate of illiteracy among its ranks and in the entire society, the youths of South Sudan through efforts of their youth organizations should carry out vigorous civic education of the local communities towards accepting adult-education; and strive to render service in adult-education centers through volunteer teaching;
- f) The SPLM Education authority (Southern Government) should design a national policy on Universal Primary Education to ensure that every South Sudanese is equipped with basic knowledge of how to read and write;
- g) Teaching of civics, cultural heritage preservation and job-oriented vocational subjects be incorporated into the national education curriculum by the designers and authorities of the curriculum development;
- h) Call upon all local and international non-governmental organizations currently involved in the provision of education service to discourage polices of restricting students to specific fields of studies, to ensure career development based on choice and diversified expertise (capacities);

- i) Extra-curriculum activities (sports, music, cultural dances) should be emphasized as important subjects in the psychological, physical and mental development of the youths and should be promoted as professional and income earning disciplines;
- j) Alternative capacity – building training and education opportunities should be provided to school drop-outs, ex-combatants, and disadvantaged youths (as a result of the war) by the SPLM Education.
- k) to enhance an increased number of the young woman in schools, the workshop recommended the following measures;
 - ◆ Vigorous civic education of the local communities on the importance of educating the girl-child by the various youth organizations;
 - ◆ Lobby for the discouragement of cultures that prohibit the education of the girl-child and family practices that over burden her,
 - ◆ Promote affirmative action by government in the distribution/provision of educational opportunities to benefit the girl-child (young woman), and
 - ◆ The SPLM authority should enact legislations that encourage the girl-child education and punish its perpetrators.
- l) Government, civil society and youth organizations, should strive to establish a Special Needs Education program to benefit the education of persons with disabilities;
- m) In collaboration with government, international community and civil society and youth organizations should strive to establish teacher-training institutions, that shall train quality teachers, especially teachers already in schools;
- n) Youth organizations should lobby to establish students’ unions that shall look into matters of their common interest and endeavour to reach out on those in other communities to share experience (ideas) in regards to their development;
- o) Provisions of basic health facilities in schools should be made a priority by government, international community, civil society and youth organizations, i.e. latrines, clinics, clean water, e. t. c
- p) With resources from government and non-government local and international organizations, youth associations should strive to establish recreational centers (youth educative clubs) and possibly include in them libraries, debating, in-door games and drama facilities and encourage positive competitions amongst them.

Health

On matters related to public and reproductive health and environmental conservation, the workshop after realizing that the youths of Sudan, owing to war and ignorance, have often been vulnerable to disease infections, resolved the following recommendations as measures to ensure a health community in Southern Sudan;

- a) The SPLM Health authorities (Southern Government) should design a national policy in the provision of basic non-discriminatory and accessible health services, safe drinking water, sanitation and environmental purification, preventive health and nutritional education to all communities;
- b) Fair distribution and allocation of health services to all rural and urban areas;
- c) Youth organizations should engage in massive community health activities through sensitization campaigns, with special emphasis on hygiene and sanitation;
- d) Youth organizations should be supported in carrying out activities related to provision of clean drinking water, that often require quite expensive implements in doing so;
- e) The SPLM leadership, international community, civil society and youth organizations should strive to rehabilitate, reconstruct, and build health centers that due to war have been rendered almost non-existent in the whole South Sudan;
- f) Youth organizations should engage in vigorous civic education campaigns to create awareness in the local communities on the importance of the preservation of the natural environment and should establish community based clubs; "for a peaceful environment determines a peaceful nation",
- g) The youths should advocate for a healthier lifestyle and discourage practices such as drug/tobacco addiction and alcohol abuse, prostitution and pornography etc. that do not only have adverse health risks, but also stain their reputation in society and the government should establish legislations that criminalize their practice;
- h) High rate of death of mothers during child-bearing is reported amongst the young women (youths), thus, the government (SPLM), international community, civil society and youth organizations should provide antenatal services through Primary Health Care Units (PHCUs) to all settled communities;
- i) A domestic relations legislation should be enacted by the government (SPLM) against child, adolescent and youth neglect by the families they live in, as a social welfare policy; youth organizations should advocate for the education of families on the rights of the mentioned;
- j) Youth organizations and individuals should lobby with authorities of the government (SPLM) to adopt clear legislations on the operation of public social places, such as bars, discotheques, and cinemas renounced for teaching youths immoral behaviour.

