Assessment and outline of a strategy for media support

Media in Sudan at a crossroads

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The assessment has been carried out in close cooperation between the members of the Consortium for the project *Promoting Freedom and Expression and Civil Society Involvement in Developing Democratic Media Legislation in Sudan:*

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Acronyms

AMDISS	Association for Media Development in Southern Sudan		NPA	Norwegian People's Aid
			NPPC	National Press and Publications Council
AMIS	African Union Mission in the Sudan		NSB	National Security Bureau
AU	African Union		OAU	Organization of African Unity
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement		OPIC	Olof Palme International Centre
DAI	Development Alternatives Inc.		OSI	Open Society Institute
DPA	Darfur Peace Agreement		RSF	Reporters Sans Frontières (Reporters Without Borders)
EC	European Commission		SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
FTF	Future Trends Foundation for Strategic Studies & Dialogue		SLA	Sudan Liberation Army
GDP	Gross domestic product		SLM	Sudan Liberation Movement
GoNU	Government of National Unity		SNRC	Sudan National Radio Corporation
GoS	Government of Sudan		SOAT	Sudan Organisation Against Torture
GoSS	Government of Southern Sudan		SPLM/A	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
HDI	Human Development Index		SRS	Sudan Radio Service
ICC	International Criminal Court		SRTC	Sudan Radio and Television Corporation
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights		SSBC	Southern Sudan Broadcasting Corporation
ICG	International Crisis Group		SUDO	Sudan Social Development Organisation
IFEX	International Freedom of Expression Exchange		SUJ	Sudanese Union of Journalists
IFJ	International Federation of Journalists		SUNA	Sudan News Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund		UN	United Nations
IMS	International Media Support		UJOSS	Union of Journalists of Southern Sudan
ITU	International Telecommunications Union		UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
JAM	Joint Assessment Mission		UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
JHR	Journalists for Human Rights			
JMC	Joint Media Committee			
KCHRED	Khartoum Centre for Human Rights & Environmental Development		UNMIS	United Nations Mission in the Sudan
MDTF	Multi Donor Trust Funds		UNSC	United Nations Security Council
NASS	News Agency for Southern Sudan		USAID	United States Agency for International Development
NCA	Norwegian Church Aid		WB	World Bank
NCP	National Congress Party			
NDI	National Democratic Institute			
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation			

Sudan

LIBYA EGYPT

Hala'ib

Wadi Halfa

Nile

Port Sudan

SUDAN

Atbara

CHAD

Omdurman

Kassala

ERITREA

DARFUR

Khartoum

Wad Madan

Al Fashir

Al Uayyld

Kusti

Al Qadarif

White Nile

Blue Nile

Nyala

Malakal

ETHIOPIA

C.A.R.

Wau

Bor

Rumbek

Juba

Kenyeti

D.R. CONGO

Yei

300 km

UGANDA

KENYA

AFRIKA

Preface

In September 2005 I was part of a group of Sudanese media professionals from North and South and international media organisations traveling to Rumbek in Southern Sudan. It was a journey with almost historic dimensions.

For several of the journalists the trip was the first time they were able to return to Sudan after the war had forced them to leave their country. It goes without saying that for them the journey to Rumbek was a very emotional experience. It was also a journey that argued well for the future.

More than 20 years of civil war ended when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in early 2005. The peace agreement was the foundation on which the round table meeting in Rumbek was built. Peace had brought about significant improvements in the environment for media freedom, and concrete steps were about to be taken to strengthen the media where it was most needed.

The round table in Rumbek resulted in a declaration calling for the creation of an environment conducive to a free and independent media.
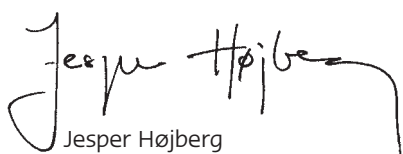
More round tables have followed, both in Southern Sudan, and at a national level and many concrete initiatives have been developed to improve and strengthen the freedom of expression environment in Sudan on a whole. Evidence of progress is still there, but serious challenges have also surfaced since then.

Journalists still face limitations in their profession. The main obstacles for independent and free media persist, with censorship and the harassment and persecution of journalists. At the same time, the profession faces the enormous challenge of building journalistic capacity and infrastructure. Unfortunately, incoming support to the media has not always been provided in a coordinated and sustainable way.

The changes have called for an updated and comprehensive assessment of the media landscape. Together with Sudanese and international partners, International Media Support initiated a new assessment, building upon "Media and peace in Sudan – options for immediate action", an assessment of the media and opportunities for media development in Sudan published by International Media Support in August 2003.

It is our hope that the assessment can provide a much-needed overview of the media situation in Sudan and thereby strengthen support to the media sector with the aim of enhancing the development of an environment conducive to media freedom in Sudan.

The assessment was funded by the European Commission, The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; we would like to express our deep gratitude for this support.

Jesper Højberg
Executive Director
International Media Support

Executive summary

This assessment describes and contextualises a series of challenges for an environment conducive to freedom of expression brought about by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed in 2005 and the changes to the political framework in Sudan. The aim is to establish a comprehensive overview of the media situation in all relevant sectors, as well as developing an overview of support to the sectors and the strategies behind this support from agencies for international cooperation.

Although the CPA opened up space for a more democratic setup for media ownership and practice and resulted in a number of changes to the media situation in Sudan, the freedom of expression environment in Sudan still faces important challenges. According to this assessment, the main challenges are:

Need for media reform
There is a dire need for legal reform in the area of freedom of expression and access to information. At the national level, new media laws produced and presented to Parliament show only slight improvement over the existing laws. In Southern Sudan the Legislative Assembly has adopted a more progressive media policy, but the four draft bills which have been prepared have not yet been processed by the assembly.

Need for professional skill building
Professional journalists are scarce, and objective and relevant reporting is a challenge for many Sudanese newspapers. In spite of the large number of media schools in Sudan, the results are discouraging. The academic and professional standards of the graduates are extremely basic and on-the-job training is almost non-existent.

Poor working conditions
Basic working conditions and employment rights in the Sudanese media are poor, especially in the printed media. There is widespread exploitation, not least of young journalists. The poor working conditions have negative consequences for the quality of journalism. In addition, many Sudanese journalists have emigrated to find better job opportunities abroad.

Politicisation of the media sector
The highly politicised environment in Sudan is reflected in the media sector. A significant part of the media in Sudan operates within a set political frame, pursuing political goals and the desire to influence public opinion and decision making.

Informing and reporting on the peace agenda
The restrictions on a free and pluralist media in Sudan present a serious challenge to peace building. The lack of unbiased political reporting means that the Sudanese people are not properly prepared for crucial events stipulated in the CPA such as the census and the upcoming elections.

Access to information
Accessing information remains a challenge for media practitioners as well as for other civil society representatives: there are at present no laws assuring access to information.

Technical and financial constraints

Sudan's emergence from a 21-year long civil war means that the media sector is facing serious limitations in the technical and infrastructural aspects of media production.

Based upon the assessment of the main challenges faced by the media sector, a strategy for media support in Sudan has been outlined. The strategy needs to provide flexibility and possibilities for quick action, in order to be able to adapt to changes in the highly dynamic Sudanese political context.

The strategy sets out five focus areas:

* Policy development and legal reform
* Media associations
* Quality of journalism
* Media operations
* Coordination and strategy development

Policy development and legal reform

There is a need to intensify policy development and legal reform work. In addition to enhanced work with legal reform, civil society engagement needs to be increased with regard to media freedom issues. Mechanisms for the protection and safety of media practitioners should also be strengthened and self-regulatory mechanisms supported.

Media associations

There have been positive developments for organizations of media practitioners, both at the level of journalists and media workers and to some degree at the editorial/management level. This development needs to be strengthened and should be applied through a strategy which gradually builds upon existing initiatives and their institutional capacity.

Quality of journalism

There is a need for a more systematic and coordinated approach to capacity building which can progress from short term to long term efforts, while maintaining the focus on the need for immediate support. It is also recommended that the development of innovative media formats be encouraged.

Media operations

Media infrastructures need to be supported, especially in Southern Sudan. The development of public service programming should be promoted and media diversity strengthened, especially in the Northern part of Sudan.

Coordination and strategy development

Coordination among agencies for international cooperation should be improved. Enhanced coordination should be activity oriented and linked to joint interests. Increasing the flow of information among actors involved in media support is a first step for sustaining this, building towards procedures for joint strategising.

1 Introduction

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 and the establishment of interim institutions in Sudan have encouraged the development of democratic frameworks and of new national and regional government structures. Consequently, a window of opportunity has opened, allowing for changes which promote an environment conducive to freedom of expression and media development in the country.

The media will be a decisive player in Sudan's transition into a democracy with economic and social development for all its citizens. They therefore need to play a strong, supportive role in helping to inform the public about the peace agreement and its implications, facilitating public participation in reconciliation, and helping to diffuse the many threats to the peace process through professional media activity and to support the growth of a democratic society.

The changes in the media situation in Sudan and the increased support from agencies for international cooperation to the sector provide favourable conditions for allowing the media to develop and providing the potential for them to operate as free and independent media in the future. In order to maximise the impact of this development it is important to have an overall assessment of the media situation and of trends within the sector which can guide decision making regarding support to the media and enhance coordination between actors in the sector.

The assessment presented here builds upon "Media and peace in Sudan – options for immediate action" – an assessment of the media and opportunities for media development in Sudan, published by International Media Support in August 2003. This assessment represents an update of the 2003 findings and it also describes and contextualises a series of new challenges for an environment conducive to freedom of expression brought about by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the changes to the political framework in Sudan. Moreover, a strategy for media support is outlined.

Although the focus is on Sudan as a whole, the assessment will only include aspects related to the ongoing conflict in Darfur to a limited degree, since this situation demands particular attention.

The assessment represents an integrated part of the project "Promoting Freedom of Expression and Civil Society Involvement in Developing Democratic Media Legislation in Sudan". The overall objective of this project is to promote a climate of free expression through an integrated and comprehensive approach to media development in support of the peace process and democratic transition in Sudan.

The assessment has been carried out in close cooperation between the members of the Consortium for the project: ARTICLE 19, the Association for Media Development in South Sudan (AMDISS), International Media Support (IMS), the Khartoum Centre for Human Rights and Environmental Development (KCHRED), Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) and the Olof Palme International Centre (OPIC).

The report is based on desk studies and on a fact-finding mission to Sudan from 13 – 26 June 2007, during which the work team solicited the views and opinions of a wide range of stakeholders: representatives from the Sudanese media and Sudanese authorities, from civil society, religious and political groups and representatives from the donor community. The team spent one week in Northern Sudan (Khartoum) and one week in Southern Sudan (Juba). The mission carried out interviews with a broad cross-section of the media representing diverse opinions, including independent print media, state broadcast media, and the state news agency. Additionally, meetings were held with the Ministry of Information, the National Press Council, and the two journalists' unions, as well as with a selection of donor representatives, UN agencies and international NGOs. For a full list of the institutions and persons interviewed please see annex 9.4.

The findings from the June 2007 mission were updated during a mission from 1-7 November 2007 to both Khartoum and Juba, at which time the assessment and its recommendations were extensively discussed with a range of stakeholders, a selection of media outlets, media institutions and representatives from agencies for international cooperation. For a full list of the institutions and persons who contributed during this consultation please see annex 9.5.

The assessment was written and edited by Anne Poulsen and Finn Rasmussen, of International Media Support, with contributions from Peter Noorlander and Sarah Richani, ARTICLE 19, and Joakim Johansson of the Olof Palme International Centre. Faisal Mohamed Salih from the Sudanese media organisation Teeba Press also contributed to the assessment. Faisal elBagir and Lemia Eliaili Abubkr from the Khartoum Centre for Human Rights and Environmental Development provided valuable inputs and analysis for the assessment and were essential for the coordination of missions in Khartoum, while Pamela Lomoro of the Association for Media Development for South Sudan, and Linda Thu, Norwegian People's Aid, provided important support for the consultative phase in Juba.

We wish to express our sincere gratitude to all of the people involved in media development in Sudan who readily shared with us their precious time and knowledge. The assessment is based upon our discussions with them and its findings and recommendations are thus the result of their collective experience and knowledge.

It is our sincere hope that the assessments and its recommendations can serve as a useful contribution to the continued development of the media in Sudan, as well as helping to strengthen respect for freedom of expression and access to information.

2 Outline of content

Section 3 **Context** provides a brief introduction to the historical, political and security context as well as the economic and social situation, with the aim of providing the readers with basic backgound information about Sudan.

Section 4 **Legal framework for the media in Sudan** provides an overview of the international and regional treaties and conventions, the constitutional framework, the current media law policy and the new legislation under discussion which form the benchmarks for media policy and legislation in Sudan.

Section 5 **Description of the media sector** deals with each sector of the Sudanese media. It provides a short historical overview of media developments in Sudan and covers print media and printing houses, news agencies, radio and TV stations, internet sites, education and training, unions and associations, traditional and non-conventional media such as music, theatre and storytelling, and languages.

Section 6 **Main challenges for the Sudanese media sector** describes the main obstacles for independent and free media. It lists examples of censorship, control, harassment and persecution of journalists and media actors. It sets out the legal reform challenges, the need for professional skill building, describes the poor working conditions, and explains the politicisation of the media sector and the challenges of informing and reporting on the peace agenda. It also details the difficulties of accessing information and the technical and financial constraints faced by media houses and media practitioners.

Section 7 **Support to media development from agencies for international cooperation** gives a background description of the status of the support to media development from international cooperation agencies. It lists the areas of support: policy development and media reform, press freedom advocacy, media operations, safety and protection, association building and networks, media content and professionalisation, and dissemination for peace, democracy and development. It describes the different efforts to coordinate support for media development but raises the question of the apparent need for further improvement of this coordination. Finally, it expresses the concerns raised over the issue of Sudanese ownership.

Section 8 **Outlining a strategy for media support** outlines the strategy for media support to Sudan in the immediate and medium term. It identifies five strategic focus areas: policy development and legal reform, media associations, the quality of journalism, media operations, and coordination and strategy development.

Section 9 **Appendices** contains a section on international policy, legislative precedents and guidelines which serves as a brief guide to the treaties, protocols and declarations which form the benchmarks for media policy and legislation in Sudan and in the rest of Africa. It lists the media outlets: newspapers, radio stations, TV stations and internet sites. It contains a list of education and training facilities in Sudan; both media schools and media training centres. Finally it lists the institutions and persons interviewed as well as the institutions and persons consulted for the assessment.

3 Context

Sudan is the largest country in Africa and is dominated by the Nile, which runs through the country from north to south. It is a highly diversified country which spans multiple religious, ethnic and socio-economic divides. In spite of the country's vast natural resources and considerable human capital, the majority of Sudanese live in poverty. Sudan ranks 141 out of 177 countries on the UNDP Human Development Index 2006 (HDI).

Facts about Sudan

Area:	2.5 million sq km
Population:	35 million (2005 estimate)
Population growth rate:	1.9%
Infant mortality rate:	63 deaths/1,000 live births
Life expectancy at birth:	56.3 years
Literacy (% of population age 15+)	61
Ethnic groups:	African 52%, Arab 39%, Beja 6%, other 3%
Major religions:	Islam, Christianity, indigenous beliefs

Source: UN, World Bank et al

3.1 History

In 1956, Sudan gained its independence from what was then joint British-Egyptian rule. Since then, the country has been plagued by civil war between the Muslim Arab north and the Animist and Christian south, which is said to have killed almost two million people and displaced a further four million people. A peace agreement was reached in Addis Ababa in 1972, under which the south became a self-governing region. But 10 years later, in 1983, civil war broke out again in the south, involving government forces and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) led by the late John Garang. The second civil war between north and south was sparked by President Numayri, who declared Sudan an Islamic republic and introduced sharia law for both Muslim and non-Muslim populations.

In 1985, President Numayri was toppled in a military coup after a period of widespread popular unrest. A Transitional Military Council was set up to rule the country. A year later, general elections were held, paving the way for a coalition government with Sadiq al-Mahdi as Prime Minister.

A few years later, in 1989, Lieutenant-General Omar al-Bashir took power in a military coup against the elected government of Sadiq al-Mahdi. Parliament was dissolved and political parties were banned. In their place, the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation was set up, chaired by al-Bashir and ruled through a civilian government.

In 1993, the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation was

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dissolved and al-Bashir was appointed president. Three years later, in 1996, al-Bashir was elected president and Hassan al-Turabi, leader of the National Islamic Front, was appointed Speaker of Parliament. A new constitution provided for a certain degree of opposition activity.

Following a power struggle with Hassan al-Turabi, President al-Bashir dissolved the National Assembly in 1999, and declared a state of emergency. The following year, al-Bashir was re-elected for another five years in elections which were boycotted by the major opposition parties and which were not considered to be free and fair by the international community.

The war between north and south was formally ended in January 2005 with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M). The agreement ended the 21-year long civil war and provided for a high degree of autonomy for the south.

In the meantime, the struggle for land and power in the western province of Darfur sparked another major conflict which has turned into one of the worst humanitarian crises in recent history. More than 200,000 Darfurians have been killed and more than two million displaced. Despite the deployment of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) in 2004, the security situation in Darfur continues to deteriorate and attacks on civilians continue. Pro-government Arab militias are accused of carrying out a campaign of ethnic cleansing against non-Arab groups in the region. Peacekeeping troops continue their efforts to stabilise the situation, which has become increasingly regional.

A Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) was signed by the Government of National Unity (GoNU) and the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) in May 2006. However, continued violence has prevented the implementation of vital elements of the DPA.

It is expected that early in 2008 United Nations troops will be deployed to Darfur in order to reinforce African Union peacekeepers there.

3.2 Political

The signing of the CPA opened an unprecedented window of opportunity for Sudan and important steps have since been taken towards a sustainable peace through the establishment of democratic institutions. In July 2005, the central Government of Sudan (GOS) in Khartoum and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) formed the provisional Government of National Unity (GoNU). At the same time, the semi-autonomous Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) was established. The transitional legal framework was established through the adoption of the Interim National Constitution of Sudan on 9 July 2005, and on 6 December 2005, the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan was adopted.

In accordance with the political framework provided in the CPA, plans have been made for a census to be completed in 2008 – the first census since 1993. The census will pave the way for national elections by 2009 and for a referendum on independence in the south scheduled for 2011 following a six-year period of autonomy for Southern Sudan.

In spite of the political progress, the implementation of the CPA has been moving forward only slowly after its initial progress. The peace agreement was severely challenged when the SPLM suspended its participation in

the GoNU in October 2007, citing ignorance on the part of the central government in Khartoum of key elements of the CPA, the main issue being the dispute over the Abyei region, which has an important percentage of Sudan's oil reserves. According to the International Crisis Group, the decision by the SPLM to suspend its participation in the government "marks the most dangerous political escalation since the peace deal was signed." [1] However, at the beginning of November 2007, after intense negotiations, the National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) agreed to fully implement all provisions of the 2005 peace deal.

Several other issues have been delaying the peace process: the establishment of vital commissions, the demarcation of the border between north and south and the associated delineation of oil production and revenues. According to the International Crisis Group, a lack of good faith and the absence of political will on the part of the ruling NCP and the lack of capacity on the part of the SPLM as well as the absence of consistent international pressure also threaten the implementation of the peace agreement.

Sudan tops the list of most failed states ahead of Iraq, Somalia and Zimbabwe, according to the 2007 Failed States Index, which ranks nations according to their vulnerability.[2] According to the conclusions expressed in the Index, Sudan is likely to remain extremely unstable until the violence in Darfur is brought to an end and the referendum on the question of southern independence is held.

Major political parties:
National Congress Party, Sudan People's Liberation Movement, Popular National Congress, Umma Party, Democratic Unionist Party, Communist Party

Government:
Presidential Republic

Head of State: Lieutenant-General Omar Hassan Ahmed al Bashir
First Vice-President and President of Southern Sudan:
Lt. Gen Salva Kiir Mayardit
Second Vice President: Ali Osman Mohamed Taha
Foreign Minister: Deng Alor

3.3 Security

Decades of almost constant fighting have strained relations between Sudan and the other countries in the region. The different conflicts have penetrated into the neighbouring states, sending hundreds of thousands of Sudanese refugees into Chad, Ethiopia, Kenya, Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda. Most recently, almost one quarter of a million people have been driven from their homes in Darfur into neighbouring countries since fighting between rebels and the pro-government Janjawid armed militia broke out in early 2003 over the question of greater autonomy for the western region of Darfur.

The Darfur conflict has further exacerbated the relation between Sudan and Chad – each country accusing the other of cross-border incursions. A widespread fear exists that the Darfur conflict could develop into a major regional war.

1   *Sudan: Breaking the Abyei Deadlock, Africa Briefing No. 47, 12 October 2007. International Crisis Group.*
2   *The Failed States Index 2007, compiled by the US Foreign Policy magazine and the US-based Fund for Peace think-tank.*

Once a haven for al-Qaeda and known to have provided refuge to Osama Bin Laden, Sudan has changed its strategic focus since 11 September 2001 to side more closely with the United States in the fight against terrorism. This was a tactical and not an ideological move, according to international observers, with the main objective of being removed from the list of countries sponsoring terrorism. This would allow for economic sanctions to be lifted, paving the way for increased foreign investments in Sudan.

