

DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN SUDAN'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

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This paper explores and analyses diversity management in Sudan's democratic transition arrangement (2019-2021). It primarily utilizes the concept of 'diversity management' for legislative practice. To administer geographical, multicultural, multi-ethnic and multilingual population diversity, Sudan has passed, in accordance with international principles, many laws to manage diversity in a way that reflects strategic national planning. The paper analyses existing Sudanese legislation in light of its role in administering coexistence, protecting minorities' rights and observing human rights as enshrined in national transitional documents and laws. The author reflects on some indicators that reveal that Sudan has many gaps in managing diversity peacefully. There is no definite and well-defined set of measures that constitute diversity management. The author concludes that the first step towards diversity management might be to analyse national laws regarding the present state and effects of diversity. Consequently, to address the identified gaps, the author concludes that Sudan must develop a law reform strategy in the interest of diversity management and equality based on international standards.

INTRODUCTION

Sudan has a multicultural, multi-ethnic and multilingual population, which reflects the country's geographical diversity. Struggling to keep its dignity and integration as a nation, the country's citizens had to deal with a multiplicity of religious and political issues after its independence in January 1956. Several peace agreements, such as the Comprehensive Peace Agreement 2005, the Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement June 2006 and the Darfur Peace Agreement May 2006, were unable to end the country's numerous conflicts and civil unrest

in various parts of the country, and political stability seems further away than ever before (Ahmad 2010: 1).

At the same time, Sudan signed a number of international treaties that ban discrimination, among them the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child and the 1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. As these treaties informed the Bill of Rights in Sudan's 2019 Constitutional Declaration, there is a constitutional obligation to attempt to prevent all types of discrimination and respond swiftly and effectively to allegations of discrimination (REDRESS 2014: 2).

This paper discusses this contradiction through the concept of diversity management and its impact on and facilitation by legislation. Diversity management is defined here as a set of ideas and practices that follow a management strategy designed to ensure greater societal inclusion of people from various backgrounds through deliberate laws, policies and rules. 'Diversity' is used in this paper with an expansive meaning encompassing religious, sectoral, political, ideological, ethnic, economic, gender and any other kinds of difference with their subgroups. For instance, religious diversity extends not just to major divisions, such as Islam and Christianity, but includes various orders, sects and confessions as well. However, although the importance of gender, political and ideological diversity is recognized, this study will not address these types of diversity and will focus instead on cultural, ethnic and religious diversity in Sudan.

The paper is divided into two parts. It begins with a short overview of the national and international framework for diversity management, followed by a discussion of existing national legislation and aspects of diversity management embodied in it. In conclusion, the paper attempts to define the role of each in building peaceful coexistence in Sudan, as law is at the core of peacemaking.

1. INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK

Lawmakers in Sudan are bound—at least in principle—by the provisions of the national constitution and by international law. International human rights law establishes requirements for how a state must treat people within its boundaries both during and after a conflict. The national legal system must guarantee and protect international human rights. For most modern post-conflict legislative endeavours, monitoring the rights of minorities and diversity management are thus priorities.

The 1981 Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (article 2(2)) covers 'any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on religion or belief and having as its purpose or as its effect nullification or impairment of the recognition,

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enjoyment or exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms on an equal basis'. Article 2 of the Declaration demands that 'no one shall be subject to discrimination by any state, institution, group of persons, or person on grounds of religion or other beliefs'.

The 1992 Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (article 1) declares that '[s]tates shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity'. Furthermore, with regard to protection of religious and ethnic minorities, the Declaration asserts that '[s]tates shall take measures to create favourable conditions to enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs, except where specific practices are in violation of national law and contrary to international standards' (article 4[2]); it also asserts that states must ensure that persons belonging to minorities can exercise their 'right to participate effectively in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life' (article 2[2]). To this end, all states must adopt appropriate legislative and other measures to achieve nondiscrimination and protection of minorities (article 1[2]). The same provisions were already cited in article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights concerning the rights of persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities.

Sudan has ratified and joined a set of international conventions and treaties concerned with human rights, especially those that promote equality between people and that prohibit discrimination on the basis of religion, race, gender, colour, religious belief and disability as well as other forms of discrimination. These agreements include the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which Sudan acceded on 18 March 1986; the 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (accession on 21 March 1977); the 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (ratified on 9 September 1957); the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (accession 13 October 2003); and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ratified on 18 February 1986).

