



Women Waging Peace

PEACE IN SUDAN: WOMEN MAKING THE DIFFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS

October 8-15, 2004, Women Waging Peace hosted 16 Sudanese women peace builders for meetings, presentations, and events in New York and Washington, DC. The purpose of this conference was to raise the voices of women peace builders and urge the US government, the UN, other international governmental and non-governmental organizations, and think tanks to promote the inclusion of women in all efforts to bring peace to this troubled country. The following recommendations were formulated by the delegation.

I. ADDRESSING THE CRISIS IN DARFUR

To the United Nations Security Council (UNSC):

1. In accordance with UNSC Resolutions 1547 (2004), 1556 (2004), and 1564 (2004), pressure the Sudanese government to cease all military attacks on Darfur and bring the Janjaweed and other government agents under control. Pressure all armed actors and parties to the conflict—including the Sudanese government, the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A), and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)—to abide by ceasefire commitments.
2. Ensure that the newly-appointed UN Commission of Inquiry investigates reports of systematic rape of women and girls and includes reference to rape as a crime of genocide and a crime against humanity. In collecting information, the UN Commission of Inquiry should work with local women's organizations to ensure culturally-sensitive approaches and to avoid re-traumatizing victims.
3. Vet individuals in the security and police forces to ensure that they can protect civilians in accordance with international law. Do not allow the re-deployment of perpetrators (e.g. Janjaweed militia) in military, security, or police forces. Include women security officers in the protection of refugee and internally displaced person (IDP) camps.
4. Develop mechanisms—domestically and with an eye toward future international process(es)—to establish accountability, prosecute individuals, and address impunity. International observers and protection officers should work with local women's organizations on issues such as witness identification to ensure local credibility and legitimacy.
5. Take action—including targeted sanctions (e.g. freezing assets and arms embargoes) and travel restrictions—to protest human rights violations and war crimes by the Government of Sudan.*

* This recommendation was included, while recognizing dissent by one delegation member.

6. Recognizing that the African Union's Darfur mission does not have an adequate mandate, sufficient troop strength, or the logistical and financial means to protect civilians, the UNSC should authorize a peacekeeping mission for Darfur.

To international donors and humanitarian organizations:

7. Provide adequate food and shelter to refugees and IDPs, while preparing for long-term development goals (e.g. provide education and training in the camps and income-generating programs for women). Despite the urgency of the current situation in Darfur, only 60 percent of donor pledges for humanitarian aid have actually been fulfilled.
8. Recognizing that conflict adversely affects the safe and effective delivery of reproductive health services and that refugees and IDPs have limited access to such care, international donors and relief organizations must ensure the adequate provision of health services among women in Darfur, especially those who are pregnant and nursing. Particular attention must be given to those women and girls who have been the victims of sexual violence and rape, including trauma counseling, reproductive health care, HIV/AIDS testing and treatment, and care for children born of rape.
9. Prepare for the voluntary return, resettlement, and rehabilitation of refugees and IDPs.
10. Empower women and women's organizations, financially and technically, to enhance the provision of services by and for indigenous groups. International non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should partner with local women's groups, include capacity building in their programming, listen to women's priorities, and empower women with leadership training.
11. Support the creation of alliances between women at the grassroots level, women's NGOs, women in political parties, and the women's desk of the SLM/A and other movements. Encourage the government of Sudan to repeal or change restrictive laws with regard to the registration of NGOs and restrictions on the freedom of movement so that women's NGOs in the rest of Sudan can link with those in Darfur. Support cross-border exchanges so that the women of Sudan can learn from women in broader networks throughout Africa.

II. ENABLING THE RETURN, RESETTLEMENT, AND REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES AND IDPS

To the governments (the current Sudanese government, the government of southern Sudan, and the future "Government of National Unity"):

1. Establish security and stability in and out of the camps and in order to allow for return, resettlement, and repatriation.
2. Recruit, train, and deploy women police as part of the protection force in the camps.
3. Establish women's legal identity, including the placement of identity and distribution cards in the names of women.
4. Provide assistance to returned or resettled refugees, IDPs, and local communities.
 - a. Address the needs and concerns of women, including the provision of social services.
 - b. Provide assistance through local organizations, including women's groups, to facilitate sustainable peace and development at the local level.