In spite of closer cooperation with the United States leading to the investigation and arrest of suspected Islamic extremists, the US has yet not found justification for the removal of Sudan from the list of states sponsoring terrorism. The conflict in Darfur is one main reason.

3.4 Economic and social

Despite the country's enormous potential, development in Sudan continues to be overshadowed by civil war and related humanitarian emergencies. Sudan remains one of the poorest countries in the world, with a large proportion of the population living on less than US$ 1 per day. Chronic instability ensures that much of the population will remain at or below the poverty line for years.

Although still facing deep economic problems and immense disparities, Sudan has managed to turn around a struggling economy. Since 1997, Sudan has successfully implemented a comprehensive macro-economic programme monitored by the IMF. According to the World Bank, the Sudanese economy continues to grow at a fast pace, with estimates of approximately 11 percent growth in 2006. Increased oil production, a good harvest, and the continued boom in the construction industry are the main reasons for the fast economic growth. Key concerns are inflation and the uneven distribution of economic growth, currently concentrated in and around Khartoum.[3]

Agricultural production remains Sudan's most important sector, employing 80% of the work force and contributing 43% of GDP. Development in the oil sector has contributed considerably to the growing economy. The transfer of oil revenues to Southern Sudan under the wealth-sharing protocol of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement will further enhance economic activities and reduce disparities.

However, vast disparities persist and according to the World Bank, spending on social programmes and infrastructure needs to be scaled up in the rest of the country, especially in the South and the marginalised northern states, including Darfur. Moreover, corruption is perceived to be widespread. According to Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index for 2007, Sudan ranks 172 out of 179 countries.

As a result of Sudan's suffering the longest civil war on the continent, the degradation of basic infrastructure has severely hampered the capacity of the country to develop and sustain its current growth. The financial cost of war has not only amounted to many millions of dollars worth of damage, but has also resulted in isolation from most of the international community and from access to development assistance. A lasting and sustained peace is thus a precondition for continued improvement in Sudan.

3   *Sudan Country Brief, May 2007. The World Bank.*

4 Legal framework for the media in Sudan

4.1 International and regional treaties and conventions

Sudan is a party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR),[4] the United Nations' main global human rights treaty. This protects the right to freedom of expression under Article 19, in the following terms:

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.
2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.
3. The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:
   (a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others;
   (b) For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals.

Sudan has also ratified Africa's main regional treaty on human rights, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.[5] Article 9 of this charter protects "the right to receive information [and] the right to express and disseminate his opinions within the law."

In addition to its international obligations under these 'general' human rights treaties and declarations, Sudan has agreed to respect and ensure freedom of expression and access to information under the provisions of a number of specialised human rights treaties that touch on issues of freedom of expression, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,[6] and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.[7] Sudan has also signed (though not yet ratified) the UN Convention against Corruption,[8] which requires it to take steps to implement the right of access to information.

4.2 The constitutional framework

In 2005, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed between Sudan's central government in Khartoum and the south Sudanese Sudan People's Liberation Army. The CPA put a halt to the prolonged armed conflict and led to the establishment of a provisional Government of National Unity. The CPA also expressly provides that violations of human rights shall be considered as violations of the CPA itself (see article 10.1.6).

On 9 July 2005, an Interim National Constitution of Sudan was adopted, which provides among other things for a Bill of Rights. Article 39 of the Constitution protects the right to freedom of expression and of the media. The Interim Constitution also establishes a division of competence between the central Government of National Unity, the Government of Southern Sudan, and State Governments, which includes issues of media regulation. A Memorandum

4 *Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966, entry into force 23 March 1976. Sudan acceded to the treaty on 18 March 1986.*

5 *OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, adopted 26 June 1981, in force 21 October 1986.*

6 *Adopted and opened for signature and ratification by General Assembly resolution 2106 (XX) of 21 December 1965, entry into force 4 January 1969. Sudan acceded to this treaty on 21 March 1977.*

7 *Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989, entry into force 2 September 1990. Sudan ratified this treaty on 3 August 1990.*

8 *Adopted by General Assembly resolution 58/4 of 31 October 2003, entry into force 14 December 2005. Sudan signed on 14 January 2005, by which it became legally bound not to do anything that would defeat the object and purpose of the treaty (meaning anything that would frustrate the fight against corruption and transparency in public life).*

of Understanding and a Report signed in May 2007 elaborate on these respective competences and make it clear that telecommunications and broadcasting regulation is a national competence, but that the Government of Southern Sudan will be represented in the national regulatory body.[9] Although respective competences in print and internet regulation have not been elaborated, the 2004 Press and Publications Act is not currently applied in Southern Sudan.

On 6 December 2005, the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan was adopted. This also includes a Bill of Rights, which protects the right to freedom of expression and media under Article 28. It also requires that "[a]ll media... abide by professional ethics."

4.3 Current media law policy

The Press and Publications Act

The current regulatory regime for the print media is set out in the Press and Publications Act of 2004. This Act, which imposes a number of tough restrictions on the right to express oneself through the media, introduced a harsh regime of sanctions and increased control by the executive branch of the government, especially by the President of the Republic. The Act established the Press and Printed Press Materials National Council (National Press Council), a body with sweeping regulatory powers whose independence is inadequately guaranteed. The National Press Council issues licences for media organisations, imposes penalties including the suspension of newspapers, and also acts as gatekeeper to the journalistic profession, organising and holding professional examinations and administering a national register of journalists.

The National Press Council has been portrayed by the government as a self-regulatory mechanism.[10] Nevertheless, the composition of the council evidences to a strong link to governmental authorities. Of the Council's 21 members, 12 come from bodies that are government-controlled or political in nature: 7 are appointed by the President of the Republic and 5 by the National Assembly. Furthermore, the 7 elected members representing the print media have to be approved by the Work Organisations Registrar General, which is itself government-appointed.[11] By the same token, the Press Council is established under the supervision of the Minister for Information and Communications, and its budget is controlled in part by the government.[12] All of this means that in practice, the government exercises significant influence over the National Press Council.

The lack of independence of the National Press Council is particularly problematic given its sweeping powers and functions. The Council's main task is to issue and suspend or revoke licenses for both media houses and individual journalists. Chapter III of the Act gives the Council broad discretion in both of these tasks, and sets strict conditions for individuals as well as companies who want to be active in the media sphere. Under Chapter III of the Act, only registered companies, legally registered political or social associations with a registered editor-in-chief, and scientific institutions and government units may publish newspapers. Publishing must be the 'main activity' of the organisation, which makes it difficult for NGOs to publish newsletters or magazines, and all publishers must have a 'sufficient number' of registered journalists, an 'approved information centre' as well as 'an approved specialisation'. Further conditions require that all editors-in-chief be at least 40 years old, have at least 15 years of professional experience, possess a university degree and that they have not been convicted of an

9   Memorandum of Understanding between GoNU Ministry of Information and Communication and GoSS Ministry of Telecommunications and Postal Services, 29 May 2007, and Report of the Joint Technical Committee on the Information Sector, 29 May 2007. Both are unpublished but on file with ARTICLE 19.

10   See Sudan's report to the UN Human Rights Committee, UN Doc. CCPR/C/SDN/3, 10 January 2007, para. 292.

11   2004 Act, Section 10

12   The financial resources of the Council consist of an annual subsidy, as may be allocated by the state; fees for licensing and renewal of newspapers; gifts, legacies and aids as may be accepted by the Council and any other resources, as may be approved by the Council. The Press and Printed Press Materials Act, 2004.

offence "inconsistent with honour, honesty" or any offence under the Press Act. The requirements relating to experience and possession of a university degree may be waived if the applicant "satisfies the quality characteristics."

Under the Act, a journalist's licence may be revoked or suspended when he or she has been convicted of a 'press offence' more than once, or for a breach of professional standards, which include a vague requirement to 'respect chastity'. Newspapers may have their licence suspended or revoked for "contravention of any of the conditions of granting the licence". Since the introduction of the 2004 Act, numerous newspapers have been suspended. Examples include Al Sudani, which was suspended for an indefinite period after reporting on the beheading of a newspaper editor; the suspension of Al-Watan in February 2007, after it published an interview with religious militants;[13] and the seizure of an entire daily print run of Ra'y Al-Shaab, in September 2006.[14] There have also been reports of prejudice in the National Press Council examinations against English speakers, with the result that many anglophone journalists have not been able to gain accreditation.[15]

The Act also prohibits the free distribution of foreign publications, and requires non-Sudanese nationals to obtain a separate licence before being allowed to publish. None of these restrictions can be considered "necessary" for the protection of a legitimate aim under the terms of Article 19(3) of the ICCPR. Experience in the past few years has demonstrated that the primary purpose of the registration and licensing system has been to control the print media. It should be noted that few truly democratic countries find it necessary to maintain a licensing or registration regime for the print media, and that official watchdog bodies, including the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, have recommended their abolition.[16]

It should be noted that Sudan's media community has a demonstrated capability to self-regulate, which further diminishes the strength of the government's argument that statutory regulation is "necessary". In July 2007, a group of editors-in-chief and owners of Southern Sudan's leading print media outlets agreed to a voluntary Code of Ethics at a meeting in Juba, and further meetings are envisaged to agree on a monitoring mechanism.

Broadcast regulation
Sudan does not have a free, independent and pluralistic broadcast media. The main TV and radio stations are run by the State and a military censor is reported to be working at the Sudan Radio and Television Corporation (SRTC) to ensure that television news "reflects official views".[17] There are no privately-owned TV broadcasters, apart from a cable service jointly owned by the government and private investors. The few non-government radio broadcasters are limited to private FM stations in Khartoum and in the Southern part of the country, and some international broadcasters, including the BBC and Radio Monte Carlo, relay on FM in Khartoum. Whereas UN radio Miraya has been operating freely in Southern Sudan since June 2006, it was not authorised to broadcast from Khartoum. In October 2007, radio Miraya started broadcasting three hours of news and current affairs per day on short wave radio. The authorities maintain that it is open to private television broadcasting but have yet to issue any TV licences. At the same time, they have issued only a very few radio licences.

The regulatory framework for broadcasting is provided in the 2003 Telecommunications Authority Act, which established the regulatory body for broadcasting. The Authority is the only body empowered to allocate broadcasting frequency in the Sudan in accordance with the modalities prescribed by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). There have

13 As reported on http://www.ifex.org/fr/content/view/full/81136/

14 As reported on http://www.ifex.org/fr/content/view/full/77102/

15 As reported in the US Department of State Human Rights Report, Note 2

16 See the 2003 Joint Declaration issued by the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media and the OAS Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression, available at http://www.cidh.oas.org/Relatoria/showarticle.asp?artID=88&lID=1.

17 As reported by both the BBC, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles/820864.stm, and in the US Department of State's Human Rights Report, Note 2

been no regulations made under the Act, but a working committee has been formed to make recommendations on regulations that would allow the granting of private broadcasting licenses. The committee is made up of government appointees and has not undertaken any public consultations.

Government control over the broadcast sector has deprived the public of an independent and pluralistic broadcast media that can provide it with information from a variety of viewpoints. Radio is one of the main sources of information for the people of Sudan, a country with low levels of literacy and a population that lives dispersed over large areas, beyond the reach of the written press. However, there is no policy to encourage private or community broadcasting or to develop a pluralistic broadcast media, nor is there an independent broadcast regulatory body.

The situation in Southern Sudan, which has autonomous competence in media regulation, is somewhat better but there too, government censorship and interference have been reported. For example, the Government of the State of Bahr al-Jebel shut down the radio station Liberty FM in July 2006, following critical remarks of the government made during a phone-in show. State officials claimed the station was shut down for operating without a licence; however, the station was fully licensed by the Government of Southern Sudan. Although there are some private broadcasters, the government of Southern Sudan has full control over the licensing process.

4.4 New legislation under discussion

A package of four draft media laws, produced by Future Trends Foundation think tank (FTF) at the request of UNDP Sudan and presented to Parliament, shows little improvement over the existing laws. The package of laws include a draft freedom of information law, a draft public service broadcasting law, a draft law setting up a broadcast regulator and a draft law to regulate the print media. According to ARTICLE 19, the proposed new laws will not bring much-needed reform to the media at the national level. Instead they would most likely serve to maintain the status quo for another series of years. The new proposed legislation would in principle repeal the 2004 Act: the drafts envisage a "new" Press Council which, like the existing one, would lack true independence, and which would retain sweeping powers and control over the media sector.[18] In a similar vein, the envisaged new "public service" broadcaster would in reality most likely be little more than a rebadged version of the current government controlled state broadcaster.

The draft media laws at the national level contrast with developments in Southern Sudan where the Legislative Assembly has adopted a more progressive media policy recognising, amongst other things, that self-regulation is the best form of regulation for the print media. Consequently, a voluntary South Sudan Code of Conduct and Ethics for journalists and media professionals was launched at the Southern Roundtable in October 2007.

Four draft bills have been prepared and presented to the then minister of information and broadcasting, Dr. Samson Kwaje; South Sudan Freedom of Information, South Sudan Public Service Broadcasting, South Sudan Broadcasting Frequency Allocation Authority and South Sudan Media Self-Regulation.

18 ARTICLE 19's analysis of the proposed regime can be downloaded from www.article19.org.

5 Description of the media sector

5.1 History

Contemporary mass media in Sudan dates back to 1903, when the country's first newspaper, Al-Sudan, was founded by Shahin Mekarios and Faris Nimir, owners of Almugatam Publishing House in Egypt. It was published twice weekly in English and subsequently in Arabic. It was not considered Sudanese, however, as neither the owner, publisher and editor, nor the targeted readers were Sudanese. It was not until 1918 that the first truly Sudanese paper, Hadarat Al-Sudan, with Sudanese funding and a Sudanese editor, appeared.

The first daily newspaper, Al-Nil, started in 1935 and its launch marked the beginning of sectarian divisions in the print media that led to the main political parties having their own newspapers. The first paper to represent southern views, The Vigilant, was published in Khartoum just over half a century after the publication of Al-Sudan. [19]

As the only available platform for political parties and national leaders to address the Sudanese people, the Sudanese press played a vital role in the national movement towards independence and self determination.

Since independence in 1956 the mass media have served as channels for the dissemination of information supporting various political parties during times of parliamentary rule or official government views during military rule. Under military dictatorships, the Sudanese media have suffered various degrees of harassment and oppression.

Radio, an important medium of mass communication in the country's vast territory, has remained virtually a government monopoly, and television broadcasting a complete monopoly. The Sudan National Radio Corporation (SNRC) came into existence in May 1940. After independence, it became the mouthpiece of the government, and together with television remains state controlled, reflecting government policies. The main language of SRTC programming was and continues to be Arabic.

In opposition to the official broadcast network, the SPLM operated its own clandestine radio station, Radio SPLA, from secret transmitters within the country and from facilities in Ethiopia. Radio SPLA broadcasts were in Arabic, English, and various languages of the south. [20]

The official Sudan News Agency (SUNA) was established in 1971 and provided news about the country in Arabic, English, and French to foreign and domestic services.[21]

Before the June 1989 military coup and notably during the parliamentary periods, Sudan had a very vibrant press, with most political parties publishing a variety of periodicals. The number of daily papers was more than 20 and the number of weekly publications about 15. Including the monthly magazines Sudan had at the time some 55 publications in Arabic and English.[22]

19 Salih, M.M., "The Sudanese Press", Sudan Notes and Records, XL VI 1965.
20 Helen Chapin Metz, Ed. Sudan: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1991
21   Ibid
22 Ibid

During the transitional government that succeeded the military rule of Jafar Numayri (1969 – 1985), free press flourished with the re-emergence of old newspapers like Al-Ayyam and Al-Midan and the launch of other newspapers such as Al-Khartoum, Al-Siasa, etc.

On its first day in power, in one of its first decrees the military regime of Omar al-Bashir (1989 –) banned all newspapers and closed all publications except the Armed Forces newspaper. During the following years, only a few papers and periodicals were authorised – all published either by the military or the government. This period saw the most important mass emigration of Sudanese journalists. Most of the experienced journalists fled the country for the Gulf States, Europe and the USA.

Gradually, the government has permitted publications to open; at first non-political journals (sports, culture, etc.) and after promulgation of the 1993 Press and Publications Act, the authorities began to allow "political"[23] newspapers to publish as long as they were licensed. Nevertheless, they remained subject to censorship, both direct and indirect.

During this phase, media activities were confined to the North; the freedom to seek, receive and impart information was non-existent in the Southern part of Sudan. Radio stations, newspapers, magazines and television channels were all based in the North. [24]

The situation changed only slightly during the period from 1989 until the beginning of this millennium. However, in the past 5 years there has been more space for the media and fewer restrictions on reporting. The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2005 was a turning point in the sense that for the first time in the country, space has opened for a more democratic setup for media ownership and practice. [25]

5.2 Print media

In comparison with the broadcast media, print media have seen the most significant changes towards a more open space for freedom of expression since the military coup in 1989. Today there are at least 17 daily political newspapers in Arabic of which seven are considered to be politically independent. There are two political weeklies, one in Arabic, affiliated with the Sudanese Communist Party, and the English language Juba Post. The media landscape also includes five English dailies, two economic papers, seven sports dailies and 10 social (popular) papers.

The official statistics for newspaper circulation are detailed in the Annual Performance Report 2006 of The National Press Council. According to the report, the total daily distribution of newspapers in 2005 was 292,730 copies. The five major political newspapers are Akhbar Alyoum (32,904), Alsahafa (25,663), Al Rai Al Aam (22,732), Al Khartoum (19,046) and Al Watan, (18,713).

However, the statistics presented in the report have been criticised by publishers and journalists, who claim that its methodology, data collecting methods, information sources and findings are inaccurate. Some newspapers have accused the council of being biased and unfair by deliberately under representing them, while over representing other papers. The report does not discuss newspapers based outside Sudan but distributed within the country such as the Sudan Mirror. In spite of its limitations, though, the Annual Performance Report remains the only available document.

23 *"Political newspapers" is a term used in Sudan to define newspapers that cover local, national and/ or international issues*

24 *Journalists on the Frontline of Human Rights Defense, Conference Report, Entebbe, Uganda, 27 – 29 November 2006*

25 *Ibid*

5.3 Printing houses

Most Sudanese newspapers are printed in the greater Khartoum area, as there are no functioning newspaper printing presses elsewhere in Sudan. There are smaller printing houses around the country, but these are not technically equipped for newspaper printing.

In Southern Sudan, the Nile Printing Press, constructed by Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) in the early 1970s, has been out of operation for a number of years. Therefore, Southern-based newspapers are being printed either outside Sudan, which increases the costs considerably, or by printing houses in Khartoum, which could entail a risk of censorship by the authorities there.

A project funded by a delegation of the European Commission to rehabilitate the Nile Printing Press has not yet materialised and at the present time, the possibility of building a new, smaller printing facility for Southern Sudan is being explored. A printing house in Southern Sudan would allow the printing of newspapers but also make it possible to print books, teaching materials, and so on.

5.4 News agencies

The official Sudan News Agency (SUNA) distributes news in Arabic, English and French and is considered to be tightly controlled by the government through the Ministry of Information. The board consists of seven members who are all appointed by the Minister of Information and the Minister of Finance.

Presently, SUNA has no presence in Southern Sudan. However, according to an agreement in the Joint Technical Committee on the Information Sector, signed by the two ministers of information in May 2007, an office is in the process of being established in Southern Sudan. At the same time, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (GoSS) continues its existing efforts to establish its News Agency for Southern Sudan (NASS). According to the newly appointed director, Moyiga Korokota Nduru, NASS will work independently with no interference from the authorities on editorial content. Plans for NASS include the setting up of sub-offices in the 10 states. The two news agencies will cooperate in all areas; this cooperation includes the training of the new NASS staff. [26]

5.5 Radio stations

Omdurman (State) Radio and State TV were amalgamated in 2002 to become Sudan Radio and Television Corporation (SRTC). The SRTC board of directors is appointed by the Minister of Information; the Chairman of the board is Amin Hassan Omer.

SRTC is tightly controlled by the government and the content of its broadcases is restricted by political and security criteria. The news programming is widely perceived as propaganda. However, music, storytelling, sports, dramas and other non-political programming on both radio and TV is very popular. The main language used is Arabic but programmes in English and French language programmes are increasing in number.

Regional stations began to appear at the beginning of the 1980s. There are regional stations in 18 of the 26 states. These boost the transmission of the mother station at Omdurman and broadcast locally-produced programmes.

26 *Report of the Joint Technical Committee on the Information Sector, 29 May 2007, unpublished but on file with ARTICLE 19.*

Except for outlets in major centres, the regional broadcast outlets are financially fragile and a number of the radio stations are unable to remain on the air for more than five to seven hours a day, with less than half of that time being devoted to locally-produced programming.

The Sudanese Radio and Television Corporation (SRTC) and the National Communication Corporation approve licences for transmissions inside Sudan.