In this tradition, the 1993 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action stresses the universality of human and minority rights, especially regarding the importance of diversity management in conflict resolution, which pays attention to the priorities of local communities and their beliefs.

The pattern arising from this history of declarations is a continuous confirmation of the ideal of universality and of the aim of increasing the efficacy of international human rights practice. The latter is characterized by a complex and dynamic process of persistent refinement of human rights concepts, as well as tools and mechanisms to protect and enforce those rights (An-Na'im 1992: 1).

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2. NATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. CONSTITUTIONAL DECLARATION, 2019

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Article 4 of the Constitutional Declaration of 2019 recognizes both the universality of rights and the diversity of the Sudanese people, stating that 'The Republic of Sudan is an independent, sovereign, democratic, parliamentary, pluralistic, decentralized state, where rights and duties are based on citizenship without discrimination due to race, religion, culture, sex, colour, gender, social or economic status, political opinion, disability, regional affiliation or any other cause'. The state is committed to the respect of human dignity and diversity; and is founded on justice, equality and the guarantee of human rights and fundamental freedoms (Constitution Declaration, article 43). Article 8(7) of the Declaration 'The Mandate of the Transitional Period' further stipulates a requirement to '[q]uarantee and promote women's rights in Sudan in all social, political, and economic fields, and combat all forms of discrimination against women, taking into account provisional preferential measures in both war and peace circumstances'. Article 48 (Equality before the Law) of the Bill of Rights states that '[p]eople are equal before the law and have the right to the protection of the law without discrimination between them on the basis of ethnicity, colour, gender, language, religious faith, political opinion, racial or ethnic origin, or any other reason'.

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As will be shown below, the new reality ushered in by Sudan's 2019 Constitutional Declaration (article 48), banning discrimination on grounds of racial or ethnic origin, gender, religion, disability, age or sexual orientation, has had a major impact on legislation across Sudan. Article 49 of the Constitutional Declaration, in contrast, is not a direct prohibition, but rather an empowering provision which enables Sudan to take action against the forms of discrimination listed.

Prior to these developments, Sudan already had extensive legislation and case law on the prohibition of discrimination. To administer diversity in Sudan and to enforce international and constitutional provisions, Sudan has passed many laws that seemingly address the issue of diversity. As the following examination of a number of national laws will show, however, they often rather reflect the beliefs of the ruling group.

During the transitional government period (2019–2021), the Criminal Act of 1991, which was incompatible with the new constitution and human rights principles related to equality between citizens, was amended. The 1991 Criminal Code had been enacted as part of an integrated legislative system to implement Islamic sharia principles in Sudan. The 2020 Miscellaneous Amendments Law (Cancellation and Amendment of Provisions Restricting Rights and Freedoms) was enacted to amend a number of articles of the Criminal Code that violated human rights, including article 79 (dealing with alcohol) and article 126 (atonement for persons, sects and groups). It replaced the incompatible articles of the previous Criminal Code with articles consistent with the 2019 transitional constitution, which would ensure respect for religious diversity and combat discrimination based on religion or belief.

The transitional government worked to improve Sudan's record of acceding to regional and global human rights conventions by taking practical steps to accede to all human rights conventions to which Sudan had not yet acceded. The Cabinet drafted a law to accede to the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW and the 2003 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Protocol), as well as a law to accede to the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

The following sections will look in more detail at the legal framework in the country as it relates to diversity management in Sudan's legislation.

2.2. NATIONAL ELECTIONS ACT, 2008 (AMENDED 2014)

The parliamentary representation of minorities and Indigenous peoples should be shaped by rules and regulations, which should include electoral acts and procedures, political party laws, general parliamentary rules, and special parliamentary bodies and procedures for dealing with minority and Indigenous issues. Electoral acts, especially, have a major effect on both the character and extent of minority presence in national legislatures. In general, minority candidates might be elected through regular electoral channels or through special procedures designed to facilitate minority inclusion in legislatures.

