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Reclaiming Common Ground Addressing long-term challenges to peace in Darfur

A consultation with members of the North American Darfurian diaspora community

Held at the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC
In partnership with Concordis International and the Preparatory Committee for the
Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultation

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Summary Report

The U.S. Institute of Peace,¹ in collaboration with Concordis International and the preparatory committee for the Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultation (DDDC), convened thirty Darfurians who reside in North America to discuss issues related to the conflict situation in Darfur. Recognizing that the Darfurian diaspora community is a stakeholder in any final agreement reached between the parties to Darfur's conflict, this consultation report is intended to inform other stakeholders about the North American Darfurian diaspora community's perspective on key issues. The DDDC preparatory committee will feed recommendations and discussion conclusions into future official negotiations in order to inform the creation of sustainable and comprehensive policy decisions that address the needs of all of Darfur's constituencies.

Participants in the consultation represented a full spectrum of Darfurian constituencies, however their participation in the consultation was on a personal basis rather than as representatives of the organizations to which they belong. Additionally, comments and recommendations in this final report have been given without attribution, in order to ensure an open and frank discussion.

Issues addressed at the consultation included those related to the following topics: 1) Safe and Secure Environment, 2) Rule of Law, 3) Stable Democracy, 4) Sustainable Economy, and 5) Social Well-Being. Due to interest, a sixth topic, Role of the Diaspora Community, was added. Subtopics within each of these topics were delineated and small working groups met to discuss each topic and to issue recommendations that were debated and refined at plenary sessions. A summary of the plenary discussions and consensus recommendations are included below.

¹ The U.S. Institute of Peace is an independent, non-partisan institution established and funded by the United States Congress. Its goals are to help prevent and resolve violent conflicts, promote post-conflict peacebuilding, and increase conflict-management tools, capacity, and intellectual capital worldwide.

Because participants were present in their personal capacity, the recommendations below do not represent official policy of any organization with which participants are associated. In addition, the views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of the U.S. Institute of Peace, which does not advocate specific policy positions.

Topic #1: Safe and Secure Environment

Questions framing the discussion:

- 1) How to protect civilians both now and in a transition period
- 2) Disarmament of rebel and parliamentary groups
- 3) Demobilization and integration of rebel and paramilitary groups
- 4) What should be the roles of the police, PDF, and other armed law enforcement and security groups?
- 5) What checks and balances are needed to ensure the impartiality of the security sector?

Discussion Summary:

There was wide consensus on the need to create a secure environment in Darfur in order for any peace or disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration process to proceed. So long as Darfurians do not feel safe, they will not be willing to lay down arms. A fully-equipped and robust international peacekeeping force must be deployed immediately, and all interested parties in Darfur should be included in the creation of a ceasefire agreement, monitored by an international body, that will ensure parties are held accountable for violations. This ceasefire agreement will create the conditions necessary for an invigorated and more comprehensive peace process to proceed.

Many participants stated throughout the discussion that all involved in negotiations, including the African Union (AU) and United Nations (UN), must pursue greater consultations with Darfurian civilians. Some participants felt that the AU and UN were spending more time consulting with the Government of Sudan than Darfurians, which raised suspicion about these international bodies' partiality, real or perceived. Moreover, these consultations with Darfurians are necessary in order to understand and address deeper causes of the conflict in the process of creating conditions necessary for peace.

All agreed that disarmament of the *janjaweed* was a task that must be pursued immediately. There was disagreement, however, about who should be responsible for disarming the *janjaweed*. Some maintained that it was the responsibility of the Government of Sudan (GoS) who ostensibly has the greatest control over these paramilitary groups. Others felt the GoS could not be trusted with this task, and that it should either be undertaken by a neutral third party, or at the very least an outside party should closely observe the GoS's *janjaweed* disarmament program. One participant also mentioned that other armed groups must be pressed to disarm; the participant speculated that this process may be different from the one for *janjaweed*.

One working group discussed other armed combatants that may require specialized disarmament programs, including child soldiers, foreign fighters, and bandits. Many expressed suspicion about the ethics and potential ramifications of integrating the *janjaweed* into any of the security forces in Sudan. Many asserted that government troops and affiliated fighters must immediately be removed from Darfur, positing that in the presence of the Sudanese army, internally displaced people (IDPs) and refugees would not feel safe enough to resettle.