There are eight FM Radio Stations in Khartoum, two owned by the government (Omdurman FM 100 and the Armed Forces Radio); the other six are private radio stations. The Sudanese Radio and Television Corporation owns 15% of all FM private radio stations in return for license fees and facilities. The programming of all these FM stations is based on entertainment rather than news or current affairs. None of them is known to have any political affiliation. [27]

The agreement in the Joint Technical Committee on the Information Sector, signed by the two ministers of information in May 2007, states that the Ministry of Information and Communication (GoNU) shall supply FM radio transmitters to GoSS and the ten Southern States. The aim is to facilitate the work of the Joint Media Committee (JMC) in Southern Sudan for the purpose of dissemination of the CPA and the promotion of the National Healing and Reconciliation programme.

The CPA paved the way for the SRTC station in Juba to gain independence, and to become established in 2006 as Southern Sudan Radio & TV. Its 100 kW transmitter has a reach of 50 km during the daytime; in the evening when it operates at full capacity it reaches a radius of 80 km. It broadcasts in three languages: English, classic Arabic and simple Arabic.

27 For a list of the radio stations, please refer to the appendices.

28 The eight FM radio stations are: Capital FM based in Juba of Central Equatoria state, Liberty FM based both in Juba and Yei of Central Equatoria state, Miraya FM based in Juba of Central Equatoria state including Malakal of Upper Nile state, Rumbek of Lakes state and Wau of Bhar el Ghazal state, Bakhita FM based in Juba of Central Equatoria state, Rumbek FM based in Rumbek of Lakes state, Ngun Kata religious FM based in Kaya of Central Equatoria state, Catholic FM based in Yambio of Western Equatoria state, Warrap FM based in Warrap state and the latest FM station approved is Mango FM radio to be stationed in Juba of Central Equatoria state.

In August 2007, the GoSS Ministry of Information and Broadcasting officially licensed eight FM Radio Stations to private investors. [28] The Catholic radio station Bakhita Radio is one of these. It went on air for the first time on 24 December 2006. Based in Juba with a one kW transmitter, it reaches a radius of 30 kilometres. It is a non-commercial station primarily funded by the Catholic congregation, but international donors have also provided funds. The content features news bulletins in English and Arabic and focuses on civic education, current affairs, peace and reconciliation.

Another example is the UN radio Miraya FM, which has been on air in Southern Sudan since 30 June 2006. The radio is run in partnership between UNMIS and Fondation Hirondelle and provides continuous broadcasts. It features news and debates, call-in programmes and educational programmes. It also provides a forum for a wide range of public service announcements. UNMIS's request to access airwaves throughout the entire country was rejected by the government in Khartoum. But in October 2007, radio Miraya FM started broadcasting three hours per day on short wave radio.

With funding from USAID, Internews Network is implementing a community radio project designated to enhance citizen access to locally and internationally-produced news and information by building a small network of four FM community radio stations in different locations in Southern Sudan. The community radio network will provide new, original programming produced by local reporters and driven by local needs and interests, as well as news and information programmes generated by existing content providers (Sudan Radio Service, National Democratic Institute).

Sudan Radio Service (SRS) started broadcasting from Nairobi, Kenya, in July 2003. It operates on shortwave and broadcasts in 10 languages – English, Arabic and eight Sudanese languages (simple (Juba) Arabic, Dinka, Zande, Moru, Nuer, Bari, Shilluk, and Toposa) – and it is on air six hours a day with a special focus on peace and development issues, civic education, business and economic issues. The content also features music and entertainment programming. The SRS flagship is the civic education programme "Let's Talk", produced in partnership with the National Democratic Institute (NDI). The aim of "Let's Talk" is to raise awareness about constitutional and democratic principles, to encourage dialogue among citizens about the political transition in Sudan and to prepare citizens for organised participation in the political process.

5.6 TV stations

As described in the previous section, SRTC remains under tight governmental control and its content is restricted by political and security criteria. TV is now fully digital, and due to an increased number of satellites, transmission to regional stations has expanded considerably. The main language is classic Arabic, but English and French language programmes are increasing in number.

No private TV stations have been licensed and permitted to broadcast in Sudan. There are now two government National TV channels, the National Channel (Sudan TV) and the Blue Nile Channel, which can be seen throughout the country by satellite.
.
Private Sudanese TV stations have been granted permission to broadcast outside Sudan. Three of them broadcast now from Media City in Cairo, Egypt, while two others are preparing to start broadcasting from Dubai Media City, UAE. [29]

Southern Sudan Radio & TV broadcasts nine hours a day, providing locally-produced programmes as well as international programmes, from CNN and BBC, for example. It also contains one hour daily of national news from SRTC. The languages used are English, classic Arabic and simple Arabic.

5.7 Internet sites

The spread of the internet in Sudan is limited, and the infrastructure is not optimised for high-speed data communication services. In 2006, there were 15 internet service providers operating, but only two had access to the internet. The Sudanese government considers the others to be operating illegally, according to the National Information Centre, the Republic of Sudan Ministry of the Cabinet, the Sudan E-Readiness Assessment Report 2006, and as reported by OpenNet Initiative. [30]

Private internet subscriptions have increased from 50,000 in 2001 to 500,000 in 2005, and the number of internet cafés more than doubled in the same period. Internet usage remains concentrated in Khartoum. [31]

One of the most visited internet media sites is Sudan.net, which includes the latest news and general information in English with discussion forums in Arabic. Sudantribune.com is generally said to be the most influential and up-to-date Sudanese news site in English. It is a non-profit website based in France. Sudaneseonline.com is another popular Sudanese site on the internet.

29 For a list of the private TV stations, please see the appendices.
30 OpenNet Initiative http://opennet.net/research/profiles/sudan
31 Ibid

It includes news in Arabic and English, Sudanese music and entertainment, but is particularly appreciated for its popular discussion forum in Arabic. Gurtong.org is an information network on Southern Sudan for Sudanese in the Diaspora and in Sudan, an independent, community-based project funded by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs.

5.8 Education and training

Media education and training is a seriously neglected area. There is a lack of quality education in media schools and on-the-job training is almost non-existent.

Academic media education in Sudan was begun in 1966 by the Department of Mass Communication in the Faculty of Arts at Omdurman Islamic University. This department was established under the supervision and advice of Egyptian academics from the Faculty of Mass Communication, University of Cairo, and was therefore modelled on the Egyptian academic traditions and syllabus. Later it was upgraded to a full-fledged faculty of mass communication with three departments: Journalism, Public Relations, and Radio and TV. It became the model for all new departments of media and mass communication studies in Sudan.

By the early 1990s, under a new higher education policy called "The Higher Education Revolution", numerous universities were established, along with many departments of mass communication in these new universities. Today there are 19 media schools in Sudan: five independent faculties and 13 departments in faculties of arts and social sciences. [32] In addition, there are many independent training institutions licensed by the Press Council. most of which carry out other activities besides training, as they are licensed as centres for media services. [33]

In spite of the large number of media schools in Sudan, the output has been very poor and there is a call to revise the number and status of these institutions. Central to the criticism is the fact that most of the departments were established without a clear vision or any planning or research into needs and available resources. There is little coordination between the faculties and departments and little exchange of knowledge and experience. Further, the curriculum is academic, with few opportunities for hands-on experience. There is a lack of qualified teachers, and most of them do not have basic journalistic experience. In addition, there is a dearth of technical facilities such as computer labs, studios, and so on.

On-the-job training is very scarce; it takes place in an ad hoc and sporadic way. The Radio and TV Corporation has an established on-the-job training unit, although this unit has limited resources and staff. The National Press council carries out training for journalists working in the printed press, and served approximately 1500 journalists in 2006. The printed media generally do not have an on-the-job training programme or a budget allocated to training, although the press law and Press Council regulations require newspapers to allocate a certain percentage of their income to training. Instead, newspapers tend to depend on free training offers from national and international donors and organisations. BBC World Trust and Deutsche Welle are among the international organisations which have provided training for media practitioners.

32 For a list of the media schools in Sudan, please see appendices.

33 For a list of the training institutions, please see appendices

5.9 Unions and associations

The Sudanese Union of Journalists in Khartoum, whose central mission is defending journalists and the freedom of press, represents some 3,000 members. Improving working conditions and defining the framework for a minimum wage are other responsibilities of the union. Another task is training and improving the skills of the members. The union offers a wide range of courses, among them internet, language, editorial, and so on. The union has training facilities as well as computer rooms and a room for press conferences at its disposal.

On the social side, one recent activity is the construction of flats which will be made available for junior journalists with limited resources on a 10-year term of credit. Senior journalists have access to larger flats under the same conditions.

As with many other unions and associations in the country, the Sudanese Union of Journalists is said to be government controlled and there is a widespread perception among media practitioners in Khartoum that the union does not represent the views and aspirations of members of the profession. On the contrary, it is seen as an offshoot of the government and strongly infiltrated by the security forces, a claim which is refuted by the Sudanese Union of Journalists.

Nevertheless, as a reaction to the increasing incidences of harassment and violence against journalists and the lack of action from the Sudanese Union of Journalists, a new movement called the Sudanese Solidarity Journalist Group was born in May 2007. It began spontaneously as a reaction to the suspension of the al-Sudani newspaper and the subsequent imprisonment of its publisher and editor. According to media professionals, the movement has given journalists a forum to fight back collectively for the first time.

The solidarity movement is as yet a movement with no formal structures. There is therefore no official head or spokesperson nor is there any registration of membership. Although traditionally an indication of institutional weakness, this can be an advantage since it makes the movement less vulnerable to external pressure as there are no specific persons or institutions which can be targeted.

In addition to the solidarity movement, other Khartoum-based journalist organisations exist; an informal network of journalists focusing on human rights issues and linked to the solidarity movement being one example. Female journalists are also organising themselves, building upon an increasing number of women who have graduated and are working in journalism. These women address gender-related issues such as the under representation of female journalists at the editorial and management level in media outlets, as well as the fact that female media practitioners lack priority when training and other opportunities for capacity building are offered.

In Southern Sudan, the Union of Journalists of Southern Sudan (UJOSS) was established in September 2005 and now has some 55 members, the majority of whom are journalists working out of Juba. One of the main priorities for the union is providing for the professional training of journalists in Southern Sudan. Defining minimum wages, improving working conditions and enhancing safety for journalists are other important tasks for the union, which is also in the process of registering with the International Federation of Journalists.

There are at present no existing initiatives in Northern Sudan with regard to media associations or editors' forums, a fact which is deplored by several media practitioners. Meanwhile, in Southern Sudan, the Association for Media Development in South Sudan (AMDISS) – founded by independent media managers and editors – has been active since October 2003. The principal activities of AMDISS are to establish priorities and policy demands for media development, to monitor political developments that affect freedom of expression and to chair the Southern forum for structured roundtable debates on freedom of expression, media policy and media development priorities.

AMDISS was initially represented by media working from outside Sudan, due to the war. Since the signing of the CPA the association has developed activities inside Sudan, and an increased number of its members are now based in Sudan although a significant number continue to have their primary base outside the country. In June 2007 the association opened a media resource centre in Juba, from where its principal activities are managed.

5.10 Traditional and non-conventional media

Some of the methods of communication used today are rooted in pre-history. Storytellers are common to many tribes and communities in Sudan. Music, dance, murals, graffiti and, in some cases, theatre are also traditional modes of communication common to many ethnic groups in Sudan. It is by these means that history is preserved, myths and legends passed on through generations, and cultural, social and other messages are conveyed. Although badly disrupted by the war, these tools for communicating continue to be used, at least in some regions.

Traditional and non-conventional media are being widely used by NGOs to disseminate important messages relating to peace, health or social issues. One example is USAID, which through its partner organisation Development Alternatives Inc. (DAI), has funded 27 dramatic performances to deliver messages of peace to six states along the North-South border that rarely have access to independent information. The performances, all presenting the theme of peace and stability, were based on drama, puppetry and musical shows. With the participation of community leaders, the performances have encouraged the continued dissemination of peace messages throughout the community. [34]

Traditional dance performances often contain social messages. In the Nuba mountains, dance, story-telling and songs are used not only to entertain but also to inform. In the Upper Nile region, songs are extensively used to communicate ideas, messages and much more. In cases where there is a personal conflict and those involved wish to discuss the issue, songs are the preferred option for dialogue. Village criers communicate news and information using homemade microphones, and cyclists go through the villages bellowing messages.

Churches are strong networks for communication and lend their pulpits for announcements. They have survived the long civil war with a relatively intact network and their leaders have good access to the local communities and the ability to mobilise the people living there.

[34] *USAID Sudan Monthly Update December 2006*

5.11 Languages

The promotion of local languages in media programming and the development of community media in order to reach a wide audience is an essential base for contributing to the fight against poverty and for enhancing a participatory and critical democratic society.[35]

The number of languages listed for Sudan is 142. Of those, 134 are living languages and 8 are extinct.[36] Language differences have served as a partial basis for ethnic classification and as symbols of ethnic identity. Such differences have been obstacles to the flow of communication in a state as linguistically fragmented as Sudan. These barriers have been overcome in part by the emergence of some languages as lingua francas and by a considerable degree of multilingualism in some areas.[37]

The most widely spoken languages in Sudan are Arabic, Dinka, Nuer, and colloquial (Juba, Kadugli, etc.) Arabic.

Several lingua francas have emerged and many people have become multilingual, fluent in a native language spoken at home, a lingua franca, and perhaps other languages. Arabic is the primary lingua franca in Sudan, given its status as the country's official language and as the language of Islam. Arabic, however, has several different forms, and not all who master one are able to use another. Despite Arabic's status as the official national language, English was acknowledged as the principal language in southern Sudan in the late 1980s.[38]

35 Journalists Roundtable to mark World Press Freedom Day in Sudan, Juba. UNESCO and the Union of Journalists of Southern Sudan, May 2006

36 Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.), 2005. Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth edition

37 Helen Chapin Metz, ed. Sudan: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1991

38 Ibid

6 Main challenges for the Sudanese media sector

6.1 Stumbling blocks to progress in press freedom

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 opened up space for a more democratic setup for media ownership and practice and resulted in a number of changes to the media situation in Sudan. The progress made has been considerable, especially with regard to the printed press. However, the main obstacles for independent and free media persist, with censorship, control, harassment and persecution of journalists and media actors as ongoing problems. Moreover, the environment for freedom of expression is clearly marked by regional differences. The political context in the North is different from that in the South. By the same token, the conflict in Darfur sets specific parameters for media workers active in that region.

According to a number of media practitioners and other stakeholders interviewed for the assessment, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement did bring about a number of positive changes to the media climate in Sudan. The official lifting of censorship was noted as one positive step. "The general environment with regard to liberty and freedom of expression has increased since the signing of the CPA," says Mahgoub Salih, editor-in-chief for the daily Al-Ayyam in Khartoum. Faisal Mohamed Salih, director of Teeba Press, agrees. "I do believe that there are some steps forward. They may not be as big as we have hoped for. But there are changes. There is a margin of freedom."

The progress made is considerable, especially in the area of the printed press. "This is not a country where it is impossible to express your opinions. But there is still a lot to do in terms of freedom of the press," says Luca Pierantoni, Deputy Head of section at the Delegation of the European Commission in Sudan.

Professor Ali M. Shummo, president of the National Press Council, points to the differences in traditions and culture when comparing the state of freedom of the press in Sudan with the situation in Europe. "There is no censorship in our laws and you will find freedom of expression far better in Sudan than in many other Arab countries. Of course, the way you practise freedom of expression in Sudan is not the same as you do in, for instance, Europe. You have to take the local, traditional, cultural or legal aspects into consideration."

The opening up of a more democratic environment applies mainly to the printed press and especially to the English language newspapers, while control over the Arabic language newspapers appears to be tighter. According to media experts and analysts, the main reason for this is that Arabic language newspapers reach out to a larger part of the population than the English language newspapers, which are read only by a small elite.

National state-run radio and television broadcasting remains under strict government control and reflects government policy. However, in Southern Sudan the transfer of the former SRTC radio and TV to the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) has raised expectations that over time this media

corporation will operate independently of state control and will take a stronger public service approach.

New progressive media legislation, still due for approval, developed in Southern Sudan and the provision of licences to radio stations which can operate independently of government control are other signs that indicate a more positive development in this area in comparison to the rest of the country.

Although noting the progress which has been made, a large number of media representatives interviewed comment on the worsening situation, in particular since September 2006, which has been regressing rapidly towards the conditions in force before the signing of the peace agreement. Censorship has again been enforced, banning coverage on critical issues such as the September 6th beheading of Mohammed Taha, editor-in-chief of the daily Al-Wafaq, the Darfur crisis, and demonstrations against the government and rebel movements. The fear of suspension or confiscation has further led to widespread self-censorship among media practitioners.

This development is also documented by international organisations such as Reporters without Borders[39]. In addition, the Sudan Organisation Against Torture (SOAT) writes in one of their publications: "In spite of the fact that freedom of expression is constitutionally guaranteed by article 39 of the Interim National Constitution, journalists continue to suffer harassment, arrest and detention without charge, ill-treatment and other forms of intimidation, mainly by Sudanese National Security and Intelligence forces."[40]

Commenting on the developments since September 2006, Alfred Taban, chairman of the board of directors and editor-in-chief of the daily Khartoum Monitor, says: "This has drastically changed the media landscape. You do not publish, because if you do, you run the risk of closure".

The situation is precarious and very fragile, confirms Eltayeb Hag Ateya, director of the Peace Research Institute at Khartoum University. "When you look at it, the media seem very, very free. But behind this there is another reality. The legislation which is governing the media is very threatening. The government can shut a newspaper down at any time. It is true that the papers can write almost anything. But if they do, it is under a very eminent threat. The threat may not seem as direct as it used to. The methods have changed. They have become more subtle," says Eltayeb Hag Ateya.

The change of methods has resulted in more indirect censorship, evidenced by examples of suspensions and confiscations. "There used to be a very direct censorship. We used to have this security officer who would come every night to tell you what you could print and what not to print. Today, the physical and direct censorship has almost disappeared. Now you are punished after you publish. If you have the courage to publish controversial information, you can. But after, you may be punished," says Faisal Mohamed Salih, media consultant and director of Teeba Press.

The power of the National Press Council to issue and to suspend or revoke licences for both media houses and individual journalists is an important key to controlling the media. As described in chapter 4.3, the 2004 Press and Publications Act sets strict conditions for individuals as well as for companies who want to operate in the media profession. Licensing is thus perceived as another strategy for strong-arming the media, and some media practitioners refuse to apply for a licence.

39 Reporters Without Borders annual report 2007
40 SOAT newsletter, January – July 2007

"It is a constitutional right to express your point of view. As a journalist, I will therefore not apply for a licence," says Nhial Bol, chairman of the board of directors and editor-in-chief of the Juba-based newspaper The Citizen.

Ala Eldin Bashir Mohammed is a journalist with the Al-Sahafa newspaper, where he writes political analyses. He is not a member of the Sudanese Union of Journalists, nor is he registered with the National Press Council. "Both the council and the union have failed the journalists," he explains. As he holds no licence, he is not able to use his own by-line when he writes his articles.

Confiscation is another tool used by the national authorities to control the media, says Mudawi Ibrahim Adam, the chairperson of the Sudan Social Development Organization (SUDO). "They do not tell you not to publish information as in the old days. At that time, they would come to the offices and stop you before printing. Today they allow you to print, but then when you are about to distribute your newspaper, they will confiscate it. In this way, a private person, who is spending tens of thousands of dollars in getting a paper on the street, will lose all his money. If your paper gets confiscated three or four times, you are lost. Financially eaten up. So you impose self-censorship."

The fear of suspension, closure or imprisonment has led to a widespread self-censorship among journalists, editors-in-chiefs and other media practitioners in Khartoum. "Many will just go with the government to pay their daily bread. They want to protect their businesses and therefore they impose self-censorship," argues Alfred Taban.

Advertising is another way for the government to control critical media and eventually make them impose self-censorship. "Government advertising is being used as a weapon. If they do not like what you write, they will not give you any orders. And they will give you a hundred different reasons. That you are a newcomer to the market, that your distribution is not good enough," explains Mahgoub Salih, Al-Ayyam's editor-in-chief.

William Ezekiel Kujo Deng, chairman of the Board of Directors and editor-in-chief of the Sudan Tribune, has not experienced any direct censorship since he started his newspaper in 2006, although he writes "pretty hard pieces". Nevertheless, he has suffered from indirect censorship. "What they do is to hit you by not giving you any advertising. The advertising issue is very serious for us. As long as you do not support the government, you do not get the advertising. The government is really tightening up on these issues," he says.

In Southern Sudan detentions or other forms of harassment are happening less frequently. Nevertheless, incidents such as the detainment in August 2007 of Nhial Bol, the editor-in-chief of the Citizen Newspaper, for reporting on a car purchase scandal allegedly implicating a former GoSS minister of finance have been noted[41]. Cases like this are commonly explained away by Southern authorities as mistakes by low-level police or military personnel who are applying customs from past times. However, Nhial Bol disputes this explanation. "Security cannot intimidate anybody unless they have direct orders. I know they belong to the government."

According to Albino Okeny, a communications officer for the World Bank based in Juba, the climate for freedom of expression has not really been tested in Southern Sudan. He claims that there is a lack of investigative reporting examining the Government of Southern Sudan more closely. "So far the local newspapers have not done anything to prove that the Government is tolerant and can tolerate somebody criticising them."

