Re-Building Sudan
AFTER THE WAR

PLANNING, STRATEGY **AND** DEVELOPMENT

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CHAPTER

02

VIEWPOINT

A Roadmap to the Sustainability of Sudan after the War: lessons learned from African Experiences

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ABSTRACT

PURPOSE: This chapter aims to offer guidance to government officials in Sudan following the end of the war, drawing on lessons learned from previous experiences in African countries that have successfully recovered from internal conflicts. By doing so, Sudan can avoid past mistakes and leverage successful strategies from others.

DESIGN/METHODOLOGY/APPROACH: This study employs a combination of data collection methods, integrating both primary and secondary sources. Specifically, it includes a desk review of relevant global, regional, and national literature reports and documents concerning conflict-affected countries, together with insights from the researcher's personal experience.

FINDINGS: The study outlines ten key tips for decision-makers in post-war Sudan, all designed to promote sustainability and prevent a relapse into conflict. They include: (1) Sudanese Dialogue; (2) Effective Dialogue Representatives and Using Appropriate Language; (3) Constitutional Development; (4) Unifying Media Discourse; (5) Selection of Appropriate Leaders; (6) Neutralising the Military from Civil Work; (7) Social Justice and National Reconciliation; (8) Economic Considerations; (9) Education, Health and Food Security Reform, and (10) Local Governance.

ORIGINALITY/VALUE: This study is one of the few available in the literature on post-war studies in Sudan. It offers ten golden tips that will contribute to the sustainability of the country.

KEYWORDS: *Post-Civil Wars; Successful African Experiences; Sudan; Golden Tips; Sustainability; Look Forward.*

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The literature confirmed that Sudan had witnessed many civil wars (Althus, 1998; Fisher, 1999; Johnson, 2003; Ottaway and El-Sadany, 2012; Assal, 2023; De la Fuente, 2023; Kiros, 2024; Lindén, 2024; SIPRI, 2024). The First Sudanese Civil War (1955-1972) erupted between the central government in Khartoum, dominated by Arabs and Muslims, and the southern regions, largely Christian and animist, which sought greater autonomy and representation. Although this war ended with the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972, tensions remained unresolved, mainly concerning the distribution of power and resources.

The Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005) broke out when the central government re-imposed Islamic law, prompting rebellion in the south. The conflict was further fuelled by the struggle for control over Sudan's oil resources. This war resulted in an estimated two million deaths and displaced millions more, with the south suffering the greatest casualties. It officially concluded with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, which paved the way for the Republic of South Sudan's independence in 2011.

The legacy of Sudan's civil wars continues to cast a shadow over the region. Since South Sudan's secession, Sudan has been plagued by ongoing internal conflicts, particularly in the Darfur region, where a brutal war erupted in 2003 between Sudanese government forces and rebel groups. This conflict resulted in widespread displacement and serious allegations of genocide and war crimes, attracting significant international attention and intervention. Additionally, Sudan has struggled with internal uprisings, political instability, and economic turmoil, especially following the ousting of long-time president Omar al-Bashir in 2019.

In recent years, Sudan has faced increased instability due to the 2023 Sudanese Civil War, a violent conflict between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the paramilitary Rapid Support Forces (RSF). This struggle has resulted in significant loss of life and heightened displacement. Rooted in power struggles within the military, the ongoing conflict exacerbates Sudan's long-standing issues related to governance, human rights, and ethnic divisions (Assal, 2023; De la Fuente, 2023; Lindén, 2024). Figure 1 summarises the history of civil wars in Sudan.

Unfortunately, in SIPRI's 2024 Yearbook, it was stated that:

"there were notable increases in conflict-related fatality rates elsewhere, including in Sudan (+537 per cent compared with 2022), … The fighting that erupted in Sudan on 15 April 2023 between forces led by rival military generals triggered a humanitarian crisis and resulted in all-out civil war" (SIPRI, 2024, pp.2-3).

