



ERF CONFERENCE

FROM FRAGILITY TO RESILIENCE: AVOIDING THE FAILED STATE TRAP AND THE ROAD AHEAD FOR SUDAN

DECEMBER 3-4, 2022

CONTEXT

The ongoing social contestation movements in the Arab world, coming on the heels of the uprisings of 2011, and now the health and economic crises engendered by the Covid-19 global pandemic, have rekindled hope that the region is again on the cusp of change. While fueled by social and economic grievances, demonstrators have been calling for political change. The challenges they face in shaping a credible political posture that can deliver a better future are enormous. In Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Sudan social movements have learned from the disappointing outcomes of 2011. But unlike in 2011, they face extremely difficult economic situations, as well as regional and international opposition to change.

This is not the first time a popular uprising has resulted in ousting an authoritarian government in Sudan. However, the cumulative impact of failed transitions had their toll on the country's state institutions, territorial integrity, and economic development. A failed transition in 2005-2010, among other factors, resulted in the secession of South Sudan in 2011. Sudan's old and new patterns of conflict continued. The loss of South Sudan oil rents aggravated an already precarious economic situation. The government's response to the deteriorating economic conditions ignited deep-seated popular anger as Sudan's youth and citizens watched the unfolding 'Arab Spring'. In 2019, youth movements took to the streets. The protests continued despite the government's ruthless suppression, and culminated in a popular uprising that ended up toppling al-Bashir's Islamist regime, which ruled Sudan for 30 years.

While the popular uprising resulted in removing top echelons of the former regime, a precarious balance of power dictated a power sharing with top military and security circles. A constitutional document was signed on 17 August 2019 paving the way for a civilian cabinet to lead a 3-year transition intended to reach peace with armed movements, reform state institutions, rebuild the economy, and restore the country's standing in the international community.

Change in Sudan is imbued with challenges. It is still not clear whether the ruling elites would rely on an inherently faulty approach to nation-state building, democratic governance and economic development, or – in line with the hopes of new change agents – adopt new, creative, people-led approaches. The main question then is whether the country is on the verge of a new, meaningful change, or whether the old patterns will reproduce themselves. The most recent setback due to the attempted coup and the massive popular rejection triggered by it makes this question all the more compelling for assessing the future direction of the country.



CONFERENCE OBJECTIVES

Against this background, ERF has launched a project that aims to empower civil society groups that are at the heart of the ongoing social movements in Sudan with the intellectual prowess to start moving from opposition to vision, and from slogans to programs: by engaging in debates on solutions that can work; envisioning the contours of a better future; reflecting on how to get there; and bargaining more effectively with political elites in the shaping of a more progressive social contract.

The main objective of this initiative is to strengthen the new social movements in Lebanon, Iraq, Algeria and Sudan by offering them an analysis of the economic, political and social conditions that could preside over a change in governance and a transformation of the practices of civility.

A series of workshops were organized with the researchers and the actors of the Hiraks. Particular emphasis will be placed on the innovations produced during the latest mobilization sequences. Exchanges between researchers and civil society members, and sharing their local experiences will make it possible to refine our analysis of the outlines of a new culture of protest, of its convergences (increased role of women, questions about the environment, the re-appropriation of local institutions ...) and its contradictions (persistence of patronage and / or the role of the welfare state...).

This conference is an opportunity to discuss and disseminate the results of the research produced under the project, among the researchers and the different stakeholders.



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AHEAD FOR SUDAN
DECEMBER 3-4, 2022
AT 12 PM KHARTOUM TIME

AGENDA

Day One: Saturday, December 3, 2022

11:00-11:30 Registration for in Person attendants in Khartoum –ElSalam Rotana Hotel (XX meeting room)
Registration online by virtual attendants

11:30-12:00 **Welcoming Remarks:**

Ibrahim Elbadawi (*Economic Research Forum*)
Abdalla Ali (*Economic and Social Research Bureau*)
Rabah Alsadig (*Saloon Alebdaa for Culture and Development*)
Shadin Alfadil (*Sudanese Development Call Organization (NIDAA)*)

12:00-13:30 **Session 1. Power Relations**

Moderator: Abdelhameed Elyas, *University of Khartoum DSRI*

Speakers: Nada Ali, *Stubborn Historical Legacies: Power Relations and Government Policy in Sudan (20 min)*