41 As reported by Sudan Tribune on 9 August 2007 (http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article23195)

During the gathering of information for this assessment it became clear that there is a strong need for mechanisms to monitor the abuse of freedom of expression at the national as well as the Southern level. Although some Sudanese organisations such as the Khartoum Centre for Human Rights & Environmental Development (KCHRED) and the Sudan Organisation Against Torture (SOAT) are active in the field of monitoring and investigating violations of freedom of expression, there is no systematic monitoring which can provide a basis for developing initiatives to enhance the environment for freedom of expression, for instance by creating legal networks to assist individuals and media houses.

6.2 Legal reform challenges

That there is a dire need for legal reforms compatible with the Constitution, international standards and best practice in the area of freedom of expression and access to information is undeniable. Numerous initiatives aiming for the adoption of new media legislation at the national level and in the South further illustrate the need for media law reforms.

To this effect, a number of roundtables bringing together key stakeholders to debate the importance of drafting new laws have been convened over the past few years. At the national level, the Future Trends Foundation for Strategic Studies & Dialogue, a think tank close to the governing party which has funding from UNDP, invited a selected group of experts, who developed a set of four draft media laws. In Southern Sudan, other draft media bills have been prepared representing a more progressive media policy. Please refer to chapter 4 for more detailed information on the new media legislation.

Lawyer and columnist Nabil Adib Abdallah stresses the lack of political good will as a major stumbling block on the road to freedom of expression. His concern is shared by Eltayeb Hag Ateya, director of the Peace Research Institute at Khartoum University, who was one of those responsible for drafting the four laws. "Even if we manage to produce reasonably good laws, we are the first step. Things change from the next step. And then once it comes to the commission before going into Parliament, they will insert two or three paragraphs or negative amendments, which will destroy it all. We just sit and watch, because we cannot do anything. The government will just change it".

The government's readiness to adopt laws that in principle allow for media freedom is regarded with cynicism by some. The chairperson of SUDO, Mudawi Ibrahim Adam, even goes as far as stating that "there are no institutions and no rule of law" in Sudan.

The developments at the national level that are likely to face a fierce advocacy and media campaign for the improvement of the draft laws contrast with the situation in Southern Sudan. The Legislative Assembly in Southern Sudan has adopted a progressive media policy recognising, amongst other things, that self-regulation is the best form of regulation for the print media.

Yet even if 'good' intentions exist, there are other challenges that make the goal of introducing laws that will be in line with international standards far from sufficient. In the South, for instance, where GOSS is showing a willingness to adopt progressive laws, the capacity for implementing this legislation is a challenge that surpasses the political will to do so. The improbability of the Government of Southern Sudan being able to implement these laws, largely because of logistical obstacles, has been pinpointed as a challenge.

A simple example of the difficulty facing GoSS in exercising its authority is the recurring harassment of journalists in Juba at the hands of what Albino Okeny, World Bank Communications Officer and former editor of the Khartoum Monitor, called "ignorant" security agents who think a journalist needs a written permission from a government authority in order to do his/her work.

Yet another challenge that has faced GoSS in exercising its authority was the impasse between the Ministry of Information, Radio and TV of GoSS and the Ministry of Information and Communications of the Government of National Unity (GoNU). According to Samson Kwaje, former Minister of Information and Broadcasting for GoSS, the Ministry of Communications and Telecommunications in Khartoum finds it difficult to accept that the Government of Southern Sudan has the right to regulate or issue licences to media and allocate broadcast frequencies, or to license radio communications in the South. The thinking and interpretation behind this position, Kwaje stated, was that all issues to do with the sovereignty of the Sudan are the prerogative of the Government of National Unity based in Khartoum as per the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

In an attempt to resolve this deadlock, after a series of meetings in both Khartoum and Juba, the two ministries have agreed to reactivate the Joint Technical Committee on the Information Sector as envisaged in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Among the issues to be addressed are the dissemination of the CPA and the development of public outreach campaigns to foster the process of healing and reconciliation. The Committee will have equal representation, with meetings in both Juba and Khartoum on a rotational basis. The Committee will also have specialised sub-committees at the national, GoSS and at the state level. Among the key issues agreed to on 29 May 2007 was the provision for supplying FM transmitters to the ten states in Southern Sudan by the National Government in order to carry out the public outreach campaigns on the CPA. On 14 August 2007 this was acted upon and the GOSS Ministry of Information and Broadcasting issued official licences to eight FM stations. Another key aspect agreed upon was the formation of a News Agency for South Sudan under the Ministry of Information, Radio and TV, to run parallel to the National Sudan News Agency.

The need for capacity-building at all levels – both in Southern Sudan and at the national level – is considered to be of equal importance as the need for improving the regulatory regime for the media. According to Radhia Achouri, spokesperson for the United Nations Mission in Sudan: "Even if laws were adopted in accordance to international standards, there should be capacity-building for the institutions in place to enforce these laws."

The need for capacity-building emerged as a predominant demand by journalists and authorities alike. "You cannot talk about rights when you do not know what the laws are giving you," says El Sadiq al Fakih, programme advisor to the Future Trends Foundation for Strategic Studies & Dialogue, referring to the need to train journalists on legal knowledge and professionalism.

The effort to reform the legislative framework governing the media in Sudan is an arduous task requiring advocacy not only for the adoption and implementation of laws in line with international standards but also for a series of capacity-building initiatives aiming to ensure that these laws are properly implemented by the authorities and enjoyed by journalists. The need for ongoing international and local pressure is also vital to ensure the government's respect for freedom of expression and media freedom – a crucial ingredient in democratic governance.

6.3 Need for professional skill building

The standards of journalism in Sudan suffer from a serious lack of education and training. Professional journalists are scarce; providing objective and relevant reporting is consequently a challenge for many Sudanese newspapers. The lack of ethical guidelines and self-regulating mechanisms – although now emerging in the South – has made it even more difficult to raise the standards of this challenged profession.

In spite of the large number of media schools in Sudan, the results are extremely discouraging. The academic and professional standards of the graduates are extremely basic and on-the-job training is almost non-existent. In Southern Sudan, the emergence of a number of new media has underlined the need for journalists who have gone through basic training.

The relatively poor quality of journalism in Sudan is a problem which is being acknowledged by both the media practitioners themselves and by other stakeholders such as donors, and representatives from national or international organisations and NGOs.

"Journalism is not applying as a profession which has its own education, skills, ethics etc," says Radhia Achouri, spokesperson for the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS). Dealing with journalists on a daily basis, she often finds herself misrepresented in the media, either by mistake due to the simple lack of knowledge and experience of the individual journalist, or deliberately by journalists who are representing a specific political agenda.

"I have been dealing with journalists during press conferences who ask the most basic questions. In the way they ask their questions, you can tell that there has been no preparation at all. When writing their stories, they sometimes simply just improvise the quotes. I have also been dealing with journalists who seem driven more by political beliefs than by objective criteria. They do not ask questions as if they were journalists, but act as if they were civil society representatives," says Radhia Achouri.

The previous military regimes are seen as one of the main reasons for the poor standards. Some of the most talented journalists simply fled the country during oppressive dictatorships and did not return. Only a few of the journalists who stayed behind have been able to carry out their profession in an atmosphere in which a free press should operate. Practically all journalists – at least all journalists under the age of 40 – have grown up in a climate of dictatorship and censorship, having to deal with confiscations, suspensions, imprisonment and other forms of harassment.

"In any post-conflict country, you will see a huge need for education. For 20 years, we have not had competitive, pluralistic elections here in Sudan. No journalist at the age of 40 has ever participated in one," says Mahgoub Salih, Al-Ayyam's editor-in-chief, pointing towards the need to strengthen the capacities for journalists before the coming elections.

To ensure the promotion of peace and reconciliation in a country marked by decades of war and conflict, the education and training of journalists must be made an absolute priority. "As responsible for a democratic transformation and the promotion of freedom and human rights, we need to create a qualified media cadre. There is peace now and we need to reconcile," says William Ezekiel Kujo Deng, chairman of the Board of Directors and editor-in-chief of the Sudan Tribune.

Education and training is considered fundamental by all stakeholders: journalists and editors-in-chief, national and international NGOs, government officials and donor representatives.

The programme advisor to the Future Trends Foundation for Strategic Studies & Dialogue, ElSadiq al Fakih, considers the lack of professionalism and the need for training a key issue in the development of a free and fair media in Sudan.

"We need training, training and more training. Whenever there has been a change in power in this country, one of the first causalities has always been the media. Many well-trained journalists left the country and never came back. So whenever we start over again, we start from scratch. We have generations left out, because there was no handover from one generation to another. New journalists took over without being properly trained and it has affected the professionalism of the entire media landscape," says ElSadiq al Fakih.

Ali M. Shummo, president of the National Press Council, points to the fact that when referring to journalism and freedom of expression, people always tend to talk about the laws rather than about the quality of the media.

"The standard in the media is very, very weak. We need to make sure that those who are practising the profession are able to do it in a responsible way. If you give freedom to the journalists, you also need to cater for the building of their capacity. That is one of our main concerns now – to improve the quality and structure of the media institutions themselves," says Ali M. Shummo.

Nevertheless, media training remains an extremely neglected area and is conducted in an ad hoc and unsystematic way. Few printed media have a training programme or a budget allocated for training, depending rather on free training offers from national and international organisations. The National Press Council regulations require newspapers to allocate a certain percentage of their income to training, but no newspaper is doing so.

"None of the newspapers care about training," says Ala Eldin Bashir Mohammed from the Al-Sahafa newspaper during an interview with a group of young journalists who all stress the importance of training.

"Nobody tells us what to do or tells us how to do it. We are just told to write a story with no guidance from anybody," says Maaz Idris Alnugomi from the Al-Sudani newspaper. "Sometimes, there is a training course arranged by the National Press Council or by an NGO. But often, newspapers do not send their journalists, because they will then lose a day's work," says Gata Willow, a journalist at the Juba Post.

The Sudanese Radio and TV Corporation (SRTC) has an established on-the-job training unit, but it has limited resources and staff. General manager Amin Hassan Omer deplores the lack of financial support for capacity-building; according to Mr. Omer, donors are reluctant to support the Sudanese media because they think that the government is controlling it.

"In many areas, the needs are very clear. We need to raise the capacity of the journalists and the media. But nothing has been done. We have not received a single penny from anybody. So now, we are funding our own training courses. I have spent 300,000 USD from my own resources on training, but I do it because I think that I need to," says Amin Hassan Omer.

According to Secretary General Abdul Dafi Al Khateeb from the Ministry of Information and Communication, being in the "bad books of the West" means that the government of Sudan has been cut off. Interaction at the international level has therefore been extremely limited, and this affects the development of the media in Sudan.

"We need more interaction. We rely on international institutions to lead the way. We need you to educate the leaders of the press and the electronic media in how to administer their organisations in a way that can make them work according to international standards," says Abdul Dafi Al Khateeb.

To enhance the professional standards of the media practitioners, sustainable training is urgently required. "What we need to concentrate on in the near future is training the trainers. I have seen people coming in from abroad to give a seven-day course to journalists and then leave. That is not sustainable," says Mahgoub Salih, editor-in-chief of the Al-Ayyam newspaper.

6.4 Poor working conditions

Basic working conditions and employment rights in the Sudanese media are poor, especially in the printed media. There is widespread exploitation not least of young journalists; some work for months without pay and when actually paid, the salaries are so low that it is impossible to make a living from the profession. There are no real regulations that limit the number of working hours or ensure compensation. As a consequence, many Sudanese journalists have emigrated to find better job opportunities especially in the Gulf States.

Maaz Idris Alnugomi is a young journalist at the Al-Sudani newspaper in Khartoum. When he started working as a journalist, he worked for the first two months without any pay, working up to 80 hours per week. He was told that he had to prove himself. When two months later he went to talk to the editor, he was given a salary of 150 USD a month. "Hardly enough for anything," as Maaz Idris Alnugomi says.

The pressure on young journalists is very high, says Gata Willow, a journalist at the Juba Post. "As a young journalist, you are expected to do more. And often you are only paid by the article and not per month."

The exploitation of young journalists is very common, confirms Faisal Mohamed Salih, a journalist and the director of Teeba Press, an organisation which provides training mainly for journalists and other media practitioners. "The young journalists are being told that they have to go through training. In this way, some of them might be working for 12 or 24 months without pay. It is a very common practice. They agree to work without pay because they have hopes that they will eventually be appointed," he says.

As a consequence of the poor working conditions, a large number of professional journalists have left Sudan to find better opportunities elsewhere. "If you go to Al Jazeera or any of the other media in the Gulf, you will see hundreds of Sudanese journalists. They emigrate if they can," says Faisal Mohamed Salih.

ElHag Ali Warrag, a columnist at the Al-Sahafa newspaper in Khartoum, sees the financial situation in most newspapers as the main explanation for the low level of salaries. "The main issue is really the economy of the media. Most of them run with losses. If they are assured that they can survive financially, the papers can pay proper salaries to the journalists," he states.

According to a high number of journalists interviewed, the Sudanese Union of Journalists has failed to enforce laws or regulations that would ensure acceptable working conditions for journalists. "If we had a real syndicate, it could put pressure on the newspapers to pay their journalists a decent salary. And it could put pressure on the government to improve conditions when it comes to improving freedom of speech," says Faisal Mohamed Salih.

The Sudanese Union of Journalists in Khartoum has a framework for salary rates which sets the minimum wage for journalists at 350 USD per month, but few media owners agree to pay this minimum.

"The revenues of the papers go to columnists, who easily make 4000 dollars a month. Newspapers here are privately owned, not owned by the government. Therefore, we cannot impose sanctions on them to pay acceptable salaries. Most journalists succumb to that and agree to work under these circumstances," says President Mehieddine Titawi of the Journalists Union.

In Southern Sudan, a priority area for the newly-established Union of Journalists of Southern Sudan (UJOSS) is assuring minimum wages and improving working conditions for their members.

Journalism being a traditionally male-dominated profession, an increasing number of women are today working in the field. An influx of female graduates from the universities combined with new media outlets popping up across the country has improved the job opportunities for female journalists over the past years.

However, gender inequalities still exist, leaving women behind when it comes to working conditions. Women are generally paid less and they do not have the same access to training as their male colleagues. Also, female journalists at editorial and management level in media outlets are clearly under represented.

Gata Willow is a young journalist with the Juba Post. She has never received any training and her salary is lower than that of her male colleagues. But being a female reporter can also be a problem when working in an islamic society, she says. "Travelling and working alone can be quite a problem. If I am interviewing a minister and want to take a picture of him for the newspaper, I may not be allowed to do so because I am a woman."

6.5 Politicization of the media sector

The highly politicised environment in Sudan is reflected in the media sector. A significant part of the media in Sudan operates within a set political frame, pursuing political goals and the desire to influence public opinion and decision making.

This is clearly illustrated by the government control of Sudan Radio and TV Broadcasting Corporation (SRTC). Although the General Manager of SRTC, Amin Hassam Omer, defends the independence of the corporation, it is clear that the institution is influenced by government authorities and seeks to promote messages in line with government politics.

"The radio is government owned and it does not broadcast anything that the government does not want", states Eltayeb Haq Ateya, Director of the Peace Institute at Khartoum University. The programme advisor to the Future Trends Foundation for Strategic Studies & Dialogue, ElSadiq al Fakih,

confirms: "SRTC is still conveying the message of the government and they are not giving any real space to opponents. When an issue is debated it is seen from the same angle. The participants are mostly the same, mainly politicians from government, who are participating in such debates."

The SPLM is one political actor which criticises the media coverage of SRTC. A spokesperson for the party, media and cultural attaché Deng Goc Aywel, says that SPLM is not adequately portrayed. "When John Garang came to Khartoum he was met with a great reception. But the government media did not cover it, while the major satellite channels and the newspapers covered it", he gives as an example.[42]

Commenting on the issue of balanced reporting, SRTC General Manager Amin Hassan Omer states that there will always be political actors who are not satisfied with the coverage they are given: "In a country like Sudan, where people are sharply divided in politics, it is sometimes very difficult to keep the balance. There will always be somebody who would say that you are not giving him an equal chance."

The ownership structures of newspapers confirm the political interests in media production. Some newspapers are directly affiliated with specific political institutions. This is the case of Ray Alshaab Daily Newspaper, which is the official paper of the Popular Congress Party. For other newspapers the political interests are less visible; for example, where security personnel or persons affiliated with the government are key investors. An assessment of the current 17 Arabic daily political newspapers found four to be pro-government, while six other newspapers are strong supporters of specific political lines. Of the five English newspapers two can be considered to be supporters of SPLM and one of the government.

The politicization of the media is reflected in the process of setting up a UN radio station. The United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), established by Security Council resolution 1590 to assist the implementation of the CPA, has been engaged in setting up the radio service Radio Miraya. Although UNMIS had been invited by the Government in Southern Sudan (GoSS) to broadcast in the south, the idea met with resistance from authorities in Khartoum, who denied UN access to the airwaves of the entire country. In October 2007, Radio Miraya started broadcasting short wave radio three hours of news and current affairs per day. The signal can be heard all over Sudan and in neighbouring countries.

The politicization of the media affects the news and information offered to the Sudanese population. Ibrahim Sidibe, a UNESCO representative in Sudan, says: "There is a need to restore hope and trust, and to let people know exactly what is happening. How to fill the gap between leaders and people on the progress of the peace process? Only press and information systems can help with this. If this gap is not filled, the gap will be dug deeper and deeper."

When the media fail to provide a well-balanced recounting of events and opinions in the society, citizens need to read between the lines or visit a variety of media outlets to get a more complete overview of developments. Thus, the individual media are not serving as a platform for a variety of opinions, a service which is usually expected from the media in a democratic country. This situation can potentially fuel tensions and conflicts between distinct political interest groups in the country.

It is important for citizens to be able to frequent a variety of media in order to develop their own understanding of events and developments. This might

42 *John Garang came to Khartoum on 8 July 2005, after not being able to visit the capital since 1983.*

be possible for citizens in urban areas, who have access to a larger variety of media. In comparison, the rural population and the many illiterates in Sudan are not that fortunate, and must rely on very few media outlets, such as radio and TV produced by SRTC. This creates the risk that specific political points of views or the omission of certain issues can influence the opinions of large segments of the population.

There are indications of changes within SRTC. The general manager, Amin Hassan Omer, points towards the newly established committee which is developing recommendations for a new regulatory framework to replace the 2003 Telecommunications Authority Act. This committee has been criticised for consisting of government appointees and for not undertaking public consultations. Still, the relative opening up to the question of legal reform should not be disregarded; it has the potential for starting a process of political independence of SRTC.

The recent introduction of commercial radio stations in Northern Sudan is another sign of relaxing control, which may over time allow for a push for changes within the radio spectrum. So far the eight FM radios which have received a licence are commercially-based media, broadcasting primarily entertainment programmes. However, this does not change the fact that the SRTC monopoly has been challenged, and that there exists a potential for development of a content which includes news and information.

In the meantime, the major changes come from abroad. The newly-established satellite channels directed towards Sudan will definitely present severe challenges for the SRTC monopoly. These changes are welcomed by the SRTC chairman, who says: "I see the competition as something inevitable. I think this is positive, since you cannot talk about democracy if you have monopoly over the media".

The changes in Southern Sudan might also serve as a reference point for actors working for media reform at a national level, the transfer of the former SRTC radio and TV in Southern Sudan from the national government to the Government of Southern Sudan being one example. Although still under state control, the corporation perceives itself as more independent than before.

"We are more free than in the North. Even if we are a government radio, we can criticise the government", says Director General Arop Bagat Tingloth. One of his colleagues, Director of News and Programmes, Yousif Michael Dafallah, confirms: "Part of our role is to get from the people what they want the government to do."

A draft Southern Sudan Public Service Broadcasting Bill has been drawn up, giving Southern Sudan Broadcasting Corporation (SSBC) an overall mandate to provide a wide range of programming for the whole territory of Southern Sudan. The bill states that in order to fulfil its public service broadcasting role, SSBC shall strive to provide a broadcasting service that is independent of governmental, political or economic control that reflects editorial integrity and does not represent the views or opinions of the SSBC.

Contributing to this is the increased number of radios in the Southern Sudan, of which many include programmes featuring debate and interaction with the audience. This is the case with programmes such as "Let's Talk", which mix drama, debate among citizens, and education, an important step forward towards the introduction of media formats closer to the reality and the needs of the population, using debate and reflection that stimulates the development of democratic participation.

6.6 Informing and reporting on the peace agenda

The Joint Assessment Mission of 2005 states that in post-war countries, freedom of expression and a functional and professionally-oriented media is a central factor for any programme of peace building, social reconstruction and national reconciliation.[43]

The restrictions on a free and pluralist media in Sudan thus present a serious challenge to peace building and the cultivation of transparency and public accountability, the rule of law and democracy. The lack of information about the Comprehensive Peace Agreement means less ownership of it on the part of the Sudanese people, and the lack of unbiased political reporting means that they are not properly prepared for crucial events stipulated in the CPA such as the census and the upcoming elections.

The media are key players in the political process. It is therefore crucial to keep a space for them, underlines Jerome Surur, the Deputy Resident Representative from Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) in Juba. "We realise that media is a very important element in post-war Sudan. The media are a vehicle for raising awareness and for enabling the peace process to continue."