However, the Sudanese National Elections Act of 2008 was not designed to empower minority representation in public policymaking bodies in Sudan. The act embodied no particular provisions or measures for minority representation, and no proportionate representation of minority groups was provided for. Thus, the long-lasting political exclusion of some minority groups was not addressed. This legislative shortcoming negatively affected, among other reasons, efforts to build peace and peaceful coexistence in Sudan. The law was amended in 2014, after the separation of South Sudan in 2011. Later, in January 2014 President Omar al-Bashir held a national dialogue with some national parties and civil society representatives. The outcome document from that dialogue recommended drafting a new electoral law.

Any proposals regarding reforming the electoral system in Sudan must accommodate the requirements of managing diversity in Sudan and ensuring the inclusion of minorities and marginalized social groups, and not dedicating the electoral system to the domination of a group of elites over the institutions of governance. It has been noted that even where representatives are chosen through fair and democratic elections, it is often said that legislative assemblies remain 'unrepresentative', and, in particular, that they are underrepresentative of women, ethnic minorities, and the poorer and less educated social classes (Bird 2003: 2).

To counter this tendency, some democratic countries—such as Afghanistan, Burundi, Croatia, Denmark, Jordan, Lebanon, Montenegro, Nepal, New Zealand, Panama, Romania, Singapore and Slovenia—have adopted a 'reserved seats' approach for minority representation. A comparative survey of a number of these countries showed that:

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[m]ost countries which employ special electoral measures do not face strong domestic opposition to this form of affirmative action towards minorities and indigenous peoples. Support for such measures can be strengthened when the measures are periodically reviewed and evidence of their benefits for political participation of minorities is demonstrated. The effectiveness of special electoral measures in ensuring that the interests of minority/Indigenous groups are represented varies. The overall design of the political system, social context, and minority/Indigenous group characteristics all shape the performance of special electoral measures. Reserved seats, for example, can provide an effective means of voicing the concerns of minority/Indigenous groups but can also be used for the purposes of token representation or cooptation.

- (Protsyk and Sachariew 2012: 6-7)

For example, the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1995) allocates 20 seats for minorities in the upper house of Parliament. Article 54(3) of the Ethiopian Constitution stipulates that '[m]embers of the House, on the basis of population and special representation of minority Nationalities and Peoples, shall not exceed 550; of these, minority Nationalities and Peoples shall have at least 20 seats'. Furthermore, article 54(7) states that '[a] member of the house may, in accordance with law, lose his mandate of representation upon loss of confidence by the electorate'. The Constitution of the Land of Brandenburg (1992, amended 19 December 2011), under the German federal system, provides rights to the Serb minority who live in the state (article 25).

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Since April 2019, Sudan has been going through a transitional phase to build peace and sustainable democracy, after 30 years of dictatorship and civil wars. Successful diversity management through national legislation acquires exceptional importance during the transitional period in order to build national unity and establish peaceful coexistence and political stability. In general, only a few states have passed laws to correct the under-representation of ethnic minorities. In addition, most of the countries where parliamentary seats are reserved for national minorities are either new or non-democracies, where such measures are required to maintain ethnic peace or to limit the autonomy of national minorities. There are also a handful of established democracies where seats are reserved for designated Indigenous communities. There are no established democracies that have adopted quota laws for ethnic minorities (Bird 2003: 3).

There was actually a long debate on minority representation in Sudan, which started after the first military regime collapsed in October 1964. In 1965 politicians held a round-table conference to discuss the best possible solutions, among them the transfer of some powers from the central government to the regions. This included provisions for the southern regions to keep and advance regional cultures and languages, supported by a regional legislative body (Ahmad 2010: 5). However, the recommendations of the round table were never implemented, and the struggles over regional representation ultimately ended with the separation of South Sudan, which is not a sustainable solution for representation of the diverse groups in the whole country.

2.3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 2003

For post-conflict Sudan, equality and diversity are core priorities for most local authorities, but ongoing conflicts show that more needs to be done to ensure all community voices are heard in local government. This area of diversity management has been governed in Sudan by the Interim Constitution and the Local Government Act of 2003.