5. Provide a non-governmental mechanism for women to elect their own representatives to the commissions and mechanisms emanating from all stages of peace agreements as well as to international, regional, national, and local forums for peace and development. Provide protection for women to attend these meetings.

To the United Nations:

6. *To the UNSC:* Maintain vigilance in holding the Sudanese governments accountable for the protection of civilians.
7. Act to protect civilians and humanitarian workers throughout Sudan and in Darfur, consistent with UNSC Resolutions 1547 (2004), 1556 (2004), and 1564 (2004).
8. Ensure aid is provided to refugees and IDPs in camps and to those not in camps; include women and local organizations in the design and management of camps.
9. Increase the presence of female peacekeeping forces.
10. Provide development assistance that will enable the return, resettlement, and reintegration of refugees and IDPs; ensure women's full participation and decision making in this process.
11. Assist returned or resettled IDPs, refugees, and local communities.
 - a. Address the needs and concerns of women, including the provision of social services.
 - b. Deliver assistance through local organizations to facilitate sustainable peace and development at the local level.
12. Ensure implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000), which mandates women's participation in peace processes, by:
 - a. translating UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) into local languages and disseminating it (in print and by radio) to UN staff, national and local government leaders, representatives of the international community on the ground, and local populations; and
 - b. urging the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) by all UN entities, member states, and the governments of Sudan (the current Sudanese government, the government of southern Sudan, and the future "Government of National Unity").
13. Appoint and provide resources to a gender focal point in the office of Special Representative of the Secretary-General Jan Pronk to ensure women's needs and concerns are addressed throughout UN agencies working in Sudan.
14. Recognize the contributions of women peace builders across the country and support their efforts to end the war and promote post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation of returnees and receiving communities.
15. Ensure the efforts of the international community are coordinated.

To the African Union:

16. Increase the number of peacekeepers and expand the mandate of troops in Darfur:
 - a. to protect civilians, and
 - b. to protect humanitarian workers.
17. Include women security officers in the protection force.

To international donors and humanitarian organizations:

18. Provide financial resources, logistical support, and training (including on gender issues and human rights) to all peacekeeping forces.
19. Ensure aid is provided to refugees and IDPs in camps and to those not in camps; include women and local organizations in the design and management of camps.
20. Consult with women to develop strategies that ensure families receive all food aid and resources, including providing women with identity and distribution cards in their own name.
21. Provide development assistance that will enable the return, resettlement, and reintegration of refugees and IDPs; ensure women's full participation and decision making in this process.
22. Prioritize women's participation in programs for security training, education, microcredit, vocational training, psychosocial counseling, and awareness raising regarding UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000).
 - a. Conduct gender-sensitive training and education for men and women.
 - b. Create income-generation activities for women in the camps and at transit and entry points for returnees.
 - c. Ensure women's access to reproductive healthcare.
23. Support women's organizations that are working to eliminate harmful traditional practices.
24. Prepare for the voluntary return, resettlement, and rehabilitation of refugees and IDPs.
25. Provide forums for women returnees to convene; facilitate links and communication among women leaders and the grassroots, women returnees in urban and rural areas, and women returnees across the country and across conflict lines.
26. Recognize the contributions of women peace builders across the country and support their efforts to end the war and promote post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation of returnees and receiving communities.
27. Provide adequate food and shelter to refugees and IDPs, while preparing for long-term development goals (e.g. provide education and training in the camps and income-generating programs for women). Despite the urgency of the current situation in Darfur, only 60 percent of donor pledges for humanitarian aid have actually been fulfilled.

III. MOBILIZATION FOR NEGOTIATIONS—GETTING TO THE PEACE TABLE

To the negotiating parties and the international community:

1. Cease all hostilities and attacks against civilians.
2. Continue the current Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) talks, but explicitly acknowledge that peace will not be sustainable without:
 - a. a comprehensive solution that addresses the conflicts in other parts of the country, including Darfur and eastern Sudan; and
 - b. a follow-up process that is broadly inclusive, transparent, and national.
3. Acknowledge that the current peace process and protocols have gaps that must be addressed in follow-up processes, particularly in terms of representation from across Sudanese society, especially women, and in terms of issues addressed.
4. Continue the Darfur and National Democratic Alliance (NDA) talks in parallel with the inclusion of women representatives from political parties and civil society in both processes.