Education and training programs were mentioned throughout the discussion as a necessary ingredient to achieve civilian protection. Several referenced the need for the programs in reforming and training security and police forces, in order to make them aware of their obligations to uphold human rights and international law standards. One working group suggested implementing programs in gender sensitivity training for security forces in order to halt gender-based violence inflicted by armed actors, including that by international peacekeepers. This same working group suggested awareness programs on human rights for the general population as a means to empower civilians to demand their rights to protection. These programs would need to be disseminated through means accessible to Darfurians. While internet, television, or print media cannot reach many individuals on the ground, radio is widely accessible and would likely prove the best format.

A significant need in Darfur, as stated by several in attendance, was for greater trust between the various local communities, between civilians and government representatives, and between armed groups. There must be greater engagement between all these groups, as well as accountability for violations of law in order to build the trust necessary for the creation of peace. One participant suggested the creation of military buffer and no-fly zones to separate the armed groups from each other in order to create a secure environment in which trust can be built. The UN should establish and guarantee safe zones in which Darfurian civil society groups can meet and organize their activities, as a means to reinvigorate the civil society in a ground-up approach to peacebuilding. The UN may be the only party in Darfur, acknowledged some, who can spearhead confidence-building measures and serve as a receptacle of trust for parties who lack trust in each other.

Some suggested oil-for-peace programs to create incentives for parties to pursue disarmament and peace. Some sort of program could be created that would use resource wealth as a direct incentive for GoS, the international community, and others to actively strive for security and peace in Darfur. Oil money should also be directed to fund peace, rehabilitation, and development programs in Darfur.

Recommendations:

Overall:

1. Ensuring security of all in Darfur is necessary for its long-term stability.
2. More immediately, creating a secure environment is necessary for any disarmament process to occur; Darfurians need to trust that they are in a safe

environment before they will give up arms. In order to bring about this secure environment, the international community, through the UN Security Council's invocation of Chapter 7, must send in a robust peacekeeping force.

3. A comprehensive and effective ceasefire agreement, which includes the disarming of the *janjaweed*, is a necessary precondition for a peace process to recommence. This ceasefire agreement should be negotiated with representatives from all communities, and should be guaranteed by the international community and monitored by a robust global force. Greater monitoring and accountability for violations must be pursued in this ceasefire agreement.
4. Wealth from oil and other natural resources should be directed toward peace, development, and social rehabilitation programs in Darfur.

Civilian Protection:

1. All civilians in Darfur (all tribes, gender, etc.) are deserving of adequate protection from all military forces operating in Darfur.
2. The UN/AU peacekeeping force must be deployed immediately and fully, in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1769, in order to ensure civilian protection.
3. Troops from the U.S. and U.K. should be included in the peacekeeping force to ensure a more forceful response to violations of the ceasefire agreement, and to generate greater international awareness of these violations.
4. Women must be incorporated into security forces and police in order to make them more representative. Additionally, there must be gender-sensitivity training for present and future troops in order to reduce gender-based violence.
5. Education programs should be implemented to raise civilian awareness about human rights and international humanitarian law standards, as a means to empower the civilian population. The best means to disseminate these programs is through radio, which is widely accessible.
6. Darfurian civil society needs channels to advocate for itself safely. As such, the UN should establish arms-free safe zones in which security can be assured for Darfurian civil society groups to meet and organize their activities. Military buffer zones should also be established to create separation between armed groups.

Disarmament and Demobilization

1. Mechanisms should be immediately put in place for disarming *janjaweed* and paramilitary groups. Incentives must be incorporated into the disarmament

program to encourage actors to disarm, including measures to ensure their protection.

2. Those who disarm and demobilize must be encouraged to integrate into civil society by receiving assistance in developing new livelihoods through job training and employment. A means of enforcement is also necessary to ensure that those who have disarmed and receive program benefits remain committed to pursuing nonviolent livelihoods.
3. Trust must be built between former combatants and communities in demobilization programs. Local leadership can be empowered to build this trust between neighboring communities and individuals. Multi-representative local tribal leadership could also be trained to take over the disarmament process from the UN after initial stages. In order to facilitate a smooth transition from the UN to local leadership, there should be a transition period in which local leadership and UN work in partnership.
4. The AU and UN must be tasked with serving as a vessel for trust between GoS and Darfurian groups who do not trust each other enough to feel safe disarming. In this sense, the AU and UN can help to ensure an environment in which disarmament can proceed.
5. Reparation for survivors who have lost lives, property, and livelihood in the conflict is also necessary for healing and social rebuilding. In this sense, jobs and assistance in the transition period should not be limited to former combatants.