HIV/AIDS

On the threat of HIV/AIDS to humanity, South Sudan not being any exceptional case, more so at potential risk than any contemporary nation hardest hit, the workshop made the following observations and subsequent recommendations;

- ◆ That today in South Sudan, issues of sexuality remain a taboo and prohibited to talk about them in open public amongst most communities;
- ◆ Owing to a background of war, that has rendered most communities inaccessible to interventions on the creation of awareness on the dangers of HIV/AIDS and due to limited resources in the implementations of mitigating measures;
- ◆ Given the prospects for the repatriation and return of large Sudanese communities living hitherto in Diaspora as refugees...
- ◆ The HIV/AIDS pandemic is likely to escalate and remains a huge challenge to the youth and entire nation of south Sudan in the post-conflict situation.

Recommendations

- a) that the SPLM health authorities should adopt a prompt national policy on the eradication of HIV/AIDS on the same proportions as it prosecuted the liberation struggle
- b) the government (SPLM), International community and non- state civil society and youth organization should work in partnership and in supporting their complementary efforts in the fight against HIV/AIDS;
- c) youth organizations should carry out full fledged community sensitization and provide necessary information on the dangers of HIV/AIDS and advocate for safe staying and Voluntary Counseling and Testing services to peer groups;
- d) youth organizations should embark on establishing community-based taskforces and lobby for support to be trained as anti-AIDS agents within their communities;
- e) the youths through their youth organizations should educate cultural communities to discard cultural practices that promote the spread of HIV/AIDS e.g. facial scarifications, unprotected sex, family neglect, polygamy, early and forceful marriages that often render victims vulnerable;
- f) the youths should be inspired to uphold a moral way of life in their communities and to discourage all forms of prostitution;
- g) the international community and the government(SPLM) should financially support the establishment of a national youth mass media facility , thus the youths can address problems associated to their sexuality;

- h) the government(SPLM) should adopt legislations that protect the youth against sexual harassment and implement punitive measures against culprits of such an offence.

CULTURAL ISSUES

In line with cultural issues that affect youths and society in general, the workshops have these as recommendations:

- a) the youths should encourage inter-marriages amongst themselves; to foster unity, friendship, and peaceful co-existence between their divergent ethnic communities;
- b) the youths wherever they are resident, should establish cultural associations and fully participate in cultural activities that promote harmony amongst nationalities(tribes) and provide them a platform to learn and preserve the richness of their cultural heritage;
- c) since culture is dynamic, detrimental cultural practices/beliefs that bring about animosities and conflicts should be discarded by the strong advocacy of youth initiatives;
- d) so as to ensure a national identity and enhance a sense of common belonging, the SPLM leadership should look into resolving the question of establishing a national language for the South Sudanese nation-state;
- e) youth organizations should sensitize local ethnic communities on the importance of the existence of unity in diversity in any nation-state and advocate for respect and tolerance to them;
- f) parents should inspire their children(youths) to identify with their cultures and in turn respect other culture of other tribes not their own, so as, to build tolerance amongst the peoples of the New Sudan;
- g) that though the payment of bride-price exhibits sense of appreciation and cements friendship between two families (communities), a standard and minimum bribe-price is supposedly to be established; for huge demand of bride-price limits some youths from getting married to the love of their own choice;
- h) as a result of displacement, there's a potential clash of cultures in post-conflict South Sudan, thus the returnees should be provided with cultural orientation in accordance with the stipulations of the Sudanese demands.