Moreover, the Global Peace Index (GPI), which ranks 163 independent states and territories according to their level of peacefulness, stated that: "Yemen (163) is the least peaceful country in the world in the 2024 GPI, followed by Sudan (162), and South Sudan (161)" (IEP, 2024, p.4).
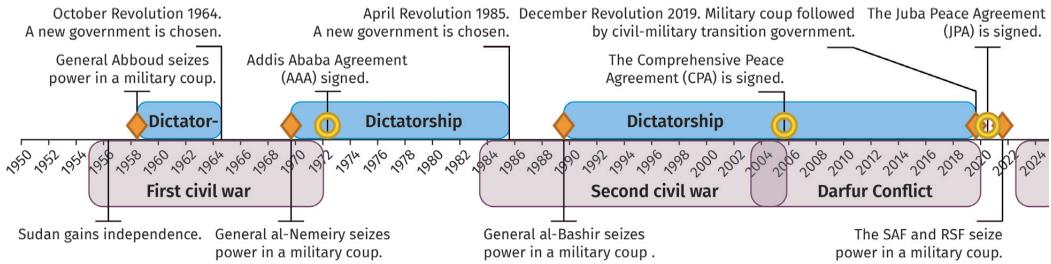
October Revolution 1964. A new government is chosen.

General Abboud seizes power in a military coup.

April Revolution 1985. A new government is chosen.

Addis Ababa Agreement (AAA) signed.

December Revolution 2019. Military coup followed by civil-military transition government.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) is signed.

The Juba Peace Agreement (JPA) is signed.

Dictator-

Dictatorship

Dictatorship

Dictatorship

First civil war

Second civil war

Darfur Conflict

Sudan gains independence.   General al-Nemeiry seizes power in a military coup.   General al-Bashir seizes power in a military coup .   The SAF and RSF seize power in a military coup.

Figure 1: Civil Wars in Sudan's Modern History
Source: Lindén (2024, p.2).

However, although Sudan now appears to be approaching the end of this war and is beginning to consider the future, the primary challenge for countries emerging from civil wars is how to recover from the devastating effects on their political, economic, and social structures. Therefore, this chapter aims to offer guidance to government officials in Sudan following the end of the war, drawing on lessons learned from previous experiences in countries that have successfully recovered. By doing so, Sudan can avoid past mistakes and leverage successful strategies from others. This chapter will proceed as follows. The second section outlines the research question, while the third section presents the literature review. The fourth section provides recommendations for post-war Sudan, followed by a concluding section.

RESEARCH QUESTION

To achieve the study's objective, the following question was posed: What advice can be offered to Sudan for achieving sustainability following the end of the war, drawing on the experiences of other nations?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theory of the Outbreak of Civil Wars

Collier and Hoeffler (1999) identified two potential motives for civil war: "Justice - Seeking" and "Loot -Seeking". In 2000 and 2004, however, Collier and Hoeffler revisited these motives, characterising them as "Greed" and "Grievance". Murshed and Tadjoeddin (2009, p.1) stated that:

"two phenomena have been recently utilised to explain conflict onset among rational choice analysts: Greed and Grievance. The former reflects elite competition over valuable natural resource rents. The latter argues that relative deprivation and the grievance it produces fuels conflict".

The Greed Theory posits that civil wars primarily occur due to the economic interests of certain groups or individuals within a state. According to this theory, the desire to gain control over

valuable resources, be they natural resources, economic assets, or political power, is the main factor driving conflict. It asserts that individuals or groups engage in violent conflict when they perceive it as a profitable opportunity. Resources such as diamonds, oil, or other strategic goods often become the focal points of disputes. The theory argues that economic incentives, rather than ideological or social motivations, are the primary catalysts for these conflicts. In states where resources are poorly managed or unequally distributed, the potential for violence increases as groups compete for access to these resources. Furthermore, the greed theory suggests that if the perceived economic gains from conflict are sufficiently high, groups may be willing to risk the instability and suffering associated with civil war in order to control those resources (Collier and Hoeffler, 2000, 2004; Sousa, 2016).

Critics of the greed theory argue that it oversimplifies the causes of civil war by reducing them to mere materialism. They point out that many civil wars have occurred in regions where resources were not particularly abundant or in situations where groups were not directly fighting over access to economic assets. Additionally, they contend that the theory overlooks the social and political contexts in which these conflicts arise. Nonetheless, the greed theory offers a compelling explanation in cases where natural resources or wealth inequality significantly contribute to fuelling conflict (Murshed and Tadjoeddin; 2009).