The local level of government is very important for reflecting the unity of the country while asserting the diversity of its people. Article 9(1)(c) of the Constitutional Declaration of 2019 states that the local level of government promotes broad popular participation and expresses the basic needs of citizens. Compared with article 24 of Sudan's Interim Constitution of 2005, the Constitutional Declaration has a better provision on using the local governance system as a tool to manage diversity in Sudan. Article 24 of Sudan's Interim Constitution generally defined local governance as the lowest level of government. Article 4(2) of the Local Government Act of 2003 lists standards and guidelines for establishing municipalities and local governments. However, respecting ethnic, religious and cultural diversity was not included among them. Furthermore, articles 10 and 16 of the Local Government Act provide the responsibilities of local assemblies and mayors but do not refer to the responsibility to promote national harmony and peaceful coexistence among all Sudanese. Article 27(1)(2) of the Local Government Act details the process for electing local assemblies but does not address the issue of diversity management, and article 27(2) on seat allocation mentions nothing about minorities; instead, it mentions only the system for the special and direct election of women.

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These articles cannot be considered binding provisions for lawmakers in terms of respecting diversity at the local level of government. However, although there is no clearly regulated diversity management within municipalities and local administration, more diversity management practices were adopted by local governments by considering tribal representatives in the local governments and legislative bodies after the adoption of federalism in Sudan's Constitution of 2005. Some practices were more popular than others among local governments, depending on the level of attention to diversity management issues, in particular in conflict-affected regions. It is also very clear that when local government managers had concerns about diversity management issues, regardless of their personal backgrounds, local government tended to adopt more diversity management practices (Abbink 1991: 1–21).

Despite the adoption of diversity management practices, some major reforms in the local government system in Sudan are required. In line with the Constitution and other laws, these reforms should:

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- Reflect the unity of the country while asserting the diversity of the people and promote national harmony and peaceful coexistence among all Sudanese.
- 2. Recognize the richness of the local cultural diversity and encourage multiple cultures to harmoniously flourish and find expression, especially through the official media and education.
- Reform the local level of government based on article 25 of the Constitution to represent all population groups inside the territory of the respective locality and to enable minority groups to express their cultures.
- 4. Respect Indigenous languages and cultures, which should be used in the education system whenever applicable.
- 5. Identify locality demarcations without causing tribal conflicts.

2.4. KHARTOUM PUBLIC ORDER ACT, 1996

One of the most important laws that distinguished between citizens on the basis of dynasticity and gender was the Khartoum Public Order Act of 1996, which was abolished by the Government of Sudan after the overthrow of al-Bashir's government in April 2019, as part of the legislative reforms that the transitional government had worked on. This law was to be applied in the state of Khartoum, but its provisions reflected the political ideology of the state during the 1989 dictatorship. It was originally issued as a decree by the governor of Khartoum State but ratified by the Assembly of Khartoum State in 1996 and issued as a law pursuant to section 41 of the Eleventh Constitutional Decree.

The Public Order Act was introduced to combat society's immorality, to penalize alcohol consumption, to organize marketplaces and to control how people appeared in public. Most of the provisions of the law were regulated by the criminal courts. Provisions addressed offences such as disturbing public order, organizing music parties without permission, dressing in an immoral way and women dancing in front of men or working at unisex hair salons. The penalty for these offences was 40 lashes.

Yet, most of the cases brought to the courts involved non-Muslim women whose communities did not follow the sharia laws that guided the Act. The consumption and brewing of alcohol were not prohibited in these communities, which had their own traditions and socializing customs, and women's engagement in cultural and traditional social events was allowed. This contradiction led to large numbers of non-Muslim Sudanese women ending up in prison, whereby alcohol-related offences constituted 80 per cent of all 'crimes' registered against women (Doebbler 2001:10). Furthermore, the Public Order Act was insensitive to the conditions of women for whom the brewing of alcohol for sale was a means to sustain themselves and their families.

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In the prevailing socio-political context, the Public Order Act of 1996 supported the so-called Islamization of public life while drifting away from the rights and freedoms of individuals recognized and required by the Bill of Rights included in the Interim National Constitution of 2005 and the international human rights framework, particularly the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (REDRESS 2014: 5).

2.5. CUSTOMARY LAW

One of the main objectives of customary law is the establishment of peace and harmony between communities in the society as a whole through compromise, conciliation and compensation or restoration of social imbalance created by the commission of wrongful or criminal acts (Makec 2007: 134).