Hence, the lack of information on the peace agreement poses a serious risk to the peace process in Sudan, according to media practitioners and other stakeholders interviewed for this assessment.

"We have a peace agreement, but people do not own it. There is a serious need for people to get a basic understanding of what the peace agreement is about. There is so much in it which needs to be understood. For whatever happens, whether people decide to separate or stay as a union, South and North have to live together. We have our common identity and we need to leave the mentality of suspicion behind. Politics is one thing, but we have to live together. We have to build bridges," says Dan Eiffe, director of the Sudan Development Trust, publishers of the Sudan Mirror Newspaper.

The provision of qualified information about the peace agreement is one of the strategic focuses of the organisation Pact Sudan, which has increased access to accurate and quality information on the CPA for diverse Sudanese communities. One of the tools used has been the publication of the Summary Booklet of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which provides an overview of the main aspects of the agreements written in an accessible and readable way.

Still, the need for information three years after the signing of the CPA persists, according to Marv Koop, country director for Pact Sudan. "There is still an enormous demand for more information, especially now as we are getting closer to the census, and a huge need to get information out about the process." Although the Summary Booklet has been widely distributed in Southern Sudan, the authorities in Northern Sudan have limited any distribution to the official CPA documents.

There is widespread concern among media practitioners, donors and other stakeholders that the upcoming elections will be conducted in an environment of limited freedom of speech. "If the government is going to monopolise all the institutions, then there will be no fair competition," says Bashir Adam Rahma, a board member of the newspaper Ray al-Shaab.

At UNDP, the main focus for the coming few years is to create an environment which will allow the elections to take place in a free and fair atmosphere,

43 *Joint Assessment Mission Sudan, Capacity Building & Institutional Development, 18 March 2005*

according to deputy country director Auke Lootsma. "One wants to create a level playing ground for all political parties. And this is also why media are so important."

The mounting pressure on the media in 2006 and 2007 has been a serious concern. Annelies Ellerman, Second Secretary at the Political Section of the Dutch Embassy in Khartoum, sees a clear link to the upcoming elections. "In order to have free elections, the different parties should be able to express themselves and to campaign freely. People do not know whom to vote for, if there is no freedom of expression. If you apply a general ban, you can do what you want, really," she says.

However, the people of Sudan have started to speak up and to organise again. David Aruai Dau, senior bureau producer of Sudan Radio Services in Juba feels the difference. "We just got out of a very hostile situation; therefore, we are very careful. The former government of Sudan instilled fear in the population. If they talked to a journalist, they would come and arrest you afterwards. So up to last year, it was difficult to get people to talk to you. This is now changing. Today, if I go to the market with my microphone, people will come to me and will want to talk. They want to be heard."

People are craving democracy, says Eltayeb Hag Ateya, director of the Peace Research Institute at Khartoum University. "We encourage people to create organisations to form a civil society, so we can fill the void with the voices of the people. People are now willing to die for democracy."

Mudawi Ibrahim Adam, chairperson of the Sudan Social Development Organization (SUDO) sees journalists and the media as the front line in promoting human rights and in fighting oppression and corruption. Therefore, as a representative of civil society, he is trying to influence them. "Civil society is very fragile in this country. It is quite a new thing, so we have to be very cautious. It takes time to build a civil society and fighting for democracy will take a long time, especially in a society like ours. We are therefore trying to make networks and alliances."

However, authorities continue to exercise control over civil society through various forms of harassment or through arbitrary registration and licensing practices. Many NGOs and their representatives therefore choose to keep a very low profile in order to avoid running the risk of being closed down or detained. Providing support to established and emerging media institutions and civil society organisations is therefore of paramount importance.

6.7 Access to information

Accessing information remains a challenge for media practitioners as well as for other civil society representatives. There is at present no laws assuring the access to information but at national level as well as in Southern Sudan, a set of draft laws have been elaborated, among them a freedom of information law. If enacted, it would be among the first laws of the kind in the region. However, the national draft access to information law establishes a regime of exceptions to information so broad that it will in practice serve as a "secrecy law", according to ARTICLE 19.

"No journalists are able to get open and free access to government information. We definitely need an information act – to ensure the free access to information for media, scientists and others," says Eltayeb Hag Ateya, director of the Peace Research Institute at the Khartoum University.

In Southern Sudan, accessing information seems to be easier than at the national level, according to some of the journalists interviewed for this assessment. "In principle, it is not a problem to get the information. Most of the politicians participate. Some of them know that they are not delivering and therefore, they become very protective. But we are constantly trying to educate them," says Victor Lugala, managing director at Sudan Radio Service.

Bullen Kenyi Yatta, chief editor at the Juba Post, confirms that there are difficulties in getting access to information, at least in some of the government offices. "The problem is that we have just come out of a war and that people are not used to practicing democracy."

As for the enacting of an access to information law in Southern Sudan, Eltayeb Hag Ateya has his doubts over the intentions of the government. "In spite of liberal, democratic ideas, all military movements around the world have maintained the control over the media. They have not dared to reform the laws because they are afraid of the consequences. I fear it would be the same in the case of SPLM," says Eltayeb Hag Ateya.

The lack of capacity to implement the right to information is a key concern among government officials in Southern Sudan. "How can we make sure that citizens can get copies of requested documents when we do not even have money to buy diesel for the generators to run the photocopiers? We must make sure that the government is not just passing laws that it is not capable of implementing," as one puts it. It will therefore be important to support the implementation of the access to information laws once they have been enacted.

6.8 Technical and financial constraints

Working in the largest country in Africa which is coming out of a 21-year long civil war resulting in great destruction of infrastructure, particularly in Southern Sudan, means that the media sector is facing great limitations related to the technical and infrastructural aspects of media production.

ElHag Ali Warrag, a columnist at Al Sahafa, stresses the poor economy of many of the Khartoum-based papers as a serious problem. The high costs for printing paper are a main expense that needs to be covered. Many newspapers are running losses, he says. The high number of papers competing for few readers and a limited amount of advertisement funding is part of the problem. Newspapers perceived as being critical of the government or of being affiliated with the political opposition, such as The Citizen, have an even harder time, since they are passed over when government institutions are placing advertisements.

The weak economy has severe effects on the quality of the media, since there are few resources to develop and improve the product. Eltayeb Hag Ateya, Director of the Peace Institute at Khartoum University, says that the quality of the print media could be expected to be better than it is. "Everything remains the same, and develops in a very slow manner", he says.

The precarious situation requires papers to be subsidised by external sources. For some papers, there are political parties or other Sudanese political actors behind investments. Others receive funding from agencies for international cooperation to maintain and develop their operations.

Distribution is another major concern for newspapers. "Distribution has been a headache for me for the last 4-5 years now", says the editor-in-chief of Al-Ayam, Mahgoub Salih. The paper sells approximately 70% of its papers in Khartoum, while the rest are distributed by bus or plane to other parts of Sudan. This makes the newspaper highly dependent on the logistics of the transport system. "If the printing is late one day we miss the bus. If the flight is overbooked, the newspaper will get dumped from the flight", he states. A flexible and secure system that can assure that the paper gets through and which is affordable for the paper, is a constant challenge. Mahgoub Salih says that these are issues that have been discussed among editors in Khartoum. Still, it is difficult to reach joint initiatives on this and other matters: "We are still living under the impression that we are competitors and not colleagues", he says.

Dan Eiffe, director of the Sudan Development Trust, publishers of the Sudan Mirror Newspaper, sees distribution as the main problem for papers working in Southern Sudan. Previously, Sudan Mirror assured a great part of their distribution by using the many flights organised by agencies for international cooperation involved in humanitarian work in Southern Sudan. This has changed with the signing of the CPA, and distribution now needs to be carried out on an economic basis. The lack of a system for retrieval of the sales costs has meant that in some cases the paper is given away free. However, free copies are sponsored copies and as Sudan opens up, it becomes increasingly easy to collect the revenues, comments Dan Eiffe. Advertisements are the main source of income for the Sudan Mirror. Supplements on specific issues such as human rights, information on the CPA and so on are usually sponsored by NGOs.

The weekly Juba Post, produced in Juba and printed in Khartoum, confirms the problems with distribution. They rely on friends to bring it to towns outside Juba, and trust them to bring back the income from the sales, says Editor-in-Chief Bullen Kenyi Yatta.

The lack of a printing press in Southern Sudan is another key problem identified by Dan Eiffe and other newspaper editors directing their media primarily towards that region. All papers have to be printed either in Khartoum or. if that is not possible. in Kenya or Uganda. "Even if regrettable, Nairobi is still strategically better for distribution, as there are more flights to destinations in South Sudan," says Dan Eiffe. The absence of printing facilities is a situation which not is sustainable in the long-term and several initiatives are underway for setting up a printing press in Southern Sudan.

The difficulties of distribution combined with high illiteracy in rural areas means that newspapers do not serve as mass media for the larger part of the population, hardly reaching out to the rural segments.

The electronic media, and in particular the radio, are the media par excellence for reaching out to the larger part of the population. Still, the radio is also facing a number of constraints, including the level of outreach, which to a certain degree lacks programming designed for rural listeners. One of the most powerful radios in Southern Sudan is the 100 kW transmitter of Southern Sudan Radio & TV situated in Juba. However, due to frequent power cuts. the transmitter does not always run at full capacity. Sudan Radio Service, produced in Nairobi with a satellite office in Juba, transmits on shortwave. In principle it reaches out all over Southern Sudan, but it has been reported to be difficult to receive. Several of the programmes at the Sudan Radio Service are now being repeated by FM transmitters on the ground, but mainly in urban areas. The new radio stations established in Southern Sudan also have their audiences in urban areas.

The poor condition of the technical equipment at some radio stations is another problem. In the case of Southern Sudan Radio & TV the equipment and the general infrastructure is very basic. They do in fact have a fully modern digitalised recording and editing facility, but this has ceased to function due to the lack of spare parts and air-conditioning to protect the equipment. As a result, radio programmes are produced on old-fashioned analogue equipment, which affects the quality of the programmes.

Adding to the challenges facing radio broadcasters is the lack of receivers among the population. Although there are no precise estimates of the distribution of radio receivers in Southern Sudan, it is suggested by several international organisations that there continues to be a need for distributing radio receivers in rural areas. Wind-up radios, which can operate without electricity, have been distributed in certain areas, but more are needed.

Reaching the rural population is a huge challenge in a vast country with an almost non-existent infrastructure. Getting the message out is therefore one of the priorities of USAID in Southern Sudan. Failure to inform the people about the CPA and the efforts of GoSS to implement the peace will only increase frustrations. Eventually, the lack of vital information may create suspicion and mistrust and lead to instability, as pointed out by USAID. Radio with a nationwide reach is therefore essential to convey information and in this way to maintain stability.

7 Support to media development from agencies for international cooperation

7.1 Background

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005 opened the door for a massive influx of international cooperation to Sudan. The total numbers of donors have increased rapidly in all sectors, including the media.

The Joint Assessment Mission (JAM), which produced overall recommendations for development support to Sudan after the signing of the CPA, also included references to the media sector. It stressed that assistance to the media sector should be recognized "…as an essential part of the rehabilitation, reconstruction and peace keeping strategy and be implemented in such a way that the quick impact information interventions do not undermine the transition to long-term objectives of stability, capacity building and development."

Although substantial funding is available for overall development and reconstruction efforts, the actual implementation of programmes has moved ahead more slowly than expected. Most critically, the Multi-Donor Trust Funds (MDTFs), designed to disburse funding according to the JAM's recommendations, have not functioned efficiently. This has led to an unfortunate domino effect, where other agencies working in Sudan, such as UNDP or international NGOs, are following suit, leading inevitably to duplication and wastage. This duplication is caused in part by the lack of clarity about institutional responsibility and this is also evident in the media sector.

The JAM recommended concentrating on two areas: the development of independent media, with a focus on a) support to media policy development and awareness, b) expanding national broadcast capacity, and c) capacity building for media practitioners; and the production and dissemination of public information campaigns. Meanwhile, a number of issues also very relevant for media support, such as association building and the protection of journalists, were not included as recommendations.

Media support following the JAM recommendations has primarily been carried out at a bilateral level rather than through the MDTF structures. Furthermore, media support initiatives have seldom been developed within a coordinated programmatic approach.

International institutions and organisations that support media development in Sudan can be categorised either as donors or as implementers. Embassies are mainly donors and on rare occasions implementers of small scale activities; for instance, arranging study trips abroad for Sudanese journalists and other media professionals. For larger and longer-term projects the implementers are either organisations specialised in media support, or organisations specialised in development work such as those having strong civil society and good governance capacities.

Although no donors have media support as a top priority, all donors interviewed for this assessment underlined the importance of media support for strengthening the democratic process and support for the CPA in Sudan.

The importance of media support has also encouraged some organisations which traditionally do not support media programmes to implement such activities. An example is Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) which is supporting a number of media projects, including Juba Media and the weekly Juba Post.

NCA Deputy Resident Representative, Jerome Surur, says about the media: "This is a very good vehicle for raising awareness, enabling the peace process to continue. It's an important element to promote good governance and to act as a watch dog on what the government is doing".

7.2 Areas of support

Support to the media from agencies for international cooperation has primarily focused on Southern Sudan, where the need for strengthening and building media outlets and media institutions is greater than in the Northern part of the country. In addition, several donors and implementers have suggested that a stronger focus on Southern Sudan is also due to the fact that there is a friendlier environment for supporting media projects in that region.

Support for media projects falls into the following categories:

Policy development and media reform
Several initiatives are directed towards the area of media policy and reform or the development of new media legislation. One example is the project managed by ARTICLE 19 on behalf of a consortium of Sudanese and international partners and funded by EC, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and UNESCO, which works with the media legislative area at both the national level and in the Southern part of the country. As well, UNDP has supported a project managed by Sudanese Future Trends Foundation for Strategic Studies & Dialogue focusing on the reform of media legislation at the national level. In Southern Sudan USAID is also providing support for the development of media legislation.

Press freedom advocacy
Support within press freedom advocacy is closely related to the previously-mentioned legislative work, where activities such as round table procedures on media legislation also focus on advocacy for freedom of information and media freedom, by addressing the area directly, and by including a broad range of actors, including civil society representatives, in the process. Meanwhile, press freedom organisations such as Reporters without Borders are actively working on press freedom advocacy by publishing alerts and having monitors operating within Sudan. The International Federation of Journalists does not have any member organisations in Sudan – although UJOSS in Southern Sudan is in the process of registering – and is not therefore particularly active in the area of press freedom advocacy in Sudan. The emerging journalist movements based in Khartoum operate very much on their own, with little connection to international freedom of expression organisations.

Media operations
After a violent conflict there is often an enormous need for support for rebuilding or building new media infrastructure. This is also the case in Sudan, primarily in the Southern part of the country, where a number of media support projects have directed their efforts into this area. The initiative of setting up a printing press in Juba, which is led by NCA and funded by EC is one example. Another is the construction of a media resource centre in Juba by AMDISS, in collaboration with NPA, IMS and ARTICLE 19, and funded by EC, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Open Society Institute.

The establishment of community radio stations in Southern Sudan by Internews with USAID funding, and by the Catholic Church, are other examples. The UN-funded Radio Miraya and the Sudan Radio Services also fall into this category. Support to media is probably one of the best funded areas, although the financial resources available do not necessarily meet all the needs.

Safety and protection

In post-conflict countries with complex and tense political environments protection schemes which can ensure that journalists and media practitioners can operate safely, without the risk of harassment, persecution and imprisonment, are often needed. In Sudan there are only a few isolated examples of projects of international cooperation that address this area. Safety-training courses offered by the International Red Cross are one example. The network organised by SOAT and Journalists for Human Rights to observe and react to situations of journalists at risk is another example.

Association building and networks

As in the case of safety and protection, there are very few examples of agencies for international cooperation supporting the building of associations for media practitioners. The support to AMDISS and UJOSS in Southern Sudan from the ARTICLE 19-led consortium project is one example. Meanwhile, there is little support for similar organisations or movements working at the national level. Donors are hesitant to support institutions such as the Sudanese Union of Journalists or the National Press Council, due to their relations with political authorities. Moreover, the informal organisation of the emerging solidarity movement makes it difficult to provide concrete support to this process.

Media content and professionalisation

Training media practitioners in order to enhance journalistic and other media-related skills is probably the area where most activities have taken place, and it is definitely an area that has received substantial funding from agencies for international cooperation. Organisations such as the BBC World Trust and Deutsche Welle have been carrying out training programmes for a number of years, as have a large number of other international organisations. The focus has been on a whole range of issues, from basic journalistic skills to training in specialised issues, either within journalism or in more technical areas. The training and capacity building has been directed towards both media workers in printed media and broadcast media, including staff at the Sudan Radio and TV Corporation (SRTC). Major training exercises of Sudanese media workers have also been involved as new media outlets, such as the UN radio and the four community radio stations that Internews manages in Southern Sudan, are established. With support from the Netherlands, UNDP has carried out training of staff of the Juba Post in Southern Sudan, which has been able to provide returnees with basic information for their safe return.

Training emerges as a future priority for agencies for international cooperation, with particular attention given to building journalistic capacities on issues related to key events within the implementation of the CPA. Elections are of particular concern, since media professionals in Sudan have virtually no experience with electoral coverage.

Much training has been based on short-term initiatives, and longer-term support for building the capacity of media professionals is lacking. The planned training facility in Juba organised by Juba Media and supported by Dutch Sud Media has not started up as foreseen due to organisational difficulties. Links between supported training initiatives and established Sudanese institutions such as universities or private training facilities are few.

Thus, support from agencies for international cooperation for building capacities among Sudanese media practitioners appears short-sighted, with no overall strategy and planning or long-term objectives.

Dissemination for peace, democracy and development

As one of the areas prioritised in the JAM report, agencies for international cooperation have given significant funding to initiatives that support the dissemination of the CPA and related information which can strengthen peace and democracy in Sudan. The work PACT Sudan is carrying out on the dissemination of a summarised version of the CPA to Southern Sudan is one example. The support for specific programmes at the USAID-funded Sudan Radio Service which seek to strengthen citizens' involvement and discussion of issues of their own concern and the BBC World Trust provision of humanitarian information through targeted radio programming to the population in Darfur are other examples.

Even though funding has been generous, the need for continued work in this area is obvious: many Sudanese still do not have much information on the CPA and its implications. Likewise, there is an enormous need to provide continuous information on a number of issues related to the CPA, such as the return of refugees, the census, and the upcoming elections.

Still, it can be argued that this area of intervention is not directly linked to media support as such. Activities typically take place in the form of campaigns and information provision, where the media is a tool for such activities but is not the actor being supported as such.

Other than the financial support to the areas mentioned above, agencies for international cooperation also direct their attention to political support for the media sector. This engagement is primarily directed towards the promotion of media freedom and freedom of expression issues; for example, through the inclusion of these issues when embassies and representatives from multilateral organisations meet government and state authorities. The regular meetings between representatives from the European Union and representatives from the GoNU are one such forum, in which issues of media freedom are included in a continuing dialogue on human rights issues.

7.3 Coordination

Different efforts are carried out to ensure coordination of the support to media development. At the donor level, regular meetings are carried out between EC member countries on cooperation in general, media issues being included in the discussion. Coordination among EC countries focuses on cooperation on these issues, as well as at the political level.

UNDP has expressed interest in coordinating activities within the sector, with a particular focus on the upcoming elections, where special funding mechanisms are expected to be set up, including support to the media sector in that regard.

Little coordination takes place among implementing organisations. The consortium behind this assessment, consisting of ARTICLE 19, the Association for Media Development in South Sudan (AMDISS), International Media Support (IMS), the Khartoum Centre for Human Rights and Environmental Development (KCHRED), Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) and the Olof Palme International Centre (OPIC) is one example of coordinationg efforts.

The coordination and collaboration between the Sudan Radio Services, the National Democratic Institute and Internews on producing and disseminating radio programmes in Southern Sudan is another example.

Although coordinating efforts are carried out, it is apparent that this can and should be improved. The multiple efforts with training and capacity building for media practitioners emerge as one area where coordination needs to be improved. The area of support to media reform is another example where coordination could have been better between the UNDP-supported Future Trends Foundation for Strategic Studies & Dialogue initiative and the EC and Norwegian-funded initiative managed by ARTICLE 19.

Donor coordination also seems to build upon a north-south division, which raises concern. This is not only an issue about efficiency, but also has a political dimension and raises the question of working with one or two systems. Needless to say, some initiatives may be relevant in the Southern and not in the Northern part of Sudan, but there seems to be a tendency for donors and implementers to drift towards the idea of two separate systems.

7.4 Local ownership

The issue of Sudanese ownership was raised as a concern by some of the persons interviewed for this assessment. It has been pointed out that training initiatives are not making sufficient use of existing resources in Sudan, such as existing media training institutes, and thus fail to consider the building of national capacity and ownership in their efforts.

Failure to ensure local ownership was also demonstrated in the case of Juba Media/Post which resulted in the general manager of the international organisation involved in the creation and the management of Juba Media/Post being forced to pull out. One of the aims of the project was to build capacities of the Southern Sudanese journalists, but according to staff and board members of Juba Post, the general manager had taken over full control of both financial and editorial work, and was running the newspaper without involving the South Sudanese Board of Management.[44]

It is evident that increased inclusion of Sudanese partners in media support activities is important for building sustainability and ownership.