Roles of police, armed law enforcement, security groups, etc.

1. The State of Sudan must be held accountable for the safety and security of all Sudanese people, in all regions, and from all tribes and religions.
2. A new police force should be created and trained, and the Darfur state must have responsibility over its police force. At present there is little trust in the national police force established by the Government, which has been responsible for violence against civilians. The central government should not be permitted to establish private police forces.
3. The role of the army should be to protect the territorial integrity of Sudan. The security forces should investigate issues that threaten security, but should take military action only in defense of external threat or foreign invasion.
4. The PDF should be immediately disbanded and dissolved.

Checks and Balances to ensure impartiality of security forces

1. AU and UN must engage in consultations not only with the Government of Sudan, but also with Darfurians in order to ensure their needs are heard, interests met, and to ensure their trust in the hybrid peacekeeping force.

2. Given that many Darfurians feel the national security forces have acted with partiality in the past, a third party is needed in order to ensure the impartiality of the security force. This third party would assist with a process of reforming the Sudanese security forces. Darfurians must be involved in this reform, as well as in other legal and constitutional reforms.
3. A joint commission (UN, AU, resistance forces, civil society) should be commissioned to monitor the security forces in order to ensure their abidance by human rights standards and international law.
4. Training and education programs, particularly in human rights and international humanitarian law standards, must be implemented for security forces and police.
5. Security forces and police should be inclusive and representative of all the various tribes and groups within Darfur and Sudan.

Topic #2: Rule of Law

Questions framing the discussion:

- 1) Transitional justice; how to address war crimes
- 2) Can prosecution contribute to reconciliation
- 3) What security forces will be in charge during the transitional period

Discussion Summary:

The working group team on transitional justice asserted that tangible measures taken to ensure a culture of justice in Darfur is needed immediately and in tandem with a peace process in order to move Darfur forward. Darfurians must feel that a rule of law can and will prevail, and some measures towards accountability are necessary for reconciliation to begin. Participants urged the Government of Sudan to abide by the rulings of the International Criminal Court (ICC) by turning over indicted individuals. So long as the Government fails to do so, participants suggested, Darfurians will find it hard to trust that the environment of impunity will change. If the GoS does address the ICC recommendations, this could be a significant confidence-building measure that could begin the transformation of Darfur into a peaceful region. Moreover, the current national legal and judicial systems are inadequate to prosecute Darfurian war criminals. The courts as they stand cannot be trusted to conduct a fair process; they must either be significantly reformed prior to prosecution of crimes committed in Darfur, or an international system must be utilized.

One working group asserted that an admission of guilt by those who directly and indirectly participated in the violence is a necessary a pillar for reconciliation. This admission can open the way for the “wisdom of forgiveness” to be extended by survivors.

Participants lamented the destruction of Darfurian indigenous forms of judicial, legal, and dispute resolution processes. Local systems of customary law should be reinvigorated, participants suggested. Similarly, one group proposed that in reformation of the constitution or legal structure in Sudan through a peace process, Darfurian customary law practices must be respected – a hybrid system of federal and local customary laws should be pursued and implemented. For example, the shari'a law practiced in Darfur is not like the shari'a law that has been established by Khartoum; space should be made for local interpretation and practice of shari'a. One group also proposed that international peacekeepers in Darfur work with the weakened Native Administrations in order to make them effective and fully operational.

Nearly all participants raised concern about impunity for those in pro-government forces. Participants asserted that former *janjaweed* have been integrated into state security forces, which is an affront to the victims in Darfur. Accountability through prosecution is necessary for there to be reconciliation, posited one panelist, saying “we must prosecute some if we are to have reconciliation with the rest.” Yet prosecution by itself is not sufficient to heal Darfur. In addition, there should be a truth and reconciliation commission that draws from processes in other countries (South Africa was given as an example) but is adapted to Darfurian culture and needs. Provisions for restitution, compensation, and/or reparation for survivors of violence must also be provided (drawing from tribal practices of blood money offerings).