In contrast, the Grievance Theory suggests that civil wars stem from perceptions of injustice, exclusion, and inequality within a society. This theory posits that the fundamental cause of conflict is not the pursuit of economic gain, but rather the collective frustration of groups who feel marginalised, oppressed, or deprived of their fair share of resources or political power. It highlights the importance of grievances, such as ethnic or religious discrimination, political exclusion, and lack of economic opportunity, in igniting civil wars. These grievances are often most intensely felt by minority or disadvantaged groups, who view themselves as being treated unfairly by the government or dominant factions. When these groups cannot address their concerns through peaceful or institutional channels, they may resort to violent uprisings in their quest for change (Collier and Hoeffler, 2000, 2004; Sousa, 2016).

The grievance theory places significant emphasis on social, cultural, and political factors that shape the conditions for civil war. Ethnic and religious divisions, together with perceptions of systemic injustice, can generate resentment and mobilise groups to demand their rights or autonomy. The theory argues that experiences of exclusion or oppression foster a sense of collective identity and injustice, motivating rebellion. This sense of grievance can be further intensified by political corruption, poor governance, and the state's failure to address the needs and demands of its populace.

While the grievance theory provides a compelling explanation for the social and political catalysts of conflict, it has also been critiqued for being overly broad and abstract. Pinpointing what exactly constitutes a "grievance" and how it translates into violence can be challenging. Furthermore, some critics contend that not all marginalised groups resort to rebellion, suggesting

that grievances alone are insufficient to account for the emergence of civil wars. Nevertheless, the grievance theory has proven valuable in understanding the underlying social tensions that can lead to violence, particularly in societies with profound ethnic or sectarian divisions (Murshed and Tadjoeddin; 2009).

Both the greed and grievance theories provide valuable insights into the causes of civil wars, each highlighting different aspects of human behaviour and social dynamics. The greed theory centres on material incentives and the pursuit of economic interests, while the grievance theory underscores social and political exclusion as key drivers of conflict. In reality, the causes of civil wars are often complex and multifaceted, with both economic and social factors playing significant roles. Frequently, the two theories can be viewed as complementary, as grievances over injustice or exclusion may intersect with the desire for economic gain, creating a volatile environment conducive to conflict. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of civil wars necessitates consideration of both the economic motivations and the social grievances that shape the behaviour of individuals and groups involved in these conflicts (Fearon and Laitin, 2003; Humphreys, 2005; Bates, 2008; Keen, 2012).

In the context of Islamic law (Sharia), perspectives on "Greed" and "Grievance" can be examined through the ethical principles and religious guidelines aimed at achieving social justice and maintaining order. Regarding "Greed", Islamic teachings prohibit the unjust acquisition of property or the expansion of wealth at the expense of others' rights. Islam forbids the use of force to seize resources or property. The Quran, in verse 188 of Surah Al-Baqarah, warns against illicit financial gain: "And do not consume one another's wealth unjustly or send it [in bribery] to the rulers in order that [they might aid] you [to] consume a portion of the wealth of the people in sin, while you know [it is unlawful]". This prohibition aligns with rejecting any form of "Greed" as a driving factor behind conflicts, as it contradicts Islamic ethical norms.

Concerning "Grievance", while Islamic law acknowledges the existence of injustice as a potential motivator for individuals or groups to demand their rights, it encourages peaceful and lawful means of addressing such grievances. Islam advocates for resolving disputes through negotiation, dialogue, and legal recourse rather than through violence. A well-known hadith states: "The people before you were destroyed because they used to let the noble ones among them go unpunished when they committed theft, but they would punish the poor and weak" (Sahih al-Bukhari). This emphasises the importance of equality before the law and fair application of justice, and stands in contrast to using grievances as a justification for violence.