SECURITY ISSUES

After properly and critically analyzing the post –conflict South Sudanese state, the participants saw security as the basis for the sustainability of the peace agreement, thus recommended:

Culture of violence:

That since the country had been embroiled in armed civil conflict for decades, a culture of violence subsequently has been inscribed into the psych and character of the South Sudanese people, which becomes much more disadvantaged to lovers of peace on the slightest provocation:

- a) as many youths, especially former combatants , have grist experiences of war thus become traumatized, civil society and youth organizations should support the provision of trauma counseling and psycho-social disorders rehabilitation facilities for the benefit of such cases;
- b) youth organizations should engage in peace education of local communities, and target youth combatants as peace agents, and making them to participate in the sensitization of their own communities on the importance of peace;
- c) youth groups and civil society organizations should establish peace clubs within communities and carry out advocacy campaigns against literatures that glorify violence;
- d) civil society and youth organizations should teach youths remaining in the SPLA(national army) the international instruments on fundamental human rights and the respect for basic human freedoms, and lobby that the SPLA leadership incorporate them as disciplines in military training centers;
- e) the SPLM leadership (government) should enact legislations prohibiting show of violent films in public centers and discourage teenagers from getting exposed to them, as they always stimulate acts of violence in society;
- f) the SPLM authorities(Southern Government) should enact legislations that severely punish unnecessary violence such as fighting in public places;
- g) the youths should be encouraged and supported to join the police and other law enforcement agencies, so as to, guard law and order and maintain a peaceful society;
- h) Youths individuals, groups and organizations should advocate for behavioral change among ex-combatants and servicing soldiers by sensitizing local communities on their basic ...
- i) Youth individuals, groups and organizations should advocate for behavioral change among ex-combatants and servicing soldiers by sensitizing local communities on their basic rights and freedoms and being vigilant in custody of them by resisting incidences of violations.

- j) The local SPLA authorities should discourage unnecessary putting on of military fatigues (uniforms) by soldiers, unless otherwise, since it intensifies the military culture associated with recklessness (violence).
- k) The SPLA authorities should adopt an emergency rehabilitation plan for former SPLA combatants as a measure to mitigate frustrations that often find expression in criminal e.g. armed robbery; and
- l) Faith-based youth organizations should embark on chaplaincy and evangelization work in the military training centers, so as to groom a God-fearing national army.

Proliferation and Misuse of small arms and light weapons:

It has indeed become a major concern that the civil war has created an environment in south Sudan where the availability of fire-arms can be a pain stating initiative to establish how many there are in wrong-hands. In this line, sensing one of the biggest threats to the stability of a post-conflict South Sudanese society, the workshop made the following recommendations:

- a) The SPLA authorities should immediately embark on the collection of firearms being in possession of the civilian population, and legislating a policy of registration of firearms.
- b) Civil society and youth organizations should lobby with other stakeholders to fight against the misuse of fire-arms and report culprits to the relevant government authorities for possibilities of impoundment and punishment;
- c) The SPLM authorities should severely discourage the cross-boarder proliferation and selling of fire-arms and punish those involved in this illicit trade;
- d) Since there are a number of armed groups (militias) in south Sudan currently the SPLM authorities (Leadership), should endeavor to identify their numbers for [possible re-integration into the larger national army structure to avoid redundancy; and accord them equitable distribution of and fair treatment in terms of available benefits and remunerations; and
- e) Clearly demarcated centers (encampments) should be identified for settlement of soldiers away from civilian settlements in order to avoid incidences of misunderstanding, and only allowed to come unarmed to civilian places.