5. Launch dialogues among political and armed groups in the South that include civil society and women.
6. Draw on the Abyei and Nuba Mountains/Blue Nile Protocols to develop specific procedures to address the conflict in Darfur and other regions.
7. Ensure the inclusion of civil society representatives and women in all mechanisms resulting from the IGAD process and other negotiations (e.g. security monitoring arrangements, the National Constitutional Law Review Commission, and subsequent commissions); target 50 percent participation by women and mandate no less than 30 percent participation by women.
8. Ensure implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) in any forthcoming peace agreement.
9. In accordance with UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) and principles of gender equality as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW):
 - a. seek 50 percent participation by women and ensure 30 percent participation by women in negotiating delegations and among civil society representatives participating in mechanisms established for future talks and implementation of agreements; and
 - b. strive to have 50 percent of the mediators or facilitators from the international community be women; ensure that 30 percent are women.
10. Ensure the mechanisms being developed for implementation of the Protocols have the capacity, mandate, and authority to provide checks and balances.
11. Support the creation of civil society shadow commissions in the South and other marginalized areas, similar to those existing in the North. Women must be no less than 30 percent of shadow commissioners and should be 50 percent of shadow commissioners. Ensure those shadow commissions are given access to and means of feeding recommendations to the formal commissions.
12. Design a protocol on accountability and transitional justice mechanisms, especially with regard to gender-based violence.
13. Expand the composition of the National Constitutional Law Review Commission to ensure participation of all political parties and civil society; aim to include at least 50 percent women, while ensuring no less than 30 percent participation by women. Draw on a variety of sources for drafting the constitution, including CEDAW, for example.
14. Prepare for and conduct capacity-building workshops for leaders of all parties to engage in the peace process.
15. As part of preparations for all negotiations, support gender training for political parties using national and international experts and national women's organizations.
16. Use the negotiations to create a framework and foundation for a democratic transition in Sudan.
17. Conduct regular consultations with women's groups at all levels, especially among marginalized groups, in order to create consensus around a women's agenda in preparation for peace processes, reform, and post-conflict reconstruction.

To civil society:

18. Network and build coalitions to call for inclusion in peace processes.

19. Support the participation of women in peace processes and advocate to the international community in support of women.
20. Build gender expertise in civil society through the provision of training.

IV. POST-CONFLICT DEVELOPMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION

To the donor community:

1. Target resources to:
 - a. women's leadership development;
 - b. education and training, particularly literacy and numeracy for women and girls, vocational education, and girls' primary and secondary education;
 - c. civil society capacity building, particularly proposal writing, project planning, management and evaluation, accounting, and money management;
 - d. primary health care, particularly prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, and cancer; vaccinations; and assistance to victims of sexual violence using, among other approaches, broad-based education, sensitization and awareness-raising campaigns, and the introduction of mobile health units to serve women;
 - e. women's economic empowerment by clarifying land tenure, title, and ownership rights; increasing the availability of credit for women; and introducing and enforcing a legal framework that reconciles competing claims on land and enables women and women-headed households to hold and defend ownership;
 - f. launching a broad, nationwide, awareness-raising campaign about women's rights that speaks to men and women as well as young people;
 - g. protecting children and defending their rights, particularly orphans and returning child combatants;
 - h. revitalizing agriculture as a source of employment for returning combatants and livelihood for women and women-headed households;
 - i. creating long-term institutionalized mechanisms for peaceful resolution of disputes over common resources (e.g. water, land, trees, and oil);
 - j. developing strategies to stave-off urbanization; and
 - k. education about democratic processes and governance.
2. Include women in all decision-making bodies including the Joint Assessment Mission (JAM) and donor consultations. Ensure gender sensitivity in program planning and implementation by, for example, incorporating shadow commissions' recommendations and involving gender experts in needs assessments and program plans.
3. Set aside significant funds to meet women's needs, address women's priorities, and finance women's organizations, women-owned businesses, and organizations dedicated to meeting women's needs. Monitor and ensure women are at least half of the beneficiaries of all assistance efforts in all sectors.
4. Fund efforts such as consultations, conferences, and capacity building that codify and strengthen the roles and relationships among NGOs, civil society, and government entities dedicated to assisting women.
5. Provide funding for periodic national women's consultations at which female representatives of the grassroots, government, and non-governmental organizations from throughout Sudan, representing all ethnic and faith-based groups, discuss shared priorities and concerns.