The Effect of Civil Wars on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the UN Agenda for 2030

On 25 September 2015, the United Nations General Assembly officially adopted Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, encompassing a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These goals are universally applicable and have a broader vision and purpose than the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that preceded them. The goals are as follows: SDG 1: No Poverty;

SDG 2: No Hunger; SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being; SDG 4: Quality Education; SDG 5: Gender Equality; SDG 6: Clean Water and Sanitation; SDG 7: Affordable and Clean Energy; SDG 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth; SDG 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure; SDG 10: Reduced Inequalities; SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities; SDG 12: Responsible Consumption and Production; SDG 13: Climate Action; SDG 14: Life Below Water; SDG 15: Life on Land; SDG 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions; and SDG 17: Partnerships for the Goals.

However, Civil wars significantly impede the attainment of these goals. Armed conflicts devastate infrastructure, disrupt economic activities, and degrade social and environmental conditions in the affected countries (UN ESCWA, 2021). Civil conflict has therefore been conceptualised as "Development in Reverse" (Buckland, 2005). Global literature on the pursuit of the SDGs indicates that countries experiencing conflict lag considerably behind in their progress (UN ESCWA, 2021; Wesley *et al.*, 2016; Olsen *et al.*, 2021; Hendrix *et al.*, 2023; Zhang *et al.*, 2023; Sachs *et al.*, 2024; Wang *et al.*, 2024).

In this context, UN ESCWA (2021, p.6) states, "the 2030 Agenda emphasises that there can be no sustainable development without peace". Furthermore, Wang *et al.* (2024) found that in countries experiencing armed conflict, progress on 15 of the 17 SDGs remains at a moderate or below-moderate level, with the exceptions of SDG 12 and SDG 13. Notably, SDG 9 shows the slowest advancement, while SDG 5 is the only goal currently at a low-level stage. The stagnation in progress for these two SDGs has created a significant imbalance in the overall sustainable development status of these countries, greatly hindering their progress. Without such conflicts, these countries could have advanced in over one-third of the SDGs, moving from low to moderate or from moderate to high levels of achievement.

The Islamic Prospective on Civil Wars and National Reconciliation

Islam emphasises peace, justice, and unity within society, urging its followers to avoid internal conflicts that can lead to civil wars. This principle is clearly articulated in both the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The Qur'an admonishes believers against internal strife and fighting among themselves. Allah states: "And if two parties among the believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them..." (Al-Hujurat, 49:9). This verse advocates for reconciliation between disputing parties and highlights the importance of seeking peaceful resolutions to conflicts. Furthermore, Allah declares: "The believers are but brothers, so make peace between your brothers..." (Al-Hujurat, 49:10), underscoring the necessity of maintaining unity and social harmony within the Muslim community.

Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) also warned against internal fighting among Muslims. He stated: "Do not revert to disbelief after me by striking the necks of one another" (Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim). Moreover, the Prophet (PBUH) stated that: "Your blood, your wealth, and your honour are sacred to one another, as sacred as the sanctity of this day, in this city, in this month" (Sahih

Bukhari). These hadiths underscore the severe dangers of civil wars that Islam seeks to prevent as such conflicts undermine the fabric of the Muslim community.

Moreover, Islam strongly advocates for national reconciliation and considers it one of the noblest acts that draws a person closer to Allah. The Prophet (PBUH) said: "The best of actions is reconciling between people" (Sahih Bukhari). This statement reflects Islam's emphasis on fostering co-operation, tolerance, and non-violence in society, encouraging Muslims to prioritise peace over conflict.

Additionally, leadership plays a crucial role in preventing and managing internal conflicts. Leaders are expected to strive for peaceful solutions and promote reconciliation between divided factions. The Prophet (PBUH) remarked: "Shall I not tell you of something better than prayer, fasting, and charity?" We said: "Yes, O Messenger of God". He said: "Reconciling enmity and hatred, and corrupting the relationship is the shaver" (Abu Dawud and Al-Tirmidhi). This hadith illustrates the pivotal role of leadership in maintaining peace and preventing civil strife.

In conclusion, Islam strongly discourages civil wars and promotes national reconciliation as a means to preserve unity and social stability. Through its teachings, Islam calls for resolving conflicts through dialogue and peace, emphasising that social harmony is the ultimate goal for the Muslim community.