Discussant: Nada Wann, *Independent Researcher (15 min)*

Ibrahim Elbadawi and Alzaki Alhelo, *The Sudan Syndrome: State-Society Contest and the Future of Democracy in the Aftermath of the December Revolution (20 min)*

Discussant: Khalid Alameen, *University of Khartoum, DSRI (15 min)*

Q&A (20 min)

13:30-14:30 Lunch

14:30-16:00 **Session 2. Health and Education**

Moderator: Waleed Elamin, *Azhari University*



Speakers: Sara Abdelazim Hassanain, Abdelhadi Eltahir and Lina Elbadawi, *Freedom, Peace and Justice: A New Paradigm for the Sudanese Health System After Sudan's 2019 Uprising (20 min)*

Discussant: Suhail Alsayid, *University of Khartoum (15 min)*

Saif El Din Abd El Rhman, *The Pitfalls of Education in Sudan: The Challenges of Transition, Transformation, Inclusivity and Future of Work (20 min)*

Discussant: Ayman Musmar, *ESRB, Consultant (15 min)*

Q&A (20 min)

16:00-16:15 BREAK

16:15- 18:00 **Session 3. Environment & Finance in Sudan**

Moderator: Makki Mrghani (*Former undersecretary of the MoF*)

Speakers: Rashid Hassan, Hassan Abdelnur, Ismail Elgizouli, and Yasir Khairy, *Addressing sustainability and equity challenges in managing the environment and natural wealth in Sudan (20 min)*

Discussant: Omer Egaimi, *University of Khartoum (15 min)*

Nada Eissa and Hamid Eltigani, *Rebuilding the State and Fiscal Federalism in Sudan (20 min)*

Discussant: Hasan Bashir, *Alneileen University (15 min)*

Eltahir Osman Idris, *Oil Strategy in Sudan (20 min)*

Discussant: Alemam Alla Jabu, *CISR (15 min)*

Q&A (20 min)



Day Two: Sunday, December 4, 2022

09:30-10:00 Registration for in Person attendants in Khartoum –ElSalam Rotana Hotel (XX meeting room)
Registration online by virtual attendants

10:00-12:00 **Session 4. Agriculture Session (including paper on cooperatives)**

Moderator: Abdalla Ali, *ESRB*

Speakers: Ibrahim Elbadawi, Abdelrazig Elbashir, Abdelrahman Osman, Elfatih Eltahir, Kabbashi Suliman, Amir Elobaid, and Alzaki Alhelo, *Sudan's Challenges and Opportunities: A Renaissance Project for Sudan: From Poor Agriculture to Agro-Industrial Growth and Sustainable Development (40 min)*

Speakers: Mohamed Abdelwahab El-Otaiby, *Paper on Cooperatives. (40 min)*

Discussants: Abdullatif Ibrahim, *University of Khartoum*
Hussamaldin O. Alnasri, *BADEA*
Mohamed Abdulwahab El-Otaiby, *Director of Oxford Consultancy and Training*
Gussai Hamror, *Former Director IRCC*

Q&A (20 min)

12:00-12:30 **Coffee break**

12:30-14:00 **Session 5. Youth and Gender**

Moderator: Hadia Hasaballa, *Alharisat Initiative*

Speakers: Mosab Ahmed, Omran Musa and Diya Albatat, *Sudan's Youth Bulge: Challenges, Opportunities and Aspirations (20 min)*

Discussant: Ashraf Osma, *Umm dorman Islamic University (15 min)*

Nada Mustafa Ali, Sawsan Musa Abdul-Jalil, Asjad Abdelmoniem Hussein Dafaalla, Naglaa Abdelwahid, and Mai Azzam, *Gender, Intersectionality, and Sudan's 2018/2019 Uprising: Experiences of Self-Employed Women Sellers of Food and Beverages in Khartoum and Port-Sudan, and Women Farmers in South Kordofan (20 min)*

Discussant: Neimat Kuku, *Center for Gender Research and Studies (15 min)*

Q&A (20 min)

14:00-15:30 **Lunch**

15:30 17:30 **Recommendations and Way Forward**