During the transition period following a peace agreement, participants asserted that the international community should help train new security forces for Darfur that are fully representative of the multitude of communities within Darfur and have been educated in human rights and international humanitarian law. Sudanese government forces and police should pull out of Darfur during this transition period, most argued. A working group proposed that an effort also be made to integrate more Darfurians into the national forces. Recognizing that some Darfurian Arabs feel their fate is linked to the GoS, assurances must be provided that their rights and needs will be respected in the absence of GoS security presence in Darfur. A robust international peacekeeping force in Darfur during transition period must have a mandate to take action against armed actors who violate agreements and ceasefires.

Recommendations:

1. The Government of Sudan must immediately abide by the indictments issued by the International Criminal Court.
2. International peacekeepers in Darfur should work with Native Administrations in order to make them effective and fully operational.
3. Local practices of dispute resolution, law, communal governance, and justice should be reinvigorated. Local customary law should be respected in constitutional reform, including respect for Darfurian interpretations of shari'a.

4. Those who have committed violence must be held accountable. Proceedings could be through international courts and local processes. However, the national judicial and legal system as it currently stands is insufficient to prosecute a fair trial. Restructuring and reform would be necessary before any criminal process could proceed that would be trusted by Darfurians to provide a just outcome. In the absence of this reform, international judicial systems are necessary.
5. A Truth and Reconciliation process, drawing from the best practices of processes in other countries but tailored to meet Darfurian needs and culture, should be implemented in order to account for crimes committed during the conflict. Those who have committed crimes must be held accountable.
6. Protection must be assured for those civilians who give account of crimes committed against them, as well as for witnesses who testify on behalf of victims, in order to secure a comprehensive and safe accounting.
7. An international peacekeeping force with a robust mandate is needed to build trust and to ensure a move towards the re-establishment of the rule of law.

Topic #3: Stable Democracy

Questions framing the discussion:

- 1) Regional structure; What power sharing arrangements might be devised for regional governance
- 2) How to ensure democratic practice
- 3) Representation in Khartoum
- 4) Local government structures
 - a. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the native administration system
 - b. Can the native administration system resolve inter-tribal disputes
 - c. Can the native administration system manage the affairs of their tribes
- 5) What are the necessary preconditions for free and fair elections to be held in Darfur and how should the census be organized; Can and should elections be held in 2009

Discussion Summary:

All participants repeatedly stressed the need for greater representation in the central government. This pertains to all sectors of government structure including military, civil service, and judiciary, as well as legislative and executive branches. This representation should reflect the regional and communal diversity of Sudan, and should be commensurate with population distribution. For example, one participant reminded all that according to the 1993 census, Darfurian population comprised roughly 20% of the Sudanese population. Hence roughly 20% of the national government should be comprised of Darfurians. Minorities and women must also

enjoy fair representation in government. Measures of affirmative action, particularly in the short-term, may need to be implemented to ensure fair representation.

In general, participants agreed that Darfur should remain one unified region rather than splitting into three states. As articulated by one working group, the tripartite division of Darfur was created to serve political purposes and has exacerbated tribal and communal rivalries. Darfur needs social cohesion, particularly as a means to stand together and demand representation in the central government. In addition, a unitary state will require less administrative bureaucracy and can better ensure equal sharing of wealth and resources.

A strong constitution is the key to creating a stable, effective, and representative governance structure in Sudan, participants asserted, as is a strong and impartial judiciary. Without a stronger democratic system in the whole of Sudan, representatives elected by Darfur will have little impact in Khartoum-based decision-making. Other key elements of a healthy functioning democracy that are needed in Sudan include an independent media, open public debate, and strong election laws. Finally, education for the general public on their rights, opportunities, and obligations in a democratic system are crucial to ensure a democratic system manifests in reality. This education will help ensure local communities and individuals are less likely to be held hostage to political manipulation, and will ensure the election of politicians who are trusted by, representative of, and held accountable to the grassroots. Participants suggested that the diaspora community should use its connections to the movements to ensure they appoint good people, and to encourage that these posts are filled through general elections.

One group suggested devolving some central governance institutions, such as military academies, to regional locations in order to help improve access to and representation within them.