There is a distinct divergence between the principles guiding customary laws and so-called traditional authorities in their courts and those stipulated in state laws enforced through state courts. In Sudan, chiefs, sheikhs and *omdas* [village chiefs], were gradually replaced during colonial times and thereafter with a new system of courts whose procedures and concept of justice were vastly different—more confrontational and punitive. In a search for consensus, however, several subsequent political developments led to the rehabilitation of the jurisdiction of traditional authorities and of the role of non-lawyers through the people's local courts, which have been functioning since 1986. These were later renamed through the 2004 Town and Rural Courts Regulations (Sudan 2004).

This development has both advantages for the functioning of local governance and potential disadvantages for causes in contradiction to authorities' societal views:

Given the dire need for capacity-building of local police, the office of the attorney general and judiciary throughout Sudan [–] especially in post-conflict areas (and outside the capital) [–] the dominance of the community/customary network holds much potential for justice advocacy. Naturally, customary law is weak in terms of human rights protections for women and children; nonetheless, individual interventions by local justice actors can serve to slowly improve and strengthen customary laws.

- (Parmar 2007)

It has to be noted, though, that customary law plays a vital role in legislative processes that are sensitive to diverse social and regional groups. This role has been long acknowledged in Sudan's legislation, as in article 5 of the Civil Procedures Act of 1929 and in the National Constitutions of 1956 and 1973. Article 5 of Sudan's Constitution of 2005 provided that the diversity of values and customs of the people of Sudan, including traditions and religious beliefs manifested in their customary laws, should be highly regarded.

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3. PEACE AGREEMENTS

3.1. THE JUBA AGREEMENT FOR PEACE IN SUDAN, OCTOBER 2020

The Juba Agreement for Peace in Sudan established many legal provisions for managing diversity in Sudan. These were distributed throughout many chapters of the Agreement, and they were aimed at addressing many forms of discrimination. Below is a review of the legal provisions contained in the Agreement's section on national issues:

- 1. The Preamble:
- The Preamble states that the parties to the Agreement believe in the unity of the Sudanese soil, national sovereignty, democracy, political pluralism and a state of institutions and the rule of law that respects diversity, stands at an equal distance from all religions and cultures, and is based on citizenship without discrimination, and on rights and duties, and elevates the values of justice, equality and human rights.
- The Preamble acknowledges the right of all components of the Sudanese peoples without discrimination in the enjoyment of wealth and their just participation in sharing the wealth of the nation and in administering their own affairs and public Sudanese affairs.
- Regarding national issues, the Agreement provides numerous principles and values to manage diversity in Sudan. Article 1 stipulates the following principles:
- (1.7) Complete separation of religious institutions and state institutions to
 ensure that religion is not exploited in politics and that the state stands at
 equal distance from all religions and beliefs, provided that this is enshrined
 in the constitution and laws of the country.
- (1.9) Acknowledgment of and respect for Sudanese identity and the ethnic, religious and cultural diversity of Sudanese peoples without discrimination on any grounds shall be reflected in the governance system and policies in order to build a state based on equal citizenship for all Sudanese people.
- (1.10) The principle of unity shall be adopted which is based on mutual recognition and respect among the human, social, political, religious and cultural components of the Sudanese state.
- (1.11) The racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural diversity of the Sudanese people is a source of richness for the Sudanese people and, therefore, shall be strengthened, developed and managed in accordance with the standards that reflect national unity.
- (1.17) Equal citizenship without discrimination is the basis for all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and duties.
- (1.20) The importance of fair and effective representation of women at all levels of power and decision-making positions, at a rate of not less than 40% per cent.
- (1.25) All Sudanese languages shall be considered national languages that should be equally respected, developed and celebrated.
- (1.29) Regions of Sudan shall be represented in federal and legislative institutions of power in proportion to their population size to ensure just

power sharing while observing the principle of positive discrimination for the most underdeveloped and war-affected regions, for equitable distribution of wealth.