44 *Letter to GoSS and Central Equatoria State Ministries for Information from the senior staff of Juba Media/Post, as reported by Sudan Tribune on http://www. sudantribune.com/spip. php?article21637*

8 Outlining a strategy for media support

The following is a strategy outline for media support to Sudan in the immediate and medium term. The strategy builds upon the assessment of the main challenges faced by the media sector, as presented in section 6.0 and the challenges identified as relating to agencies for international cooperation, as presented in section 7.0 of the report.

Five strategic focus areas have been identified:

1. Policy development and legal reform
2. Media associations
3. Quality of journalism
4. Media operations
5. Coordination and strategy development

The overall strategic approach needs to provide flexibility and possibilities for quick action, in order to be able to adapt to changes in the highly dynamic Sudanese political context. The media are seen as a key sector by the major political actors, and any significant changes in the political context will affect the framework of operation for the media.

Due to the special need for support to the media sector in Southern Sudan, the strategy focuses individually on the national level / Northern Sudan / Southern Sudan, as necessary.

8.1 Policy development and legal reform

Strategic considerations

Differences in the advancement of legal reform at the national and the Southern level mean that the strategies to be applied will differ. However, the upcoming elections (2009) are likely to increase pressure on press freedom and limit options for reform at both levels. It is important that initiatives in this area be implemented immediately. Furthermore, it is important to link the promotion of reforms to media-related legislation with legislation in related fields, such as electoral legislation. Additionally, legal work and advocacy activities need to be complemented with a more systematic monitoring of press freedom in Sudan, and mechanisms to protect journalists and combat impunity need to be established.

The strategy focuses on four areas related to policy development and legal reform: the intensification of legal reform work, the enhancement of civil society engagement, the protection and safety of media practitioners, and support for self-regulatory mechanisms.

Intensification of legal reform work

At the *national level* it is important to conduct follow-ups on the production of legal reforms drafted by the Future Trends Foundation (FTF). The foundation was contracted to deliver the drafts, but the monitoring of discussion of the drafts among the political parties is not provided for, nor is

any systematic work being done on the provision of external legal expertise and the continuation of dialogue with political actors.

The monitoring should be carried out by civil society organisations engaged in political work, and could be developed as a joint activity between organisations with legal expertise in media legislation (FTF is one option) together with more advocacy-oriented organisations (for example KCHRED). International legal expertise from organisations such as ARTICLE 19 can play an important role here.

Recommended actions are:

1. To implement systematic monitoring of the legal reform process. It is only through ongoing monitoring of Parliament and the discussion among political actors that concerns and positions can be identified and worked upon. Suggested changes ocurring during the process can be made public and acted upon. Ideally, the monitoring would include both monitoring of legal work at the parliamentary level, as well as the ongoing discourse and expression of opinions in the public forum, within the media and among stakeholders.
2. To continue legal support and analysis. It is of great importance that expert analysis of legislation be provided immediately and continue throughout the reform process.
3. To build and sustain dialogue. Advocacy work should be based on dialogue and not on confrontation. Monitoring can feed into a strategy where dialogue is developed with political actors, seeking to identify key decision makers. It is also important to maintain dialogue with actors that at first might not support reform.

In *Southern Sudan* the set of four draft laws has been well received at the political level, although they have not yet progressed through the legislative process. The apparently favourable political will for putting through the legislation needs to be sustained through monitoring and advocacy. Key partners in this area are AMDISS and UJOSS, as well as specific media outlets participating in the Southern round table process. ARTICLE 19 can provide technical support. It will be important to maintain close contact with the organisation Bearing Point, which is providing technical support to the Ministry of Information and which also supports legal issues.

Recommended actions are:

1. To implement systematic monitoring of the legal reform process, following similar lines of thought as at the national level.
2. To continue legal support and analysis
3. To build and sustain dialogue with political actors, and extend the dialogue to discussions with parties other than the SPLM.
4. To ensure that there are outreach activities addressing the states, where subsidiary legislation will be discussed.

Enhancing civil society engagement

At the *national level* it is noted that a small number of civil society organisations have taken part in discussions of the draft legislation. Nevertheless, this group is very limited and it is important to expand the number of active organisations, as well as to increase awareness on issues related to freedom of expression and the related media legislation. Through a larger group, advocacy efforts supporting legislative reform and their subsequent implementation can be mobilised. It will be necessary to work both with organisations that have

a direct interest in media reform, such as media outlets and progressive journalist networks and emerging movements, as well as NGOs working in fields related to human rights, good governance and democracy.

Recommended actions are:

1. To encourage public debate on freedom of expression by enhancing activities and expanding the number of stakeholders. It is important to include emerging journalists' movements.
2. To link discussion to upcoming issues of national concern (census, elections).

In *Southern Sudan* discussion on draft legislation has primarily taken place in a process of round table discussions held by media outlets and media associations, without strong links to civil society organisations outside the media field. Consequently, it is important to expand the discussion to broader sections of civil society.

Recommended actions are:

1. To increase public debate on freedom of expression by enhancing activities and expanding the number of stakeholders. Some of these activities may find their natural point of departure in AMDISS and UJOSS activities.
2. To link discussions to upcoming issues of national concern (census, elections), as well as to concrete activities such as the establishment of community radio stations.

Protection and safety of media practitioners

Work is ongoing in the *Northern part of Sudan*, with a base in Khartoum, to monitor press freedom. Additionally, a network of lawyers working on a voluntary basis is providing legal support to journalists and media practitioners. This work needs to be strengthened in order to make it respond better to needs and to strengthen capacity to deal with an expected increase in pressure on media freedom.

Recommended actions are:

1. To strengthen the existing monitoring carried out by SOAT and the Journalists for Human Rights network, by making it more systematic and increasing coverage of the monitoring, in particular in rural areas. To ensure engagement from international organisations such as IFEX and Reporters without Borders.
2. To enhance and institutionalise legal support and safety measures to journalists and media workers at risk. This could build upon a task force of likeminded actors to discuss the options for formalising and strengthening legal support to media practitioners; for example, by assessing the experiences to date, identifying lawyers with expertise in freedom of expression and media related legislation, training lawyers in media law, or by establishing a new unit in an existing organisation or a new organisation to provide legal support. The task force could further assess the feasibility of establishing a fund for legal support to journalists and media owners. The task force should also look into safety measures for journalists and the need for training in such matters, or the development of other forms of support. Particular focus is needed in rural areas and in Darfur.

In *Southern Sudan* there is practically no systematised monitoring of freedom of expression, nor do lawyers have much expertise in the area of media

legislation. It is important to strengthen both monitoring and legal expertise, which to the greatest possible degree should be linked with the activities recommended above for the Northern part of Sudan.

Recommended actions are:

1. To assess whether it is feasible to expand SOAT's monitoring activities to Southern Sudan, or if a locally-based organisation could take up this task. If the latter is the selected option it will be important to maintain links to SOAT and to build upon their experience. In the same way, it is important to ensure engagement from international organisations on this matter.
2. To identify lawyers with legal expertise in media law or related areas in Southern Sudan and to promote their engagement in legal support to media practitioners. Training in media law and human rights in general should be offered in order to strengthen capacities among lawyers in dealing with media-related legal issues. AMDISS could take action on this, in collaboration with civil society organisations working in the area of human rights.

Supporting self-regulatory mechanisms

At the *national level* there is still a long way to go before independent self-regulatory mechanisms can be established. The quasi-legislative powers of the National Press Council are not conducive to press freedom, yet there is no development strongly indicating changes in this respect. It is important to continue discussions of the roles and responsibilities of the media, like those that have taken place during the round table sessions conducted by ARTICLE 19.

Recommended actions are:

1. To maintain and strengthen discussions on self-regulation among media outlets and media actors, with reference to experience with media councils from other countries. There should be further development of a code of ethics and training and discussion of this issue among a broad group of media practitioners. It is important to link these activities with the need to strengthen media coverage of the upcoming elections, and other issues of national concern.

In *Southern Sudan* the round table process and the work carried out by AMDISS have led to the development of a code of ethics, which the main media outlets have signed into. Discussions on the establishment of an independent media council are ongoing, and a task force has been set up to work on this. This work needs to be sustained and developed further.

Recommended actions are:

1. To continue support for the promotion and application of the code of ethics, through forums and training seminars, as well as through activities at the individual media outlets.
2. To support a task force in developing a strategy for setting up an independent media council. To ensure that the process of establishing a council builds upon broad consultation among the media as well as among civil society organisations and other relevant stakeholders. To ensure that experience with media councils elsewhere in the region can be brought into the process.

8.2 Strengthening media associations

Strategic considerations

After many years of the status quo, positive developments can be noted for to organisations of media practitioners, at the level both of journalists and of media workers, and to a lesser degree at the editorial/management level. This development needs to be strengthened and should be applied through a strategy which gradually builds upon existing initiatives and their institutional capacity. Linking Sudanese initiatives with international organisations is another strategy to apply. Developments at the national level and in Southern Sudan are different, and need to be attended to within their specific contexts.

The strategy focuses on supporting emerging and existing initiatives for media practitioners and media outlets.

In the *Northern part of Sudan* the emerging movement among journalists which was formed in reaction to increased harassment and violence against journalists needs to be further strengthened. The movement, which builds upon a collective reaction to specific cases of oppression of the profession and its practitioners, has declined somewhat in activity since its birth in May 2007. Strengthening the movement should begin with concrete activities addressing the immediate interests of the movement, progressing slowly towards activities related to institution building. With regard to efforts for association building among editors and owners, to date few initiatives have been carried out, and these have been unsuccessful. Recent initiatives where media outlets cooperate in joint training activities could provide a platform for building a media association in the longer term.

Recommended actions are:

1. Through existing organisations, to develop activities that respond to the interests and needs of the journalists' movement. Since the movement is activity based, support should be in the form of training and the debate of issues related to joint interests (press freedom, legislation, and safety). In addition, forms of supporting communication among activists in the movement can be developed; for example, a website, systematised SMS communication, newsletters, and pamphlets for supporting specific cases. An ad hoc task force can be established to develop ideas and activities.
2. To support editors and owners in their initiatives for coordinating specific activities, especially related to training, and for legal reform work. Collaboration can increase over time towards the development of a media association. Agencies for international cooperation can promote these collaborative efforts when they respond to requests from the media. It is recommended that media outlets occasionally take part in activities organised by AMDISS in Southern Sudan.

In *Southern Sudan* both a union and a media association have been established in recent years, and are gradually growing and moving towards consolidation. Both organisations need to be sustained and their particular weaknesses need to be addressed.

Recommended actions are:

1. To enhance existing support to UJOSS in order for the union to build up its capacity. Particular areas of support should be directed towards building a small secretariat, strengthening institutional capacities (strategy plan,

etc.), carrying out activities which respond to the members' immediate needs, and promoting the unions' outreach activities to a larger part of Southern Sudan. It is essential to create linkages with other unions in countries in the region and with IFJ.

2. To continue existing support to AMDISS, in order to ensure that the association is better equipped to respond to the needs of its members and the expectations of the association. Continued support to the AMDISS media resource centre is essential. Moreover, it is important that AMDISS members inside Sudan are encouraged to take a more active role in the work of the assocation, in order to strenghten ownership.

8.3 Quality of journalism

Strategic considerations

The standards of journalism in Sudan remain poor, and providing objective and relevant reporting is consequently a challenge for many Sudanese media outlets. One of the major obstacles is the lack of qualified education and training, which either are too theoretical (in universities) or too ad hoc and short-term oriented (activities supported by agencies for international cooperation). There is therefore a need for a more systematic and coordinated approach to capacity building, which can progress from short-term to long-term efforts, while maintaining the focus on the need for immediate support. Whereas the main focus has traditionally been on the training of journalists, it is important also to develop initiatives in support of the management level of the media. In the same way, relations between journalists and public officials need to be strengthened, and the capacities of public institutions to provide information and give access to information need to be enhanced. Taking into consideration the politicisation of the media in Sudan, efforts related to journalistic quality should also focus on the development of innovative media formats that can strengthen citizen participation and engagement.

Generally speaking, the interventions developed in this field should have a national Sudanese focus, but allow for the possibility of addressing specific needs in the different regions of the country.

The strategy focuses on three areas related to enhancement of the quality of journalism: coordination, training and capacity building, and the development of innovative media formats.

Coordination

The challenges to improving the quality of journalism in Sudan are significant, and there is a need for a stronger focus on joint efforts among the actors funding and providing support in this area. Several key issues need to be addressed jointly in order to improve the impact of training and other forms of capacity building: which journalists from which media should have priority, how to cope with regional differences in capacity and the need for training, how to ensure that new learning can be applied in the media, how to link short-term initiatives with long-term goals, and options for linking the development of a code of ethics and self-regulation with the improvement of journalistic quality.

Recommended actions are:

1. To enhance planning and coordination between the key media training actors (national and international organisations, associations and unions,

international donors etc.) through the assessment of lessons learned so far. To use this information for the development of a platform for establishing a common understanding of needs, strategies, and a methodological approach for training and capacity building.

2. To assess the options for establishing joint mechanisms for coordination and joint strategising. One idea could be to explore the feasibility of developing an independent media training council consisting of national and international actors. Caution should be put in developing structures that avoid centralisation and control, and which can function with a simple organisational set-up. Structures for coordination should reflect the relative division of actors, between Khartoum-based institutions attending to the national level and the Northern part of the country, and institutions based in Juba and other cities, which attend to needs in Southern Sudan.

Training and capacity building

Training and capacity building initiatives should be able to respond to immediate needs, while preparing for more long-term interventions, and be built into Sudanese training and educational systems.

Although the recommended actions for training and capacity building address the Sudanese as a whole, it is important to stress that the need for building very basic skills in journalism particularly exists in Southern Sudan.

Recommended actions are:

1. To promote a training approach which moves from a short-term to a medium/long-term basis. This can be done, for example, by quickly setting up programmes which over a longer period provide training to working journalists in basic or specialised skills. The set-up developed for the one-year training programme at Juba Academy - which so far has not been implemented – could serve as a useful approach. Shorter-term courses focusing on specific issues such as electoral reporting could be linked together in methodology and in selection procedures for partcipants.

2. To encourage training activities to link up and build capacity over time at the university level and at Sudanese training institutes. The inclusion of Sudanese trainers (either in Sudan or experienced journalists working abroad) is one way to do this. The initiation of dialogue about curriculum reform with universities is another option.

3. To establish discussion activities, in which politicians and civil servants can engage with journalists and other media representatives on issues related to media freedom, access to information, etc.

4. To develop specific initiatives which address the need for capacity building at the editorial and management level within Sudanese media outlets. Training, twinning arrangements, or exposure to international experiences could be ways to address this. Whenever possible, capacity building should be addressed through joint initiatives among media outlets and through their associations, such as AMDISS.

Development of innovative media formats

The politicisation of the media creates the risk of increased conflict and needs to be defused. The development of specific formats which seek to include citizens in a participatory way, or to introduce debate and discussions with a variety of opinions are options for promoting this. The analysis of media content is rare, and action-oriented academic research in this area could provide another avenue for raising awareness of media content and for developing alternatives in media formats.

Recommended actions are:

1. To develop a means for introducing innovative media formats in the printed and broadcast media. Innovative formats could be developed in news broadcasts and humanitarian information, as well as in entertainment programmes; for example, soaps with social content. To explore the feasibility of setting up a fund which can promote and finance projects that promote innovative media formats, including building upon joint initiatives between media outlets (crossing North/South, etc.). The idea of citizen journalism could also be experimented with. The development of formats which can address relations among speakers of Sudan's many languages should also be encouraged.
2. To strengthen capacities for media monitoring, which monitors media content relating to the sensitive areas of political, religious and ethical issues. To develop pilot projects on various issues, including building the capacity for electoral media monitoring. Linkages to monitoring experiences from other countries in the region, such as the Arab working group on electoral monitoring, can be created. The approach should focus on dialogue with media outlets addressing suggestions for the improvement of the quality of journalism.

8.4 Media operations

Strategic considerations

There continues to be a great need for supporting media infrastructures, especially in Southern Sudan. More infrastructures are being developed in Juba, but few initiatives are addressing needs in other areas of Southern Sudan. Developments towards public service programming in Southern Sudan need to be sustained to ensure its success. In the same way, there is a need to strengthen media diversity in the Northern part of the country. Initiatives which support infrastructure should carefully assess the sustainability of actions as well as issues related to competition between media outlets.

The strategy focuses on two areas related to enhancing media operations: support for the expansion of broadcast media and the development of printing facilities.

Broadcast media

At the *national level* it is recommended that all initiatives that can genuinely promote the transformation of SRTC from a state to a public service broadcaster need to be applied. Apart from legal reform, dealt with in 8.1, activities should focus on dialogue and the capacity building of individuals, which can promote change from within. Additionally, the promotion of new broadcast initiatives should be encouraged, and the responsiveness of authorities needs to be tested. So far only commercial and religious-based radios have been allowed to transmit around Khartoum. The introduction of radios with a community approach or with more socially-oriented content should be promoted.

Recommended actions are:

1. To promote public service initiatives and a public service ethos within SRTC; for example, through the development of special media formats and programming. This should be based upon dialogue and capacity building with selected individuals who can serve as innovators. Care should be

taken so that initiatives in this area do not support propaganda-related programming at SRTC.

2. To build community media initiatives through engagement with specific communities which demonstrate interest in establishing community media. To create awareness of the community media concept, and to strengthen their capacity to campaign and advocate for the case of community media and community radio.

3. To continue to support radio initiatives which provide news, basic information and humanitarian information to the population of Sudan and to the rural population and the population in Darfur in particular, by short wave radio and other means.

4. Based upon a needs assessment, to provide radios (wind-up/solar) for the rural population, including the population in Darfur. Distribution should be linked to community work, and preferably link up with existing support for listeners' groups. Lessons learned from prior distribution of radios need to be analysed before engaging in this.

In *Southern Sudan* the civil war left the country essentially without mass media, apart from the state-controlled radio and TV based in Juba. With the signing of the CPA there has been a series of positive developments, with the establishment of new media outlets, and the expressed intention of the Southern Sudan State Radio and TV to move towards a more public-service oriented approach. Current efforts need to be supported, promoting development towards an ideal mixture of public service, and private and community media.

Recommended actions are:

1. To support Southern Sudan Radio & TV in its transformation to a public service broadcaster through a comprehensive programme attending to the overall needs for the station. However, such support should only be applied when legal guarantees exist for the independence of the broadcaster. Until then, the same strategy as described above for SRTC with respect to the introduction of public service elements in programmes can be introduced.

2. To support existing and new community radio initiatives, emphasising initiatives that reach out to the population in areas which are not attended to.

3. To strengthen the collaboration existing between radio stations, where specific programmes are exchanged and repeated by different transmitters. To assess the feasibility of formalising collaboration between radio stations for programme development and other issues which are of joint interest.

4. Based upon a needs assessment, to provide radios (wind-up/solar) for the rural population in Southern Sudan. Distribution should be linked to community work, and preferably link up with existing support for listeners' groups. Lessons learned from prior distribution of radios need to be analysed before engaging in this.

Printing facilities

There is an urgent need to establish printing facilities in Southern Sudan. Currently, all newspapers (and other printed material) are printed either in Khartoum or abroad. Initiatives for setting up printing facilities in Juba are ongoing, and should be encouraged. Moreover, additional printing facilities should, in time, be established in other cities in Southern Sudan. Different options for governing structures for printing facilities are being developed, and it is recommended that facilities independent of government ownership be considered.

Recommended actions are:

1. To establish facilities for a printing press in Juba in Southern Sudan, which can be used for newspaper printing as well as for other printed materials. The governing structures of such a facility should ensure independence from government ownership. Further support for the establishment of printing facilities elsewhere in Southern Sudan should be provided.

8.5 Strengthening coordination and joint strategising among agencies for international cooperation

Strategic considerations

Although efforts have been made to improve coordination among agencies for international cooperation, this can definitely be improved. Enhanced coordination needs to be activity oriented and linked to joint interests. Increasing the flow of information among actors involved in media support is a first step for sustaining this, building towards procedures for joint strategising.

For practical reasons, the coordinating efforts need to be based to a certain extent on a division between the national level and Southern Sudan.

Recommended actions are:

1. To enhance information sharing among donors and international media support organisations through the development of communications systems. This could be in the form of an internet-based platform with a continuously-updated overview of media development initiatives, supplemented by meetings on specific issues of joint concern (for example media support before and during the elections).
2. To promote a process of joint stategy formulation for media support between actors from agencies for international cooperation and Sudanese stakeholders, to reflect on best strategies for media support on a regular basis, for example once a year. Such discussions should be based upon the systematisation of lessons learned, changes in socio-political context, etc.

9 Appendices

9.1 International policy, legislative precedents and guidelines

A number of precedents for policy development and legislation relating to freedom of expression, access to information, and regulation of the media in Africa as well as globally have been adopted in the last few decades. The following treaties, protocols and declarations form contemporary benchmarks for media policy and legislation in Sudan and in the rest of Africa:

Title: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
Adopted by: United Nations General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966
Description: This is the main global human rights treaty, which Sudan acceded to on 18 March 1986. Article 19 of this treaty protects the right to freedom of expression, and requires States both to refrain from interfering with that right beyond what can be justified as necessary in a democratic society, as well as to take positive steps to create an enabling environment for the media.