To the governments (the current Sudanese government, the government of southern Sudan, and the future “Government of National Unity”):

6. Building on existing set asides for women in the North and the South, increase to 50 percent the target for women’s participation at all levels in all governing and deliberative bodies in Sudan including land commissions, oil commissions, party lists, elected and appointed bodies in national, local, and regional governments, both transitional and permanent; at a minimum, ensure 30 percent participation by women.
7. Revise the constitutional and legal framework by:
 - a. including and consulting women in all drafting efforts;
 - b. revising legislation to advance the rights of women by, for example, raising the marriage age to 18 and repealing the public order code;
 - c. ratifying CEDAW;
 - d. educating the population about the diversity of customary and traditional laws with an eye towards codification and revisiting of customs that discriminate against or disadvantage women, such as female genital mutilation;
 - e. ensuring that the constitution and all laws guarantee equal rights and equal treatment for women;
 - f. enacting laws to protect women in the information sector;
 - g. implementing UNSC Resolution 1325 (2000) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child;
 - h. removing legal impediments to the registration and operation of civil society organizations; and
 - i. repealing restrictive laws that inhibit the freedom of movement so that women’s NGOs throughout Sudan can work together.
8. In the North, create a separate Minister and Presidential Advisor for Women’s Affairs charged with mainstreaming gender throughout the government, using gender focal points in each ministry. (This Minister would take over related responsibilities from the Minister for Social Affairs.) In the South, proceed with creation of gender focal points in all commissions. Ensure that the Ministry in the North and the Women’s Commission in the South are fully funded and enabled to advance the status of women and mainstream gender across the governments, addressing women’s issues that cannot be addressed by men.
9. Create a broad process of consultation involving governments, industry, and local communities, including women, to discuss the issues surrounding expropriation of land and oil exploration and extraction. Use consultations to inform the creation of policies that: fulfill the constitutional guarantee of compensation to those whose assets have been seized; ensure that a significant percentage of profits from oil exploration will be used for alleviating poverty, creating employment, and promoting development; and introduce mechanisms that guarantee transparency and accountability in the management of the oil sector (through, for example, publication of contracts).
10. Undertake legal reform to eliminate laws that discriminate against women, either *de facto* or *de jure*, such as those that prohibit the division of lands into smaller parcels. Once completed, ensure that legal reforms are enforced by re-training judges and lawyers and organizing education and awareness-raising campaigns.

To the mediators:

11. Consult women of different ethnicities and from different regions as part of every visit, discussion, and assessment of needs, opportunities, and plans for development and reconstruction.
12. Include foreign and Sudanese women in all missions, negotiating sessions, and needs assessment teams sent by foreign governments and international organizations to assist Sudanese peace building.
13. Ensure knowledge, recognition, and support for women's priorities when acting as mediators and working with negotiators and national authorities.
14. Broaden all negotiations to increase the involvement and participation of a broader range of stakeholders, particularly women, and to increase transparency, inclusivity, and "buy-in."
15. Ensure that disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) efforts pay particular attention to:
 - a. the needs of former slaves;
 - b. missing persons;
 - c. women soldiers, who are currently excluded from demobilization efforts;
 - d. employment creation, education, and training for returning combatants;
 - e. fully funding reintegration, which is often under-resourced; and
 - f. training and involving women in the security sector (women police officers, military officers, security officers).
16. Implement the principles of gender equality in accordance with CEDAW and the mandates of your own governments in disbursing funds and developing post-conflict reconstruction programs.