Participants affirmed the worth of traditional structures of governance, argued to have democratic elements, and dispute resolution in Darfur. The Native Administrations that have been destroyed by the conflict had strengths that Darfur now desperately needs. This includes local management systems, conflict resolution, services such as tax collection, and a means to preserve culture and tradition. The Native Administrations also have weaknesses, however. In general, authority within the system is hereditary and patriarchal. Resident aliens who settle in communities may receive *hakura* land allotment, but are left out of the ruling system. In the past, the Native Administrations have proven themselves vulnerable to manipulation by the central government, particularly during elections. Finally, the Native Administrations have not adequately addressed gender-based violence. The working group concluded that Native Administrations should be re-established in Darfur, given that they have a significant role to play in restoring order and culture in Darfur. However, they may need to manifest in new forms and operate in a slightly different manner than in the past. In addition, Native Administrations will be inadequate to address some of the complex issues facing Darfur at present. For example, while Native Administrations can help in investigations of war crimes, they do not have the capacity to prosecute and fully address these crimes.

Participants felt that free and fair elections in Darfur could not be assured by 2009. Before free and fair can elections occur, a census is necessary. Before a census can occur, there needs to be peace and security on-the-ground that will allow IDP and refugee populations to resettle. At present, many foreigners have been settled on Darfurian land, participants repeatedly asserted. For a true census to occur, Darfurians need to return to their home villages and feel safe about alerting census takers to the presence of foreign settlers. Any census must be run or overseen by an independent third party, and should be coupled with education campaigns to teach civilians about its important purpose. In addition, participants suggested that the census will need to include Darfurian refugee populations in camps outside of Sudan and the diaspora communities. Once this census occurs, elections can proceed. The Darfurian movements should be transformed into political parties.

Recommendations:

1. The Sudanese national government must be elected through free and fair elections that ensure equal representation of all Sudanese regions and communities, proportionate to their percentage of the national population. This representation must exist in all sectors of governance including judiciary, civil service, and military. In addition, cabinet ministry positions must be representative, and influential ministry positions must be allocated in a fair manner.
2. In order to create an effective democratic structure in Sudan, constitutional and judicial reform as well as political restructuring is necessary. National discussions that include all communities and the grassroots must be initiated to conceive and implement an appropriate democratic system for Sudan.
3. Darfur should remain a unitary state headed by one governor, but commissioners or representatives from North, South, and West Darfur should also form part of the governance structure. Liaison officers should be elected who can link Native Administrations with local and national governance structures.
4. Minority groups and women should be ensured fair representation within local and national governance.
5. Native Administrations in Darfur have a vital role to play in the investigation of war crimes, local reconciliation, local dispute resolution (particularly over land), and the restoration of Darfur culture and tradition. As such, Native Administration and other traditional practices of management should be reinvigorated. However, these Native Administrations should be reformed to include greater representation, independence from government manipulation, and oversight (particularly with regards to fiscal responsibility).

6. In order to create a healthy democracy with the active participation of the grassroots, education campaigns are needed to teach local populations about their rights and obligations in a democratic system. In addition, democratic institutions must be created and empowered.
7. Given the lack of security on the ground, free and fair elections in Darfur in 2009 are impossible. Before elections can occur, security must be restored to a degree that will allow IDPs and refugees to resettle, at which point an independent third party must conduct a census. Only after this has occurred can free and fair elections to produce a representative government proceed.

Topic #4: Sustainable Economy

Questions framing the discussion:

- 1) How much compensation, how to calculate and how to pay
- 2) What provision should be made for nomadic migrations and access to pasture
- 3) How can the competing needs of Darfur's different communities be better met to reduce competition
- 4) Is the *hakura* system still workable for Darfur, or does it need to be reformed
- 5) What are Darfur's development priorities in the short, medium and long terms

Discussion Summary:

The working group on compensation began by laying out several purposes for a compensation/reparation/restitution program. This included: 1) contribution toward the restoration of the Darfurian people, 2) an acknowledgement of the GoS's responsibility for atrocities and its responsibility for the future restoration of Darfur, and 3) a means to help people begin to restore their livelihoods destroyed during conflict. In all of this, reparation can be a means to begin individual, social, and political healing processes. The group suggested the creation of two commissions to aid in dissemination of reparations. The first would be a local commission that would deal with individual and family compensation packages, including shelter, basic commodities (tools, cattle, etc.), and seed money to reinstitute livelihoods. One participant noted that compensation would need to be tailored to meet the level and nature of suffering faced by different groups of people. For example, women who faced gender-based violence deserve compensation in addition to the general package awarded to the family unit. A second community-level commission would look at restoration of infrastructure and social services as compensation to the wider Darfur community. This would include community buildings, sanitation services, rehabilitation and trauma centers, and employment services.