Available at: http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm.

Title: African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
Adopted by: the Organisation of African Unity, on 26 June 1981.
Description: This is the main African human rights treaty, which Sudan ratified on 18 February 1986. Article 9 of this treaty protects the right to freedom of expression, and, like Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, requires States both to refrain from interfering with that right beyond what can be justified as necessary in a democratic society, as well as to take positive steps to create an enabling environment for the media.

Available at: http://www.achpr.org/english/_info/charter_en.html

United Nations Convention against Corruption
Adopted by: United Nations General Assembly resolution 58/4 of 31 October 2003.
Description: This is an all-encompassing anti-corruption treaty, which imposes several obligations on States. Amongst other things, it requires States to take steps to implement the right of access to information. Sudan signed this treaty on 14 January 2005, by which it became legally bound not to do anything that would defeat the object and purpose of the treaty (meaning anything that would frustrate the fight against corruption and transparency in public life). It will become legally bound by the full treaty obligations when it ratifies the treaty.

Available at: http://www.unodc.org/unodc/crime_convention_corruption.html.

Title: Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa
Adopted by: the 32 ordinary session of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights in October 2002, at Banjul, Gambia.
Description: The Declaration serves as a benchmark for evaluating African Union (AU) member States' compliance with Article 9 of the African Charter

on Human and Peoples' Rights. It also seeks to strengthen the right to freedom of expression and information in the context of the AU and the NEPAD initiative, paving the way for the recognition of the role of the media in these areas. The declaration stresses the "fundamental importance
of freedom of expression as an individual human right, as a cornerstone of democracy, and as a means of ensuring respect for all human rights and freedoms". Issues addressed in the Declaration are: interference with freedom of expression; diversity; freedom of information; private broadcasting; public broadcasting; regulatory bodies for broadcasting and telecommunications; print media; complaints; promoting professionalism; attacks on media practitioners; protecting reputations; censorship (legal and economic); and the protection of journalistic sources.

Available at: http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/achpr/expressionfreedomdec.html

Title: The African Charter on Broadcasting
Adopted by: A UNESCO-sponsored conference held in Windhoek, Namibia, in 2001 to commemorate the 10 anniversary of the Windhoek Declaration (see below). Civic groups are looking to have the Charter adopted by the forthcoming World Summit on the Information Society in Geneva, Switzerland, in December 2003.
Description: The Charter seeks to build on the principles of the 1991 Windhoek Declaration, in particular in the area of broadcasting, taking into account the major developments in media and communications that have since taken place. The Charter recognizes that free expression includes the right to communicate, and access to the means of communication. The Charter lays down guidelines for policy and legislation on general regulatory issues, public service broadcasting, community broadcasting, as well as telecommunications and convergence.

Available at: http://www.misa.org/broadcasting/acb.html

Title: The 2001 Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport
Adopted by: The SADC Heads of State Summit in August 2000, at Blantyre, Malawi.
Description: The Protocol commits SADC countries to review and harmonize their policies in the area of culture, information and sport. With regards to information, the Protocol establishes the following objectives:

a. Cooperation and collaboration in the promotion, establishment and growth of independent media, as well as the free flow of information;
b. Strengthening information departments to be effective gatherers and disseminators of information and news;
c. Development and promotion of local culture by increasing local content in the media, specifically in magazines, radio, television, video, film and new information technologies;
d. Taking positive measures to narrow the information gap between the rural and urban areas by increasing the coverage of the mass media, whether private, public or community-based;
e. Encouragement of the use of indigenous languages in the mass media as vehicles of promoting local, national and regional inter-communication; and,
f. Ensuring the media is sensitive to gender issues so as to promote gender equality and equity in information dissemination.

Available at: http://www.sadc.int/english/documents/legal/protocols/
culture_information_and_sport.php

Title: The SADC Declaration on Information and Communication Technology
Adopted by: SADC Heads of State in August 2001, at Blantyre, Malawi.
Description: The Declaration recognizes the need in the SADC region for coherent policies and strategies on ICT and focuses on the following priority areas for action:

a. The regulatory environment for ICTs;
b. Infrastructure for ICT Development;
c. Community participation and governance in ICT development;
d. ICT in business development; and,
e. Human resource capacity for ICT development

Available at: http://www.sadc.int/key_documents/declarations/ict.php

Title: The 1991 Windhoek Declaration on Promoting an Independent and Pluralistic African Press
Adopted by: Drawn up by a UNESCO-sponsored conference of senior African media workers and representatives of the international community in May 1991 at Windhoek, Namibia, the Windhoek Declaration was adopted in 1992 by the United Nations General Assembly, as well as the predecessor of the African Union, the Organization of African Unity. United Nations' World Press Freedom Day on May 3 commemorates the adoption of the Declaration at the original Windhoek conference.
Description: The Declaration defined media development in the post-Cold War era, not just in Africa, but also in Latin America and Asia, where similar declarations modelled on the Windhoek Declaration also have been adopted. The Windhoek Declaration establishes the importance of an independent and pluralistic press to the growth of democracy and economic development, and identifies priorities for the development of such media.

Available at: http://www.unesco.org/webworld/peace_library/UNESCO/
HRIGHTS/327-331.HTM

Title: The Khartoum – Rumbek Declaration
Adopted by: The members of the National Round Table on Freedom of Expression and independent Media in Sudan, comprised of media workers and civil society representatives from Southern and Northern Sudan, 6 December 2005.
Description: The Declaration recognises that media will be a decisive factor following the adoption of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the interim Constitutions. It calls for laws, policies and practices that comply with the Interim Constitution and the peace process under the CPA, strongly recommends that the media shall be self-regulated to preserve its independence, recognises the existence of universal principles guiding the ethics of journalists, affirms the vital role of public service broadcasting in the service of the peoples of Sudan and recognises that there is a need to develop infrastructure and to build capacity.

Available at:
http://www.article19.org/pdfs/other/khartoum-rumbek-declaration.pdf

9.2 Media outlets

Following a list of selected media outlets in Sudan including newspaper publishing houses, radio stations, TV stations and internet sites.

9.2.1 Newspaper publishing houses

Akhbar Alyoum (daily newspaper)
www.akhbaralyoumsd.net
info@akhbaralyoumsd.net
COB and Editor in Chief: Ahmad Albalal Altayeb
Publishing House: Alyoum Publishing, Printing and distribution House, Khartoum
Established 1994
Owns a printing press and distribution company for own newspapers only.
Sole owner and publisher, COB and editor-in-chief of the Akhbar Alyoum Daily: Ahmad Albalal Altayeb
Publishing three daily newspapers: Akhbar Alyoum (political), editor-in-chief Ahmad Albalal Altayeb, Aldar (social/popular), editor-in-chief Salah Omer Alshaikh, Goal (sport), editor-in-chief Ramadan Ahmad Alsayid.

Akhir Lahza (daily newspaper)
COB: Hasan Sati
hsnsatti@yahoo.com
Editor in Chief: Mustafa Abu Al-Azaiem
Annashir2@yahoo.com
Publishing Company: Al-Munhana Printing , Publishing , Trade and Services Company, Khartoum
Established 2005
Printing: International Group Company (Al-Dawlia)
Distribution: Gamari Distribution Company
COB: Alhaj Atta Al-Mannan
Printing: International Group Company (Al-Dawlia)
Distribution: Gamari Distribution Company

Al-Adwaa (daily newspaper)
aladdwaa@myway.com
Editor-in-chief: Nagib Nour Aldin
Dar Al-Balagha Press and Printing Company, Khartoum

COB: Azhari Mohamed Ali
Also publishing Al-Adwaa Daily Newspaper (political) and Al-Mushahid Daily Newspaper (sport)
Printing: Dar Al-Ashigga Printing and Publishing

Al-Ahdass (The Events – daily newspaper)

Al-Ayyam (daily newspaper)
www.alayaam.info
Acting Editor-in-chief: Kamal Al-sadig
Al-Ayyam Press Company Ltd.
Established in 1953 by Basher Mohamed Saied, Mahgoub Osman, Mahgoub Mohamed Salih and Amin Mohamed Saied
COB: Mahgoub Mohamed Salih

Al-Hayat (daily newspaper)
Editor-in-chief: Mohamed Omer Al-Khidir
Publishing Company: Al-Manabir Printing and publishing Company
COB: Ahmed Al-Tayeb Ahmed

Al-Intibaha (daily newspaper)
alintibaha@yahoo.com
Editor-in-chief: Al-Sadig Al-Rizigi
Publishing House: Al-Minbar Printing Company
COB: Altayeb Mustafa
eltayebmstf@yahoo.co.uk
General Manager: Dr. Babikir Abdulsalam
Printing: Alashigga Printing and Publishing Company
Distribution: Gamari Distribution Company

Al-Khabar (daily newspaper)
Editor in Chief: Osman Sinada
00249 923603808
Publishing House: Al-Nigoum Printing and Publishing Company
COB: Tag Alsir Mohamed Salih
Printing: Students Support Fund Printing Press
Distribution: Al-Ray Al-Aam Distribution Company

Al-Khartoum (daily newspaper)
www.khartoumnewspaper.com
alkhartoumdaily@hotmail.com
Editor-in-chief: Fadllala Mohamed
Al-Khartoum Press Company Ltd, Khartoum

COB: Dr. Al-Bagir Ahmad Abdalla
Owns also their own printing press
(FAB for Printing Technology and
Distribution)
General Director: Gaili Albagir
Abdalla

Al-Midan (daily newspaper -
published weekly temporarily)
editorial@almidan-news.com
Editor in Chief: Al-Tigani Al-Tayeb
Babikir
Publishing House: Altanweer
Printing and Publishing Company
COB: Dr. Ali Babikir Al-Kanin
Printing: Colour Printing Labs.
Distribution: Gamari Distribution
Company

Al-Muragib (daily newspaper)
Daily, except Saturdays
Circulation: 2000
Publisher: Grand Africa Service
Media
Editor-in-Chief: Ahmed Ibrahim
Ballal
Chairman, Board of Directors: Alfred
Taban
Email: howediasaleem@yahoo.com

Al-ray Al-aam (daily newspaper)
www.rayaam.net
info@rayaam.net
Editor in Chief: Kamal Hasan Bakhiet
Publishing House: Al-ray Al-aam
Press and Publishing Company,
Khartoum
Established first 1945 (re-established
1998)
Owns a printing press and
distribution company for own
newspapers.
COB: Ali Ismail Al-Atabani
atabani@rayaam.net
Publishing two dailies: Alray Alaam
Daily (political) and Hikayat (social/
popular)

Al-sahafa (daily newspaper)
www.alsahafa.sd
writers@maktoob.com
Editor in Chief: Adil Albaz
Publishing House: Multi Media
Group Company, Khartoum
COB: Taha Ali Albashier
General Director: Hashim Sahal

Al-Sharie Al-Siaisiy (daily
newspaper)
Publishing Company: Dar Al-Balad
Publishing and Printing Company
COB and Director General:
Mohamed Ahmed Karrar
Editor-in-chief: Mohamed Ahmed
Karrar

Alsudani (daily newspaper)
www.alsudani.info
alsudani86@maktoob.com
Editor in Chief: : Mahgoub Erwa
Publishing House: Alsudani
Publishing and Printing House
(established 1985), Khartoum
COB and Director General: Mahgoub
Erwa
Printing: Al-Ashigga Printing Press
Distribution: Alzajil Distribution
Company (owned by Mahgoub
Erwa)

Alwan (daily newspaper)
Editor in Chief: Hussien Khojali
Al-Masaa Media Production
Company
COB and Director General: Hussien
Khojali

Al-Wasat Al-Igtisadi (economic
daily)
www.wasat.sd
info@wasat,sd
Editor in Chief: Mohamed Alnayer
Elnair@maktoob.com
COB: Khalid Mohamed Adam
khalidbuomar@gmail.com
Publishing House: Mustagbliat
Media Company

Al-Watan (daily newspaper)
Editor-in-chief: Sid Ahmed Khalifa
www.alwatansudan.com
alwataan@myway.com
Publishing House: Horn of Africa
Publishing and Printing Company
Printing: Colour Printing Labs.
Distribution: Gamari Distribution
Company

Al-Wifaq (daily newspaper)
Established in 1997 by the late
Mohamed Taha Mohamed Ahmed
Editor in Chief: Al-Shaikh Yousif
 Al-Hasan
sheikhyousif@hotmail.com

Publishing House: Dar Al-Waad
Publishing and Printing Company
Director General: Moatasim Taha
Mohamed Ahmed

Al-Wihda (daily newspaper)
Editor in Chief: Idris Hasan
Publishing Company: Al-Islah Press
and Publishing Company Ltd
COB: Idris Hasan

The Citizen (English daily
newspaper)
COB, Director, editor-in-chief:
Nhial Bol
Publishing House: Ramkiel Trading
Company Ltd

Eilaf (economic weekly)
Editor in Chief:
Khalid Al-Tighani Al-Nour

The Juba Post (English weekly)
thejubapost@gmail.com
Coordinating Editor, Juba:
Bullen Kenyi
Coordinating Editor, Khartoum:
Charles Luganya
Publishing Company:
Juba Media Company
Chairman, Board of Trustees:
Charles Rehan
charysurur@hotmail.com

Khartoum Monitor (English daily
newspaper)
COB and Editor in Chief: Alfred
Taban
khartoummonitor@hotmail.com
Publishing Company: Grand Africa
Media Services Company (GAMSCO)

Ray Alshaab (daily newspaper)
www.rayalshaab.info
Editor-in-chief: Yasin Omer Al-Imam
Publishing house: Al-Nadwa Press
and Media Company Ltd., Khartoum
COB: Dr. Abdalla Hasan Ahmed
Printing: Colour Printing Labs.
Distribution: Gamari Distribution
Company

Sudan Mirror (bi-weekly
newspaper)
First published 1 October 2003
Printing: Kenya Times, Nairobi
Distribution: Sudan Development
Trust

Editor-in-Chief: Mitch Odero
www.sudanmirror.com
Email: info@sdt.co.ke
Dan Eiffe, director of the Sudan
Development Trust, publishers of
the Sudan Mirror Newspaper

Sudan Tribune (English daily)
Publishing Company: Accord Media
Services Company
General Director and Editor in Chief:
William Ezekiel

Sudan Vision (English daily)
sudanvision@yahoo.co.uk
www.sudanvisiondaily.com
General Manager: Nasr Adden Al-
Tahir El-Nour
Naserghatas666@yahoo.com
Editor-in-chief: Saif Adden Al-Bashir
Saifbashir2003@yahoo.com
Publishing House: Rawan Media and
Art Production Company Ltd
Printing: FAB for Printing
Technology
Distribution: Al-Ray Al-aam
Distribution Company

9.2.2 Radio stations

State radio stations:

**Sudan Radio and Television
Corporation (SRTC)**
Khartoum
Chairman of the board: Amin Hassan
Omer

Southern Sudan Radio & TV
Juba
Director General Arop Bagat
Tingloth

*Private radio stations based in
Khartoum/Omdurman:*

Al-Kawthar (religious)
Owner: Al-Mabarra Charity
Organization (Sudanese NGO
specialized in praising Profit
Mohamed Life and teachings
through Publications and Gospel
music
Director: Abdalla Al-Tahir
Religious oriented, non profit
business.

Radio Al-Rabiaa (Radio 4)
Owner: Member of Group of Media Companies owned by Abdul-Rahim Murad (UAE Citizen)
Director: Alnaiel Al-Mariod
Entertainment and profit making business.

Al-Riadiia FM 104 (sport)
Director: Yousif Al-Sammani
Sports and entertainment oriented, profit making business.

Khartoum FM 97 (economic)
Director: Ibrahim Abdul-Rahim Hamdi
Economic news and issues oriented, profit making business.

Mango FM 96
Owner: Mango Multimedia Company (registered in Sudan and Dubai)
Director: Zahir Tag Eldien
Entertainment and profit making business.

Taiba (religious)
Religious oriented, established by group of Islamic fundamentalists. Non profit business.

Private radio stations based in Southern Sudan:

Bakhita FM
Juba
Radio directress Cecilia Sierra Salcido

Capital FM
Juba

Catholic FM
Yambio

Liberty FM
Juba and Yei

Mango FM
Juba

Miraya FM
(UN Radio)
Juba
Chief of Radio Leon Willems

Ngun Kata religious FM
Kaya

Rumbek FM
Rumbek

Warrap FM
Warrap

Radios transmitting on short wave:

BBC World Service Trust
Darfur Lifeline (Darfur Salaam)
Launched January 2006
Humanitarian radio programme, providing people inside Darfur with essential information. Broadcasting 30 minutes in the morning and repeated in the evening.

Miraya Sudan
Launched in October 2007
Programmes produced in Sudan / broadcast on shortwave on frequency 9825 KHz in the 31 meter band
Three hours daily broadcasting of news and current affairs
Chief of Radio Leon Willems

Sudan Radio Service
Nairobi
Launched in July 2003
Operates on shortwave and broadcasts in 10 languages
Special focus on peace and development issues

9.2.3 TV stations

State television:

Sudan Radio and Television Corporation (SRTC)
Khartoum
Chairman of the board: Amin Hassan Omer

Southern Sudan Radio & TV
Juba
Director General Arop Bagat Tingloth

Television operating from abroad:

No private TV stations have been licensed and permitted broadcasting in Sudan. Private Sudanese TV stations have been granted permissions outside Sudan. Some of them broadcast now from Media City in Cairo, Egypt, while others are

preparing to start broadcasting from Dubai Media City, UAE.

Al-Shoroug TV
Sudanese TV Channel established in Al-Fujaira Media City, UAE. It is known to be political oriented.
Owners: Al-Fidaa Foundation for Media Production.
COB: Jamal Al-Wali.
News based channel with clear political agenda targeting Sudanese audience inside and outside Sudan.
Director General: Mahmoud Abdul-Hadi

Gutof TV Channel:
Sudanese economic TV channel broadcasting from Cairo Media City.
Owner unknown.
Profit making business.

Harmony TV
Sudanese TV Channel broadcast from Cairo. It has an office in Khartoum where it records all its programmes and sends it to Cairo for broadcasting. It is not granted permission for live broadcasting from Khartoum
Owners: Sudanese Film and Drama Director Moatasim Al –Jeaili and Egyptian partner
Entertainment and profit making business.
Director: Moatasim Al-Jaili

Sahor TV Channel (religious)
Owner: Al-Mabarra Charity Organization (Sudanese NGO specialized in praising and promoting Profit Mohamed Life and teachings through Publications and Gospel music (also owns Al-kawthar radio station).
Non profit business.

Zoal TV
Sudanese TV channel established in Dubai Media City, UAE.
Owners: Group of Sudanese Businessmen
Entertainment and profit making business.

9.2.4 Internet Sites

Gurtong.org
Information network on Southern Sudan for Sudanese in the Diaspora and in Sudan. Information sharing and discussion boards. Strengthening or creating links between the Diaspora and the people living inside Sudan. An independent, community-based project funded by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs.
www.gurtong.org

Sudan.net
First Sudanese news site on the internet. Founded by Muaz M. AtaalSid, Sudanese national living in the USA. It includes latest news and general information about Sudan in English and discussion forum in Arabic. Based in the USA.
www.sudan.net
webmaster@sudan.net

Sudaneseonline.com
The most popular Sudanese site in the internet. It includes news in Arabic and English, article pages, Sudanese music and entertainment, but famous for its live and very popular discussion forum in Arabic. Founded by Bakri Abu Bakr , Sudanese citizen living in the USA
www.sudaneseonline.com
bakriabubakr@cox.net

Sudan-forall.org
Highly intellectual site, belongs to the Sudanese Society for research on Arts and Humanities. Focus on articles, discussions, poetry, arts and political opinions. Founded and run by two Sudanese intellectuals living in France, painter and critics Hasan Mousa and dr. Nagat Mohamed Ali, university lecturer and translator
www.sudan-forall.org
sudancom@sudan-forall.com

Sudanile.com
News, opinions and discussions site. Known for its Arabic news page and popular article page. It includes also discussion forum. Founded by Khalid Izzeldien and Mohamed Abdul-Halim. Directed and run by Tarig Al-Gizouli
www.sudanile.com
feedback@sudanile.com

Sudantribune.com
Most influential and updated Sudanese news site in English. Includes

news page and article page focus on Darfur, Southern Sudan and Horn of Africa. Sudantribune.com is a non profit web site based in France. It aims at promoting plural information, democratic and free debate on Sudan.
Founded by Mohamed Nagi, Sudanese living in Paris, France.
www.sudantribune.com
contact@sudantribune.com

9.3 Education and training

Following a list of selected media schools and media training centres in Sudan.