- 3. Regarding the national capital, article 7 stipulates the following:
- (7.1) The national capital with its three cities shall constitute a symbol
 of national unity with the rich cultural and social diversity and numerous
 faiths and traditions they encompass. This requires taking into account
 the participation of all people of Sudan to manage this great diversity.
 Therefore, an administration for the national capital shall be established,
 taking into consideration the fair representation of Sudanese people,
 provided that the agreed upon Governance Conference shall decide upon it.
- (7.2) The national capital is a reflection of the Sudanese nation, and as such shall reflect the national character of Sudan with its diversity and values of citizenship without discrimination. It shall also effectively uphold the interests of all Sudanese, especially citizens who have been residing in it before it became a national capital of Sudan.
- 4. Regarding the Constitutional Conference, article 9 stipulates the following:
- (9.5) The national Constitutional Conference agenda shall include, but not be limited to, the following topics: 9.5.1. Identity and diversity management; 9.5.2. Citizenship; and 9.5.3. Relationship of religion to the state.
- (9.7) The Parties agree to the fair and equal representation, on the bases of gender, diversity, geography and age, in the national Constitutional Conference, and that Constitutional Conferences in the regions shall be held as part of the constitution-drafting process.
- Regarding Christians and communities of African religions and other beliefs, article 14(3) states that '[t]he Parties agree on establishing a National Commission for Religious Freedoms to address the issues of religious diversity in Sudan'.
- 6. Regarding combating racism, article 18(1) states that '[t]he Parties agree to issue strict legislation criminalizing all kinds of racism and to adopt clear state policies to combat different forms of racial attitudes, discrimination, and manifestations of ethnic and religious supremacy through education curricula, media, and building an integrated societal culture that respects human dignity and upholds the values of equality between human being without discrimination'.

3.2. THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, 2021

Although the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)-North, led by Abdelaziz El-Hilu, did not sign the Sudan Peace Agreement in Juba, it succeeded in reaching an agreement on the Declaration of Principles with the transitional government on 28 March 2021. Basically, they agreed to enshrine the principles of equality, non-discrimination and diversity management. The media and several research centres described the agreement as establishing the principles of a secular state in Sudan and ending manifestations of ethnic, religious and cultural discrimination in Sudan. SPLM-North signed this agreement with the transitional government, after the fall of the government

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of General Omar al-Bashir, which continued to implement the provisions of Islamic law in Sudan.

The agreement emphasizes that all principles in the Declaration must be fully included in any comprehensive peace agreement reached by the two parties. The Declaration of Principles agreement also set out general provisions for managing diversity, by:

- · applying the federal system of government;
- adopting the principles of international and African human rights law in relation to human rights, women's rights and children's rights;
- ensuring that the provisions relating to the state's neutrality towards religions are included in the constitutional document;
- addressing the issue of national identity and managing it in a manner that respects diversity in Sudan;
- dealing with issues related to personal status laws according to religions and beliefs;
- ensuring that the Sudanese army is a professional army organized according to a national creed, and that its mission is to protect Sudan and its people, and not to benefit a particular political or social group; and
- applying the principle of positive discrimination in development issues in favour of areas affected by wars and conflicts.

4. CONCLUSION

The transitional government issued many documents between 2019 and 2021 that addressed the issue of managing diversity in Sudan. The transitional period saw many important legislative reforms to ensure equality and prevent all forms of discrimination. The Constitutional Document, the Juba Peace Agreement and the Declaration of Principles created an integrated legislative system for managing diversity in a modern democratic state.

And although Sudan has not ratified all international conventions and treaties related to non-discrimination, it has ratified many of them, and if their provisions were applied to national legislation, they would have contributed significantly to managing diversity in Sudan to the extent that it would have reduced armed conflicts and political instability.

The transitional period from 2019 to 2021, although it was a short period, contributed to the completion of many important legal documents in terms of managing diversity in post-dictatorship and post-civil wars Sudan. The signing of the Juba Peace Agreement in Sudan, and the Declaration of Principles agreement with the SPLM-North were among the great steps that established many principles and rights related to equality and non-discrimination. Despite this, there is still an arsenal of national legislation that still does not respect diversity in Sudan, and needs legislative amendment to meet the requirements of good diversity management in Sudan. Among those legislations that need

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urgent reforms are the election law, the local government law, and laws related to women's rights and the political participation of minorities in Sudan.

Post-conflict states and post-authoritarian governments often face great and complex challenges, which require good planning and management to achieve the goals of the political transition. Re-planning and strategic thinking to manage diversity in Sudan remained a priority for the transitional government. Good management of a peaceful democratic transition means, in a way, good management of diversity and an end to destructive discrimination. Reform of national legislation will remain one of the most important means of implementing that strategic planning to ensure sustainable peace, political stability, balanced development and respect for diversity, and guarantee the principles of human rights in Sudan.

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