Closely related to communal compensation is the issue of development. Participants asserted that in all short, medium and long-term development there must be a people-centered approach that promotes sustainable and environmentally-sound practices.

Development should address root causes of the conflict, such as poverty and lack of access to potable water. In the short term, Darfurians need temporary schools, means of income generation for IDPs and refugees to help them become less dependent on humanitarian aid, and basic shelter and health needs. Jobs could be immediately provided by employing Darfurians in small-scale development projects. In the medium-term, Darfurians will need permanent schools with accelerated programs to bring Darfurian children up to speed with their peers, community banks in which villagers are shareholders, and basic infrastructure to provide social services. The international community (primarily through the World Bank) and the GoS were called upon to provide financial resources for this development, but the local community must be involved in management and distribution of these funds. In the long-term, the group suggested development programs that help create a sustainable Sudan, including roads and transportation that bridge Darfur with other regions. A national commission with regional representation should be established to address equal distribution of natural resources and income generated from their exportation. Direct trade with foreign countries by local communities should be encouraged. Finally, one participant suggested that manufacturing and industry be developed in Darfur to stop the population bleed of Darfurians to Khartoum in the pursuit of these jobs. In all development, there must be measures taken for poverty alleviation that includes marginalized communities and women. The development needs for the nomadic communities may require different programs that could include mobile health clinics, means to provide water, veterinary needs, and mobile education services.

Participants stressed that there must be pre-emptive measures taken prior to resettlement to put in place mechanisms to address issues that will arise as displaced people return to their villages. In particular, participants again raised concern about foreigners who have settled on land traditionally held by Darfurians. Participants asserted that GoS is responsible for the presence of many of these settlers, and the GoS is thus responsible for immediately returning these foreigners to their place of origin. A participant suggested that investigations be conducted to address the issue of foreign settlers, and to rule on whether they have any right to Darfurian land.

A group suggested that local leaders may be able to resolve smaller land dispute issues. For cases needing more assistance, a commission should be created; this commission should commence its work before resettlement has begun in order to preemptively address issues. The commission should be composed of local leaders (sheikhs) who have knowledge of the historical *hakura* ownership, civilians, and members of a neutral third party, such as an NGO or IGO. Finally, a regional-level office should be established to handle appeals from the lower levels, potentially with the assistance of international observers/mediators.

The *hakura* system remains useful for Darfur, but certain reforms are necessary to modernize its practices. Participants suggested that administrators of the *hakura* system be popularly elected. Rather than aligning *hakura* borders with tribal boundaries, align them with provincial boundaries, the group also suggested. Finally, there will need to be some clarification on the relationship between *hakura* system jurisdiction and local and national laws.

Finally, participants affirmed that nomadic and farming communities are both central to Darfur's wellbeing. The livelihoods of these two communities need not be contradictory, but by taking certain measures they can live in a mutually beneficial manner. Positive contributions of the nomadic community include economic benefit through trade and Darfurian social cohesion through greater communal interaction. However, measures must be taken to address conflict that has arisen between nomadic and farming communities with regards to overgrazing, destruction of farmland, and competition for water and land. A solution lies in establishing an administration composed of fair representatives from the two communities to create mutual understanding on key issues including: timing of migration, what constitutes destruction of land, rules of land use, access to wells, etc.

In all development and restructuring, programs must address environmental degradation, including desertification and reduction in potable water. One practical solution suggested was for nomads to spread seeds as they migrate. Another participant suggested a development program to plant gum arabic trees that can simultaneously bring economic and environmental benefit. One group suggested further infrastructure to access Darfur's ground water supply, to begin immediately as a prerequisite to resettlement. Finally, a group suggested the need for education awareness programs to promote environmentally sustainable practices, and to discourage current destructive practices such as the burning of forests.

Recommendations:

1. Reparation programs must be established in order to begin to restore the dignity and livelihood of Darfurians. These programs must be tailored to meet individual, familial, village, and community needs, and should be overseen by two commissions addressing individual/family needs and community/village needs.
2. A comprehensive development program for Darfur must be included in any peace agreement.
3. Development programs must be people-centered and sustainable. When possible, Darfurians should be employed in development projects, and industry should be created in Darfur to create manufacturing job opportunities. Programs should strive to address the needs of marginalized and minority communities, as well as the nomadic communities.
4. In the short term, Darfur needs basic services, employment opportunities, and temporary schools. In the medium-term, with World Bank and GoS financial contributions managed and distributed through local community groups, infrastructure must be rebuilt. In the long-term, development programs should contribute to linking Darfur with other regions in Sudan to create a unified and secure nation.
5. Natural and man-made environmental degradation must be addressed and steps taken to restore a healthy environment in Darfur.