9.3.1 List of media schools in Sudan

Faculty of Mass communication, Omdurman Islamic University.
Founded 1966, first media school in Sudan. Known to have own qualified staff but started to loose them in recent years to the Gulf States Universities.
Programmes: 4 Years Bachelor, Post Graduate Diploma, MA, PhD
Dean of Faculty: Dr. Badr Aldien Mohamed Ibrahim

Department of Mass communication, Faculty of Arts, University of Khartoum.
Founded 1994.
Offers 4 and 5 years Bachelor (Honour), MA, PhD
Head of Department: Ms Hind Abbas Hilmi

Department of Mass communication, Faculty of Arts, Juba University, Khartoum.
5 Years Bachelor with honour
Head of Department: Dr. Koni Morlay

Department of Development communication, faculty of Community Studies and Rural
Development, Juba University, Khartoum.

Offers five years Bachelor, post Graduate Diploma, MSC, PhD.
Head of Department: Atif Kkhalil

Faculty of Mass communication and Advocacy, Gezira University, Madani.
Founded in 1994.
4 Years Bachelor, Post Graduate Diploma, MA, PhD

Faculty of Mass communication, Sudan University for Science and Technology, Khartoum.
Founded in 1995.
Offers 3 years Diploma, 4 years Bachelor

Department of Mass communication, Faculty of Arts, Omdurman Ahlia University
4 years Bachelor
Head of Department: Dr. Salah Aldien Alfadil

Department of Journalism and communication, Sudan University College for Girls, Khartoum
Offers 4 years Bachelor
Head of department:
Dr. Bakhita Amin Ismail

Department of Mass communication, Imam Alhadi College, Omdurman.
Offers 2 years Diploma, 4 years Bachelor

Department of Mass communication, Faculty of Arts, University of Wadi Alnil, Barbar
Offers 4 years Bachelor, Post graduate Diploma, MA
Head of Department:
Dr. Makki Mohamed Makki

Sudan Academy for Mass Communication Studies, Khartoum
Offers 3 years diploma and 4 years Bachelor
Dean of Academy:
Dr. Abdul Daiem Omer Al-Hasan
The Only academic Institute with radio and TV Studios

Diploma program in mass communication, Faculty of Developmental Studies, University, Khartoum
3 years Diploma
Head of Department:
Dr. Ahmed Aljack

Department of Mass Communication, Africa International University, Khartoum
Offers 4 years Bachelor, MA, PhD

Department of Media Studies, Alrubat University, Khartoum
Offers 4 years Bachelor

Faculty of Mass communication and Advocacy, Holly Quran University, Omdurman
Founded 1992
Offers 4 years Bachelor, MA, and PhD

Department of Multimedia, Garden City College for Science and Technology, Khartoum
4 Years Bachelor in Multi Media Studies

Department of Mass communication, Alimam Almahadi University, Kosti.
Offers 4 years Bachelor

Department of Mass communication, College of Arabic and Islamic Studies,
University of West Kordofan, Al-Nuhod.

Department of Mass Communication and Dawa, Faculty of Arabic and Islamic
Studies, University of Sinnar

9.3.2 Media Training Centres

Nasaq Journalism Centre
Private foundation, works in fields of journalistic training. It offers paid and free training with training facilities.
Bashir Mohamed said Building, Albaladia st.
Khartoum, Sudan
COB: Adil Albaz
Director: Dr. Amal

Teeba Press
Private foundation, works in fields of journalistic training, media consultancy, advocacy of media freedom and public opinion research. It offers free training courses to journalists in different journalism skills and has its own training facilities.
Teeba Press
Natural History Museum Building
Khartoum, Sudan
www.teebapress.com
Info@teebapress.com
COB: Mohamed Latif Ali

Television Training Centre
Commercial unit belonging to the SCRT, offers different training courses on radio and TV, arts and skills: photography, directing, programmes production, script writing etc.
Television Training Centre
Khartoum International TV Channel, Alnil st, Omdurman, Sudan

**Training Department
- The National Press Council**
It is not an independent centre, but a department within the National Press Council. It organises training courses, sometimes in collaboration with other academic and training institutes and government departments. It is also in charge of training in foreign countries through diplomatic channels.

Other institutions
There are NGOs which offer training courses in the field of their interest, like women and gender NGOs on gender issues, human rights and freedom of expression, children's rights, peace culture, FGM and aids.

9.4 List of institutions and persons interviewed

The fact-finding mission for this assessment took place in June 2007, during which interviews were carried out with a broad cross-section of the media and with representatives from the authorities, the donor community and national and international organisations and NGOs.

9.4.1 Sudanese government institutions and representatives

Ministry of Information and Communication
Khartoum
Secretary General Abdul Dafi Al Khateeb
Tel: +249 183 779042
Fax: +249 183 772555
Email: dafikhateeb@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 14, 2007)

9.4.2 Sudanese organisations, institutions and NGOs

Future Trends Foundation for Strategic Studies & Dialogue
Member of the board
ElSadiq al Fakih
Khartoum
Tel: +249 183 220623
Cell: +249 911365901
Email: elfaqih@maktoob.com
(Interviewed June 15, 2007)

Independent
Lawyer and columnist Nabil Adib Abdallah
Tel: +2491834748070
Fax: +2491834748080
Cell: +249912350201
Email: nabiladib@hotmail.com
(Interviewed June 25, 2007)

Peace Research Institute
Khartoum University
Director, dr. Eltayeb Hag Ateya
Tel: +249 183 779492
Cell: +249 912 347378
Email: ateyapri@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 16, 2007)

SPLM
Spokesperson, media and cultural attaché Deng Goc Aywel
Tel: +249912237289
Email: denggoc@msn.com
(Interviewed June 24, 2007)

Sudan Social Development Organization (SUDO)
Chairperson dr. Ibrahim Adam Mudawi
Khartoum

Tel: +249 912 309750 / 165212
Fax: +249 85329034
Email: mudawi@sudosudan.org
(Interviewed June 15, 2007)

Teeba Press
Director, human rights activist Faisal Mohamed Salih
Khartoum
Cell: +249 912 275296
E-mail: faisalmsalih@yahoo.co.uk
(Interviewed June 16, 2007)

9.4.3 Sudanese journalist unions, associations and councils

National Press Council
President, professor Ali M. Shummo
Tel: +249 83799352 / 83779816
Fax: +249 0155107720 / 83771925
Cell: +249 0912139126
Email: shumm98@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 14, 2007)

Sudanese Union of Journalists
Khartoum
President, dr. Mehieddine Titawi
Cell: +249 (0) 912 307785
(Interviewed June 24, 2007)

The Union of Journalists of Southern Sudan
Juba
Member of the executive board
Apollonia Adong Matia
Tel: +249 0811 823122
Thuraya No.+8821643332507
Email apolloniamathia@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 21, 2007)
Member of the executive board
Bullen Kenyi Yatta
Cell: +249 0122 478524
Email: bullenyatta@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 21, 2007)

9.4.4 Sudanese media outlets

Al-Ayyam Daily Newspaper
Editor-in-chief Mahgoub Salih
Tel: +249 155 154220
Email: mahgoubsalih@maktoob.com
(Interviewed June 16, 2007)

Al Sahafa Newspaper
Columnist ElHag Ali Warrag
Tel: +249 0122790208
Email: alhaj_warrag@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 24, 2007)

Bakhita Radio
The Voice of the Church
Juba
Radio Directress Cecilia Sierra Salcido
Tel: +249 0811 823515
Cell: +249 0915732284
Email: bakhitaradio@yahoo.co.uk
(Interviewed June 22, 2007)

The Citizen
Chairman of Board of Directors and
editor-in-chief Nhial Bol
Editor-in-Chief
Tel: +249 122 384875
Email: nhialbol2002@yahoo.com /
thecitizen2006@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 18, 2007)

**Group-interview with young
journalists**
(June 23, 2007)

Faiz Alsheikh Babiker Alsilaik
Alayam Newspaper and
correspondent of Alhayat (based in
London)
Tel: +249 12224790
Email: faizalsilaik@yahoo.com

Ala Eldin Bashir Mohammed
Alsahfa Newspaper
Cell: +249 912 654506
Email: ala-4506@hotmail.com

Khalid Abd Elkareem Hamid Ali
sudaneseonline.com
Cell: +249 912 934712
Email: khalidmasa8@hotmail.com

Abuzar Ali Elamin
Ray Elshaab
Tel: +249 922 532627
Email: abuzzzar@yahoo.com

Gata Willow
Juba Post
Cell: +249 0918 009779
Email: gatawillow@hotmail.com

Maaz Idris Alnugomi
Alsudani Newspaper
Cell: +249 912423927
Email: maaz.alnugomi@gmail.com

Juba Post
Apollonia Adong Matia
Senior editor
Tel: +249 0811 823122
Thuraya No.+8821643332507
E-mail apolloniamathia@yahoo.com

Bullen Kenyi Yatta,
Chief Editor, Juba Post News Paper
Mobile, +249 0122 478524
Email: bullenyatta@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 21, 2007)

Khartoum Monitor
Chairman, Board of Directors and
editor-in-chief Alfred Taban
Khartoum
Tel: +249 83 232966
Cell: + 249 0912303842
Email: alfredtaban@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 14, 2007)

Ray al-Shaab Newspaper
Political Secretary and member
of board of newspaper,
dr. Bashir Adam Rahma
Popular Congress
Khartoum
Cell: +249 912301219
Fax: +249 183 783189
Email: bashirrahma@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 24, 2007)

Southern Sudan Radio & TV
Director General
Arop Bagat Tingloth
Juba
Tel: +249 0811 820005
Fax: +249 0811 820005
Cell: +249 0912 452275
(Interviewed June 22, 2007)

Director, News and Programme Af-
fairs Yousif Michael Dafallah
Cell: +249 0122130883
(Interviewed June 22, 2007)

Sudan Mirror
Dan Eiffe, director of the Sudan
Development Trust, publishers of
the Sudan Mirror Newspaper
Tel/fax: +254 (0) 203870458 /
3876439
Cell: +254 (0) 722618087
Email: eiffe@sdt.co.ke / info@sdt.co.ke
(Interviewed June 22, 2007)

Sudan Radio and Television Broadcasting Cooperation
General Manager dr. Amin Hassan Omer
Omdurman
Tel: +249 15 574 187
Fax: +249 15 556 006
Email: aminhomer@journalist.com
(Interviewed June 16, 2007)

Abla M. Bakhat
Head of the Training Directorate, Head of the European Languages Service
Tel: +249 15 569869
Cell: +249 912 394272
Email: ablabakhat@hotmail.com
(Interviewed June 16, 2007)

Mohamed Abd Elmagid Elsadig
Deputy General Manager
Head of Engineering Sector
Tel: +249 187 577468
Fax: +249 187 577466
Email: sadigsrtc@hotmail.com
(Interviewed June 16, 2007)

Sudan Radio Service
Executive Producer Rebecca Joshua Okwaci
Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: + 254 020 3870906 / 3872269
Fax: +254 020 3876520
Cell: +254 0720 867 149
Email: rokwaci@sudanradio.org
www.sudanradio.org
(Interviewed June 20, 2007)

Managing Director Victor Lugala
Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: +254 0722 208584 / 0733 867248
Email: vlugala@sudanradio.org
(Interviewed June 20, 2007)

Senior Bureau Producer
David Aruai Dau
Juba
Tel: +249 122925831
Thuraya 8821 64 333 90 41
Email: ddau@sudanradio.org
www.sudanradio.org
(Interviewed June 22, 2007)

Sudan Tribune Daily Newspaper
William Ezekiel Kujo Deng
Chairman of Board of Directors and Editor-in-Chief
Khartoum, Sudan
Tel: +249 83 798175/6

Fax: +249 83 798175
Cell: +249 911 282153 / 122 478464
Email: kujodeng@yahoo.com /
sudantribunedaily@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 21, 2007)

SUNA – Sudan News Agency
Head of Training Department
Bulghies Hussein Ahmed
Cell: +249 912 90571
Email: bulghis_hussein@hotmail.com
(Interviewed June 17, 2007)

9.4.5 Embassies and donor representatives

British Embassy Khartoum
Second Secretary Omar Daair
Political/Press and Public Affairs
Tel: +249 183 777 105
Cell: +249 9 12306904
Fax: +249 183 776457
Email: Omar.Daair@fco.gov.uk
(Interviewed June 17, 2007)

Delegation of the European Commission to the Republic of Sudan
Khartoum
Deputy Head of Section
Luca Pierantoni
Governance, Social and Economics Section
Tel:+249 183 795210/1/3/4
Fax:+249 183 799391
Cell: +249 912 160 259
Email: luca.pierantoni@cec.eu.int

Omneya Mansour
Freedom of Expression Programme Manager
Tel: +249 83 775054
Cell: +249 911228776
Email: omneya.mansour@ec.europa.eu
(Interviewed June 17, 2007)

Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
Khartoum
Second Secretary Political
Annelies Ellerman
Tel: +249 183 471200 / 471198
Cell: +249 912 347057
Fax: +249 183 471204
Email: annelies.ellerman@minbuza.nl
www.mfa.nl/kha
(Interviewed June 25, 2007)

Joint Donor Team
Juba
Deputy Head of Office Malfrid
Anestad
Advisor Humanitarian Affairs
Tel: +249 (0) 9 1250 1116
Email: maldrid.anestad@minbuza.nl
(Interviewed June 21, 2007)

Royal Danish Embassy
Counsellor, Head of Section
Karin Sørensen
Development Cooperation Section
Khartoum
Tel. direct: +249 183 476 965 ext.
102
Cell: +249 912 140 134
Email: karsor@umgate.dk
www.ambkairo.um.dk
(Interviewed June 14, 2007)

USAID
Supervisory democracy and
governance officer
Stephanie Funk
Cell: +249 912 160343
Email: Sfunk@ofda.gov
(Interviewed June 25, 2007)

OTI country representative
Ami Hensson
Cell: +249 912 561466
Email: ahenson@usaid.gov
(Interviewed June 25, 2007)

9.4.6 International organisations

UNDP
Deputy Country Director Auke
Lootsma
Khartoum
Tel: +249 183 783820
Fax: +249 183 773128
Cell: +249 912 154046
Email: auke.lootsma@undp.org
www.sd.undp.org
(Interviewed June 17, 2007)

UNESCO
Representative Ibrahim A. Sidibe
Khartoum
Tel: +249 183 460077
Fax: +249 183 576237
Cell: +249 915 181254
Email: i.sidibe@unesco.org
(Interviewed June 17, 2007)

United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS)
Spokesperson Radhia Achouri
Khartoum
Tel: +249 (0) 1 87 08 60 29
Fax: +249 (0) 1 87 08 74 42
Cell: +249 (0) 9 12 39 22 70
Email: achouri@un.org
(Interviewed June 14, 2007)

Chief of Radio Leon Willems
Khartoum
Tel: +249 187 086250 (direct line)
Cell: +249 9 12170124
Email: willems@un.org
(Interviewed June 14, 2007)

World Bank
Communications Specialist
Nada Amin
Sudan Country Office, Khartoum
Tel: +249 0155155021/22/23 ext. 3016
Fax: +249 0155 155026
Cell: +249 9 12179206
Email: namin@worldbank.org
(Interviewed June 25, 2007)

Communications Officer
Albino Okeny
Juba
Tel: +249 (0) 122433880
Email: ALBINOolak@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 22, 2007)

9.4.7 International media organisations and NGOs

BBC World Service Trust
Project Manager, Africa
Lisa Robinson
Tel: +44 (0) 207 557 3022
Fax: +44 (0) 207 379 1622
Email: lisa.robinson@bbc.co.uk
www.bbcworldservicetrust.org
(Interviewed June 14, 2007)

Khaled Dnnaa
Leader of Production & Training for
Darfur Lifeline
Cell: 0912 450008
(Interviewed June 24, 2007)

BearingPoint
Advisor in the Ministry of
Information Sinclair Cornell
Juba
Email: srcornell@yahoo.com
(Interviewed June 21, 2007)

Internews Sudan
Country director Terry Thielen
Rumbek
Thuraya: +88.216.5107.1625
Nbo mobile: +254 (0) 723 562 946
Email: tthielen@internews.org
Alt email: etthielen@yahoo.com
Skype: terry.thielen
www.internews.org
(Interviewed June 19, 2007)

**National Democratic Institute
– NDI**
Consultant David Hesketh
Juba
Email: davehesketh@yahoo.co.uk
(Interviewed June 22, 2007)

Norwegian Church Aid (NCA)
Deputy Resident Representative
Jerome Surur
Juba
Tel: +249 811 820 484
Fax: + 249 811 822 117
Email: jerome@ncasudan.org
www.nca.no
(Interviewed June 20, 2007)

Senior Programme Manager
Tore Torstad
Juba
Tel: + 249 91 5306026
Satellite: + 882 165112682
Email: tore@ncasudan.org
(Interviewed June 20, 2007)

Programme Coordinator, Eastern
Africa Kari Øyen
Dept. for International Programmes
Oslo, Norway
Tel: +47 22 09 27 00
Cell: +47 95 80 37 34
Email: kao@nca.no
www.nca.no
(Interviewed June 20, 2007)

Deputy Kamal Abu Zaid
Khartoum
Tel: + 249 183 471989 /481241
Cell: +249 912 300284
Fax: +249 183 471779
Email: kamal@ncasudan.org
(Interviewed June 24, 200)

Oxfam Canada
Program Manager, Partnership for
Cross-Sectoral Engagement
Raymond Genesse

Tel: +249 183 582406
Cell: +249 911 371409

Email: raymondg@oxfam.ca
(Interviewed June 15, 2007)

Pact Sudan
Country Director Marv Koop
Juba
Tel: +249 811 823 707
Cell: +249 915 203 741
Email: mkoop@pactke.org
www.pactsudan.org
(Interviewed June 22, 2007)

Panos Sudan
General Program Manager Manal
Bashir
Tel: +249 183 482982
Cell +249 122190248
Email: manalbashir10@hotmail.com
(Interviewed June 16, 2007)

9.5 List of institutions and persons consulted

The findings from the June 2007
fact finding mission were updated
during a mission in November 2007
to Khartoum and Juba, and the
conclusions and recommendations
were consulted with a wide range
of media stakeholders.

9.5.1 Khartoum

Al-Ayyam Daily Newspaper
Mahgoub Salih, editor-in-chief
Email: mahgoubsalih@maktoob.com

British Embassy Khartoum
Omar Daair, Second Secretary
Political/Press and Public Affairs
Email: Omar.Daair@fco.gov.uk

**Delegation of the European
Commission to the Republic of
Sudan**
Omneya Mansour, Freedom of
Expression Programme Manager
Email: omneya.mansour@ec.
europa.eu

Department for International Development – DFID Sudan
Mary Lun, deputy programme manager
Email: m-lun@dfid.gov.uk

Future Trends Foundation for Strategic Studies & Dialogue
ElSadiq al Fakih, programme advisor
Email: elfaqih@maktoob.com

Khartoum Monitor
Alfred Taban, chairman, board of directors and editor-in-chief
Email: alfredtaban@yahoo.com

National Press Council
Dr. Hashim M. M. Salih Eljaz, secretary general
Email: hajazz68@hotmail.com

Bakri A. Mulah, secretary general, external information council
Email: bmulah@yahoo.com

Dr. Abnigo Akok
Deputy Chairman

Peace Research Institute
Khartoum University
Dr. Eltayeb Hag Ateya, director
Email: ateyapri@yahoo.com

Royal Danish Embassy
Karin Sørensen, Counsellor,
Head of Section Development Cooperation Section
Email: karsor@umgate.dk

Teeba Press
Faisal Mohamed Salih, director
E-mail: faisalmsalih@yahoo.co.uk

UNDP
Aicha Elbasri, communications manager
Email: aicha.elbasri@undp.org

USAID
Stephanie Funk, supervisory democracy and governance officer
Cell: +249 912 160343
Email: Sfunk@ofda.gov

John Granville, democracy and governance officer
Email: jgranville@usaid.gov

9.5.2 Juba

Association for Media Development in South Sudan (AMDISS)
Pamela Lomoro, manager
Email: amdiss_hq@yahoo.com
Tel: +256 (0) 477 129385 / + 249 (0) 914 248080

Bakhita Radio
Cecilia Sierra Salcido, radio directress
Email: bakhitaradio@yahoo.co.uk
Tel: +249 0811 823515
Cell: +249 0915732284

José Vieira, news editor,
Email: bakhitaradio@yahoo.co.uk
Tel: +249 0811 823515

The Citizen
Nhial Bol, Chairman of Board of Directors and editor-in-chief
Email: nhialbol2002@yahoo.com / thecitizen2006@yahoo.com

Badru Mulumba,
editorial consultant
Email: badru.mulumba@gmail.com

Juba Post
Apollonia Adong Matia,
senior editor
E-mail apollonia.mathia@gmail.com

Media Training Center
Gwado Joseph Ador
Email: ador50@hotmail.com / gwadoa@yahoo.co.uk
Tel: + 249 122248683

News Agency of Southern Sudan (NASS)
Moyiga Korokota Nduru, director
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
Email: moyiganduru2006@yahoo.co.uk
Tel: +256 (0) 477112565

Norwegian People's Aid
Linda Thru, project advisor,
Email: lthu@npaid.or.ke
Tel: +256 477109661

Union of Journalists of South Sudan (UJOSS)
James Lemor Joseph
Email: jameslemor@yahoo.co.uk
Tel: +249 913 664 755

IMS

**INTERNATIONAL
MEDIA SUPPORT**