Successful African Experiences in National Reconciliation

Following devastating civil wars, several African countries have successfully achieved national reconciliation, with notable examples including South Africa, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Kenya, and Liberia. In South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission played a crucial role in addressing the legacy of apartheid after the regime's collapse (Gibson, 2004). Rwanda's focus on transitional justice and the establishment of Gacaca courts were instrumental in healing the wounds from the 1994 genocide and fostering national unity (Des Forges, 1999). In Sierra Leone, the 2000 Lomé Peace Agreement facilitated recovery from civil war, leading to peace and reconstruction (Richmond, 2005). After the violent 2007 elections, Kenya implemented a political and social reform process that promoted reconciliation among its diverse communities (Asingo, 2003). Liberia achieved peace following its civil war through the 2003 Accra Peace Agreement and the formation of a National Reconciliation Commission, which focused on transitional justice and societal healing (Atuobi, 2010). The common factors among these experiences include:

1. **Establishment of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions:** Each experience involved the creation of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs) to facilitate transitional justice. Examples include South Africa's TRC, Rwanda's Gacaca courts, and similar bodies in Sierra Leone and Liberia. These commissions aimed to uncover the truth about violations and provided a platform for both victims and perpetrators to share their accounts.

1. **Transitional Justice:** Mechanisms for transitional justice, such as special courts and community-based justice systems (e.g., Gacaca courts in Rwanda), balanced the need for accountability with the necessity of reconciliation, allowing the healing process to commence.

2. **Focus on National Unity:** All experiences prioritised the construction of a shared national identity that transcended ethnic or sectarian divides. For instance, Rwanda promoted a unified "Rwandan" identity, irrespective of ethnic background, to encourage national cohesion.

3. **Promotion of Forgiveness and Reconciliation:** Each experience underscored the significance of forgiveness, urging societies to move beyond hatred and grudges and work towards social peace through various reconciliation mechanisms.

4. **Involvement of Victims and Local Communities:** Victims played a central role in the reconciliation processes in each case, whether by testifying before truth commissions or participating in community courts, thereby facilitating the healing process.

5. **Rebuilding Trust:** All of these efforts targeted the rebuilding of trust between individuals and communities previously in conflict, as well as restoring faith in governmental institutions and the judicial system.

6. **Positive International Collaboration and Support:** Most of these reconciliation efforts benefitted from international support, including expertise from the United Nations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and financial assistance to effectively implement reconciliation mechanisms.

7. **Forgiveness for Peace and Stability:** Across all cases, a strong emphasis was placed on forgiveness as a prerequisite for long-term peace and stability, aiming to prevent future conflicts and build a sustainable, harmonious society.

Finally, we should also reference some of what was mentioned by Tutu (1999), Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, where one of his most prominent statements was: "There is no future without forgiveness". This reflects his belief that genuine reconciliation requires the act of forgiving, enabling the creation of a shared future despite past injustices and suffering. Tutu further emphasises, "Forgiving is not forgetting; it's actually remembering; remembering and not using your right to hit back". In this assertion, he highlights that forgiveness does not entail erasing the past but rather acknowledging it and choosing not to retaliate. This concept underscores the strength necessary for true reconciliation; this involves confronting the past without perpetuating cycles of violence. Furthermore, he stated, "We are all God's children, and we have to act like that". This reflects his call for a profound humanistic reconciliation grounded in respect for human dignity and equality, irrespective of racial or social backgrounds. Tutu's words emphasise the importance of acting in solidarity, with empathy and compassion towards all individuals. His

teachings were pivotal in encouraging societies affected by conflict to progress with forgiveness, ensuring that reconciliation is not about forgetting but about confronting the past with a spirit of justice and mercy.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employed a combination of data collection methods, integrating both primary and secondary research to gather qualitative data. It involved a desk review of relevant global, regional, and national literature, alongside reports and documents pertaining to conflict-affected countries, as well as insights drawn from the researcher's personal experience. The study followed a standard approach by focusing on future possibilities, extracting recommendations from the experiences of others to outline the key features for the next stage of post-war Sudan.

THE SUGGESTED TIPS FOR POST-WAR SUDAN:

After thoroughly reviewing past experiences in civil wars, the researcher presents a series of recommendations to help Sudan achieve sustainability following the conclusion of the conflict.