6. Educational awareness programs are needed to teach individuals and communities about the worth of environmentally-sound practices, as a means to address root causes of the Darfurian conflict such as desertification and the destruction of wells.
7. A national commission with fair regional representation must be created to establish just distribution of Sudan's natural resources and the wealth they generate.
8. Nomadic and farming communities are both central to the identity and well-being of Darfur. A commission with representatives from both communities is needed to create standards of engagement that can reduce conflict over land and water. Standards for the timing and pattern of migration, land use, access and use of wells, etc., can be established through this commission to create common practices throughout Darfur that will help ensure the peaceful coexistence of the two communities.
9. Pre-emptive measures must be immediately taken to address land dispute issues that will arise as displaced communities return home. Foreigners and others who have illegally settled on Darfurian land owned by others must be peacefully returned to their place of origin.
10. A commission must be established to address land disputes that cannot be satisfactorily resolved by local leaders. This commission should be composed of local leadership (sheikhs), civilians, and a neutral third party. A regional-level district office should also be created to receive appeals from lower levels. This office may be monitored by the international community.

Topic #5: Social Well-Being

Questions framing the discussion:

- 1) Process for return of IDPs and refugees; How can IGOs and NGOs serve the needs of refugees and IDPs both now and as they return home
- 2) Recovery of expropriated property
- 3) Processes for inter-group reconciliation mechanisms and conflict resolution
- 4) How to eliminate discriminatory practices
- 5) Can a Darfurian identity be created or re-created; what does this mean in the wider Sudanese context

Discussion Summary:

With regards to the particular roles for NGOs and IGOs in resettlement beyond those already articulated, the working group reiterated their necessary partnership with Darfurian individuals and organizations. Not only can locals provide insight into

community needs and dynamics and interpret local languages, but through this partnership, indigenous expertise and capacity-building can be cultivated to ensure sustainability. In a related manner, the group suggested that as much as possible international NGOs and IGOs should facilitate the creation of Darfurian organizations that can carry on resettlement and development programs, thereby empowering the development of local civil society, democratic institutions and culture, and self-sustaining mechanisms to address future needs.

Reparation programs for survivors of the conflict must take into account not only personal trauma, loss of loved ones, and land, as discussed earlier, but also the confiscation and destruction of personal property. A working group suggested the creation of a commission to investigate property loss and to determine means of compensation. Local leaders can be involved in these programs, but the GoS is responsible for providing the funds for compensation packages.

Participants lamented the discriminatory cultural and legal norms that exist in Sudan broadly and Darfur in particular. This includes discrimination based on race and skin color, tribal affiliation, gender, religion, class and level of education, and political affiliation. Those with disabilities and children born out of wedlock (including those born as a result of rape) also face discrimination and social marginalization. Discriminatory practices have become systematized through the legal, economic, and political systems. As such, structural reform is necessary to eradicate institutional discrimination. In addition, educational programs were suggested as a means to promote cultural norms of inter-communal respect, as well as sensitivity training for the media and other civil society sectors that shape public opinion. A multi-religious, multi-communal, multi-racial Sudanese national identity must be vigorously cultivated.

One participant suggested that in addition to sheikhs, imams should have a role in promoting reconciliation and inter-communal harmony throughout Darfur. Not all participants agreed.

Recommendations:

1. NGOs and IGOs are encouraged to work with Darfurian individuals and organizations as equal partners, in order to ensure services meet the needs of Darfur and to encourage the building indigenous capacity, including mechanisms and expertise, to address long-term needs.
2. Beyond pre-emptive assessment of resettlement needs prior to the return of IDPs and refugees, including the assurance of basic services in villages, there must also be needs-assessments conducted on an ongoing basis to recognize and address emerging needs in a timely manner.
3. Refugee and IDP return and resettlement must be voluntary.
4. Survivors must be compensated for property and land confiscated or destroyed as a result of the conflict. A commission should be established to investigate and determine means and amount of reparation, to be conducted with the

involvement of local community leaders. The GoS is the primary responsible party for providing funds for reparation.