Disarmament and demobilization:

As part of ensuring a peaceful and conflict-free South Sudan during the transitional period and after, the workshop tactically made the following recommendations:

- a) In order to ensure an efficient national army that can protect the sustainability of the comprehensive peace agreement during the transitional period, the SPLM/A authorities should improve on maintenance of the SPLA soldier through provision of basic equipment and services (remunerations);

- b) The SPLM/A leadership should carry out an immediate exercise of disarming all soldiers no longer of active military service, including armed civilians;
- c) The international community should support the demobilization of child-soldiers and providing education opportunities to them, as well as incapacitated SPLA soldiers and providing them basic life-earning skills training;
- d) As the case in Sierra Leone, where disarmament was frustrating in that a considerable number of former fighters refused to surrender their arms voluntarily; the international community and the SPLM/A authorities should adopt measures to encourage handing –in of arms at will, and encourage civil society and youth organizations to play an active persuading role;
- e) Civil society and youth organizations should strive to provide trauma-counseling and psycho-social disorders rehabilitation services to ex-combatants (disarmed) prior to re-integration into civilian life; and facilitate capacity-building trainings to them so as to ensure self-reliance therein;
- f) Civil society and youth organizations should encourage the involvement of disarmed (former) youth combatants in community reconstruction work; and educate them of the importance to form associations that economically empower them, so as to make them productive instruments of society; and lobby with government to give support;
- g) The ex-combatants should be encouraged to portray a sense of remorse to the local communities for whatever atrocities having been committed by them during the liberation process; and local civilian communities educated to forgive them and accepting them back in their communities;
- h) The SPLM/A leadership should make the youths and local communities to comprehend as to why some of them and their relatives were forcefully conscripted into joining the liberation process, and also apologize on behalf of the Movement for whatever wrong-doings were committed by it's soldiers;
- i) The SPLM leadership should strive to adopt alternative educational/ training for disadvantaged former youth combatants who lost out on formal education as a result of the war, and in supporting civil society and youth organizations engaged in the provision of such service;
- j) Government civil society and youth organizations should work in partnership on the question of de-mining of land and anti-personnel mines as it poses serious threats to youth and entire community, especially in the rural areas; and areas suspected of having them (mines) be identified and gazetted for de-mining;
- k) In order to avoid a lapse back into instability, the SPLM authorities (government) should design a national youth recovery program and support youth development initiatives, since a disgruntled and frustrated youths are always victims of recruitment by forces of rebellion; and
- l) That, in order to avoid retaliations by communities on those ex-SPLA and Government of Sudan soldiers who might have committed atrocities on them, the international community, civil society (youth) organizations should

lobby with the government and the SPLM authority to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, where perpetrators of war-crimes and crimes against human stand trial and made to apologize to their victims who need only an explanation after all.

Cattle-rustling

As cattle-rustling is a major practice amongst most pastoral communities of South Sudan that tend to undermine peaceful co-existence between them and with some sedentary ones, the participants recommended the following as measures to bring about harmony:

- a) the SPLM leadership (government) and the international community should support an alternative development program for marginalized pastoral communities by providing basic services; schools, health and veterinary facilities, clean drinking water, etc;
- b) Civil society and youth organizations should carry out community-based peace education program to cattle-rustling communities (tribes) with emphasis on human rights values; and especially target the youths since they are the most active in cattle-rustling;
- c) Civil society and youth organizations should discourage cultures of communities that glorify cattle rustling through civic education.
- d) The government (SPLM) should strive to establish a union of pastoralist communities that bring all cattle-rustling tribes together to resolve problems affecting their relations and youth organizations; and individuals hailing from such communities should be encouraged to spearhead campaigns towards this initiative;
- e) The government, civil society and youth organizations should target pastoralist communities to get involved in farming of crops (Agriculture) a supplement to the economic existence that encourage permanent settlement;
- f) Youth organizations should carry out massive and vigorous sensitization of youths of pastoral communities on the importance of school education (formal education);
- g) The government (SPLM) should work in collaboration with governments of the neighboring states, civil society organizations and the international community to control the proliferation of small arms across the borders; and
- h) The SPLM authority (government) should embark on immediate mechanisms aimed at disarming the pastoral communities, thus ensure that law and order is maintained for peaceful co-existence.

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