The Impact of Foreign Intervention on the Success of Post-Civil War Dialogues

Foreign and Arab interventions in peace dialogues after civil wars often yield negative outcomes due to conflicting interests among the intervening nations. These effects can be summarised as follows: (1) complicating negotiations; (2) imposing inappropriate political agreements; and (3) the impact of military support. Accordingly, the First Tip is as follows:

The dialogue should be entirely Sudanese, with foreign and Arab interference in all its forms being strictly prohibited; dialogue sessions should take place on Sudanese territory.

The Importance of Selecting Effective Dialogue Representatives and Using Appropriate Language for Successful Conflict Resolution

This is based on the following principles: (1) representation of all groups; (2) competent representation; (3) neutrality and integrity; (4) utilising common language; (5) creating a trusting environment; (6) avoiding escalation and extremism; and (7) establishing common values. Consequently, the Second Tip is as follows:

The representatives for dialogue should be chosen with great care to ensure that all parties to the conflict are represented, prioritising the interests of Sudan above all else, with the concept of citizenship as the dominant rationale during the dialogue.

Ahmad

The Impact of a Comprehensive Constitution on Stability after a Civil War

The significance of a comprehensive constitution or constitutional rules in fostering stability following a civil war can be summarised as follows: (1) rebuilding trust between conflicting parties; (2) establishing citizenship and equality before the law; (3) ensuring human rights protection; (4) promoting transitional justice and national reconciliation; (5) defining the political system and peaceful power transfer mechanisms; and (6) promoting decentralisation and power distribution. Accordingly, the Third Tip is as follows:

> *Amendments should be made to the current constitution of Sudan to include the establishment of principles regarding citizenship, the form of government, transitional justice, national reconciliation, rights and freedoms, Decentralisation, and fair distribution of resources among the regions.*

The Impact of Unifying Media Discourse on Stability Following a Civil War

This can be illustrated in the following: (1) strengthening national unity; (2) preventing hate speech and incitement to violence; (3) rebuilding trust between conflicting parties; (4) engaging society in the peace process; and (5) reducing sectarian and ethnic divisions. Accordingly, the Fourth Tip is as follows:

> *A media charter should be established between all conflicting parties in Sudan, committing everyone to a unified media discourse that advocates for national reconciliation, under the slogan 'The Beginning is Here'. Strict penalties should be imposed on anyone who violates this charter, and applied to all media outlets as well as individuals and entities alike.*

The Impact of the Optimal Selection of People's Representatives, Government Members, and Leaders of Government Institutions on the Stability of the State after the Civil War

This is represented in the following: (1) enhancing the representation of all societal spectrums; (2) ensuring expertise and competencies in leadership positions; (3) enhancing political stability through a national unity government; (4) rebuilding state institutions; (5) promoting transitional justice and reconciliation; and (6) restoring confidence in the electoral process. Accordingly, the Fifth Tip is as follows:

> *All conflicting parties in Sudan must agree on specific criteria for selecting people's representatives, members of the government, and all sensitive leadership positions in the state. These criteria must be based on the principle of competence, not loyalty, and these criteria must be included in the constitution to be binding.*

The Impact of Neutralising the Military on Stability after Civil War

This is represented in the following: (1) achieving political stability and avoiding military coups; (2) promoting democracy and the rule of law; (3) preventing military institutions from becoming tools of revenge; (4) supporting the building of effective civil institutions; (5) reducing tensions between civilians and the military; and (6) empowering civil society in the post-conflict phase. Accordingly, the Sixth Tip is as follows:

> All conflicting parties in Sudan must agree to completely neutralise the military from civilian work, restructure the army by integrating all armed formations into the national army, elect an army leadership council that includes representatives of all armed formations, establish a clear charter for the army leadership, and give the right to those who wish to engage in civilian work, provided that they give up their military uniform and rank, and adhere to the rules of civilian work.