5. Darfur has a historical and deeply embedded cultural tradition of communal dispute resolution. These traditions must be restored and revitalized in order to assist in disputes that will arise during the transition period, and to ensure non-violent means to address conflict in the future.
6. Local culture, traditions, languages, and practices must be promoted and protected within a diverse Sudan.
7. Local practices and rituals for inter-communal reconciliation should be pursued. The GoS should not intervene as a mediator in these programs of inter-communal reconciliation and dispute resolution. Rather, they should be conducted primarily by local leaders and committees. For those issues that cannot be resolved through local means, a larger and representative Darfurian commission should be established to provide rulings.
8. Cultural and legal practices that are discriminatory must be eradicated in order to ensure respectful and peaceful communal co-existence within Darfur and Sudan. Constitutional, legal, and political reform is necessary to combat institutional practices of discrimination that marginalize certain communities. In addition, there should be sensitivity training for media and other civil society sectors that impact public opinion, as well as public education and training to cultivate an inclusive Sudanese national identity.

Topic #6: Future Role of Diaspora Community

Discussion Summary:

Participants affirmed the positive impact the diaspora community can have on future negotiations. They consider themselves stakeholders in the process, given that they are directly affected by the conflict.

Participants discussed ways by which the diaspora community can provide an organized and positive impact on the Darfur situation. This included follow-up reports and conferences that might bring together the wider global Darfurian diaspora community. Participants suggested further education on the issues may be necessary prior to these follow-on conferences to ensure the production of helpful and applicable material that could feed into peace negotiations. Leadership training may also be necessary. A participant stressed the need for the various communities within the diaspora to work cooperatively, rather than to compete for voice, recognition, or influence. Unity within the diaspora community can help create unity within Darfur. Another participant followed up with his working group's suggestion that the diaspora community could play an active and direct role in building trust between civil society communities and the resistance movements in Darfur.

A working group outlined the particular capacity and leverage diaspora communities can access. This includes resources, support, and expertise that could be provided to the Darfurian movements to aid them in their negotiations. The working group suggested that they could be most helpful as advisors rather than as direct negotiators at the table. The diaspora community could also reach out to other groups within Sudan who are willing and able to provide assistance to the Darfur peace process. The diaspora might also seek means to bring negotiators from the movements to international settings for training in practices of negotiation.

Many stressed that diaspora members with communication links to leaders in the resistance movements should use their influence to encourage the movements to pursue peace and democratic practices.

Recommendations:

1. Those involved in negotiations in Darfur (including the UN, AU, and the wider international community, as well as the Darfurian movements and the Government of Sudan) must recognize that the diaspora community has a stake in the conflict and the peace process, and as such their interests should be included, their ideas taken into account, and their active engagement sought in peace negotiations.
2. Darfurian diaspora communities throughout the world should be brought together to share the conclusions of regional discussions and to create a wider set of consensus recommendations.
3. The Darfurian diaspora community should organize itself into a representative body that can create a unified voice. This group might discover common goals between various interest groups in Darfur, encourage parties in Darfur to negotiate for peace, bring the voice of Darfurian civilians to international communities and negotiations, and offer practical support by providing training, expertise, and resources to the peace process.

Final Related Note:

Throughout the conference discussion, participants discussed weaknesses perceived in the DDDC process set forward by the Darfur Peace Agreement. The greatest concern was that the DDDC will be unrepresentative of all communities in Darfur because it came out of the DPA, itself not an inclusive process. Others expressed concern that the name itself is divisive, in that it implies “two Darfurs” or a stark Arab/African divide that does not honestly reflect the complicated communal dynamics in Darfur. Some were concerned that the DDDC would be a series of monologues rather than a conversation that builds on itself and leads to a substantive impact by civil society on the future structure and governance of Darfur. DDDC representative Abdul Mohammed addressed the participants’ concerns, and assured them that the DDDC would strive for inclusiveness and would operate as an autonomous and independent manner.

Participants expressed hope that if conducted in this manner, the DDDC could be a vehicle to promote ground-up reconciliation and empowerment that can have an impact in setting into practice many of the recommendations offered in this workshop. Through the DDDC, individuals can begin to feel empowered to take an active role in establishing peace, in restoring local tradition and way of life, in creating new cultural norms and reconciliation, and in impacting their future. In this respect, participants affirmed their desire to assist to the extent that they are able in making the DDDC process successful. Participants welcomed the opportunity to directly and actively engage with the DDDC through this workshop consultation.

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