The Impact of Social Justice, Honourable Concessions, Reparation, and National Reconciliation on the Stability of the State after the End of the Civil War (There is no Future without Forgiveness)

When civil wars end, the process of building political and social stability becomes a complex and sensitive process. To achieve this stability, the tensions that arose as a result of the conflict must be addressed, whether social, economic, or political. Effective tools for achieving this include: social justice, honourable concessions, reparation, and national reconciliation. These tools not only contribute to addressing the damage caused by the war, but also to building a culture of peace based on justice and equality, which enhances the stability of the state in the long term. The impact of social justice and national reconciliation on the stability of the state after the civil war is as follows: (1) promoting equality and justice among citizens; (2) reparations and recognition of victims; (3) public reconciliation and strengthening national unity; and (4) rebuilding state institutions and enhancing transparency. Accordingly, the Seventh Tip is as follows:

> All conflicting parties in Sudan should agree to conclude a charter for transitional justice, social reconciliation, recognition, amnesty, and reparations, and avoid political and social isolation of opponents.

The Impact of Economic Reforms, Improving the Level of Per Capita Income, Addressing the Exchange Rate, Restructuring Financial Institutions, and Repairing Infrastructure and Facilities on the Stability of the State after the End of the Civil War

These reforms are vital factors in achieving stability after the end of civil wars; they directly affect the recovery process and sustainable development of countries affected by internal conflicts. They

are as follows: (1) avoid emotional decisions; (2) improving the level of per capita income; (3) addressing the exchange rate; (4) restructuring financial institutions; (5) reforming infrastructure and facilities; and (6) creating a safe environment for investment. Accordingly, the Eighth Tip is as follows:

> *Whoever assumes the leadership of Sudan after the war should avoid emotional, ill-considered decisions that burden the state's general budget, and work to reform the economic, financial, and monetary system, as well as set a development plan to reform the infrastructure, encourage local and foreign investment, and review the laws that hinder this.*

The Impact of Education, Health and Food Security Reform on the Stability of the State after the Civil War

Education, health and food security reform play a crucial role in achieving stability in the state after the civil war. These essential sectors directly affect the well-being of citizens, strengthen national institutions, and contribute to building a solid foundation for sustainable development. The details of the impact of these reforms are as follows: (1) education reform that leads to the following: achieving human development; reducing violence and extremism and rebuilding social trust; (2) health reform that leads to the following: improving the level of public health; reducing future health risks; and enhancing productivity; (3) food security reform that leads to the following: ensuring security; and social stability; and promote social cohesion. Accordingly, the Ninth Tip is as follows:

> *Whoever assumes leadership of Sudan after the war should work to reform the education and health systems, encourage agriculture, and exploit resources fairly, in a way that ensures human sustainability for Sudan.*

The Impact of Activating Local Governance and Decentralisation on the Stability of the State after the End of the Civil War

Local governance and decentralisation are considered effective tools for achieving political and social stability after civil wars as the decentralisation system allows for the distribution of power to local governments; this enhances popular participation in decision-making, contributes to rebuilding trust between the citizen and the state, and prevents the isolation of the capital as a green zone. The implementation of the local governance system gives areas affected by the war the opportunity to identify their own needs and develop policies that suit them; this contributes to reducing tensions between the regions and the central government. In particular, it achieves the following: (1) enhancing political and community participation; and (2) reducing tensions between the centre and the periphery. Accordingly, the Tenth Tip is as follows:

Whoever assumes the leadership of Sudan after the war should work to issue a law for local governance, distribute resources fairly between regions, governorates, and municipalities, give them their own budgets, and broad administrative powers within their borders. Strict controls and standards for selecting the leaders of these administrative units must be set, and a strict oversight system that ensures justice, transparency, and achieves sustainable governance must be established.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has focused on a significant issue concerning post-war Sudan, aiming to draw on the experiences of others to create a roadmap for decision-makers. This roadmap seeks to promote the country's sustainability and prevent a return to conflict. The study offers ten golden tips namely:

- Sudanese Dialogue;
- Effective Dialogue Representatives and Using Appropriate Language;
- Constitutional Development;
- Unifying Media Discourse;
- Selection of Appropriate Leaders;
- Neutralising the Military from Civil Work;
- Social Justice and National Reconciliation;
- Economic Considerations;
- Education, Health and Food Security Reform; and
- Local Governance.

Overall, these insights reflect the researcher's perspective and suggest that further studies are needed to gauge the opinions of the Sudanese people regarding the characteristics of the next stage and the challenges it may encounter.

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