

# UN Security Council STUDY GUIDE

**Agenda Item 1** 

-Growing impacts of Non-State Actors in Interregional Relations

haydarpajamun 22

### UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL STUDY GUIDE

# A. INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE DIRECTOR

Hello everyone, I, Deniz Uçar, will be your student officer throughout this conference. I would like to welcome you to the fifth edition of HaydarpaşaMUN. Honestly, I feel glad to be selected as the committee director of UNSC. The United Nations Security Council is my favorite committee. I would love to see some good debate and diplomatic solutions in order to solve this issue. Wish you the best of luck.

# B. INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMITEE

Under the Charter of the United Nations, the United Nations Security Council is one of the six main organs of the United Nations and is responsible for maintaining international peace and security. According to Article 25 of the Charter, all members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions made by the Security Council, which makes the decisions of the Security Council legally binding. The very first session of the Security Council was held on January 17, 1946, at Church House, Westminster, London. Ever since the first session, the Security Council held the United Nations Headquarters in New York City as their permanent residence. The United Nations Security Council consists of fifteen members, of which five are permanent members, and ten are rotating on a two-year basis. Permanent members are France, the People's Republic of China, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. Every member of the Security Council has one vote. However, five permanent members have the right to veto, which means a resolution would be destined to fail without their consensus. This right to veto has raised controversy and criticisms towards the Security Council due to its sensitive nature that may prevent swift action in case a conflicting political interest occurs with a permanent member and the current agenda of the Security Council. The five permanent members of the UN Security Council also happen to be the nuclear-weapon states (NWS) under the terms of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). Therefore, this makes the discussions and collective action in the Security Council highly challenging. The United Nations Security Council holds the legitimacy to take action if international peace and security are at risk. In the moment of a crisis or a threatening situation, the Security Council may try to reach an agreement by peaceful means. If such action is not appropriate and/or non-resolving, the Security Council may take further action by issuing a ceasefire directive and/or military observation and peacekeeping force. Beyond this, the Security Council may enforce

measures of economic sanctions, blockade, and even a collective military action. Apart from the peace and security discourse, the Security Council recommends to the General Assembly regarding the appointment of the Secretary-General and admission of new members to the United Nations. Additionally, the Security Council, together with the General Assembly, elects the judges of the International Court of Justice. In today's world of rapidly developing international crises and peace-threatening developments by states and non-state actors, members of the Security Council are being challenged more intensively than in the years past. It is a demanding challenge to pursue international peace, security, and collaboration while respecting sovereignty and tackling political agendas. In a globe with highly complex security threats and advancing methods of terrorism, the Security Council will be asked to resolve this proliferating nature of chaos.

# C. INTRODUCTION TO THE AGENDA ITEM

Principal actors of world politics are nation-states, but they are not the only actors. The international system consists of nation-states, international organizations, and private actors. Even though thousands of international organizations were established during the post-World War II era, they were underestimated by students of international relations. The increasing number of international organizations is parallel to the increasing levels of economic, political, social and cultural transactions between individuals, societies and states. The growth of so many kinds of non-state actors challenges and even weakens the "state-centric" concept of international politics and replaces it with a "transnational" system in which relationships are more complex.

Following the traditional classification, non-state actors are divided into two categories: intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and transnational or international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) The first group consists of the non-state actors that are created by nation-states. They are officially documented by government agencies. The second group of non-state international actors is established not by nation-states, but by certain groups of individuals, businessmen and other societal forces. This group has no legal bonds with nation-states; therefore, they are truly transnational. IGOs are voluntary associations of sovereign states established to pursue many objectives for which states want to cooperate through a sort of formal structure and to which states are unable to realize by themselves. There are hundreds of IGOs in today's world which are significant in their respective fields. They are created by treaties and negotiations which mainly reflect preferences of stronger states. Especially stronger states create IGOs because they need them to protect their interests. By and large, decisions made by IGOs are the product of negotiations among the governmental representatives assigned to them. In general, it is not idealism, but the need of states which tend them to cooperate with other states in the context of IGOs. Therefore, they are part of the Westphalian state system in which IGOs are instruments of nation-states. IGOs may be classified by

scope (global and regional) and by function (political,economic, social and environmental). IGOs are adjuncts of nation-states and play significant roles by providing means of cooperation and multiple channels of communication among states in areas in which cooperation and communication provides advantages for all or most states.

The IMF and the UN Security Council are two prominent organizations in which some powerful states direct activities of the organization and impose their principles selectively. For instance, the UN Security Council cannot accept any decision against the interests of the five permanent members and those of their allies, i.e., the UN Security Alternatives 45 Council decisions on the Palestinian question against Israel have often been vetoed by the United States.

# **International Non-Governmental Organizations**

(NGOs) Non-governmental organizations are institutions that are established by non-state actors or at least one side of these organizations is not a state. There are many kinds of NGOs such as transnational, government-organized, government-regulated and initiated, business and industry, donor-organized, donor-dominated, people's organizations, operational, advocacy, transnational social movements, quasi, and anti-governmental NGOs. Their number increased (more than 23,000 in the early 1990s) and their effectiveness in transnational politics became more relevant in recent decades. They have become "crucial participants in the international policy process" NGOs create and/or mobilize global networks by creating transnational organizations, gathering information on local conditions through contacts around the world, alerting global networks of supporters to conditions requiring attention, creating emergency responses around the world, and mobilizing pressure from outside states. They participate in IGO conferences by mobilizing transnational social movements organizations around issues in IGOs, building transnational social coalitions, raising new issues, supporting IGO development, addressing IGO meetings, submitting documents to governmental organizations' meetings, improving skills in conference diplomacy, and increasing expertise on issues They facilitate inter-state cooperation by preparing background papers and reports, educating delegates and representatives of states to narrow technical gap, serving as third party source of information, expanding policy options, facilitating agreements, and bringing delegates together in third party fora. NGOs conduct many kinds of activities within states such as linking to local partners, linking to transnational social movements with complementary skills, working in national arenas to harmonize state policies, providing humanitarian aid, and protecting accompaniment of persons in danger. They also enhance public participation within states by reminding government delegates that they are being watched, enhancing public understanding, increasing transparency of international negotiations and institutions, and provoking public protest. As a by-product of the intensified globalization process, NGOs which operate at the transnational level have become more significant determinants of foreign policies of nation-states. Like their counterparts that operate at the domestic level and lobby in their respective countries, they lobby at international and transnational levels. Human rights advocates, gender activists, religious movements, developmentalists, and indigenous peoples have invaded the territory of nation-states.



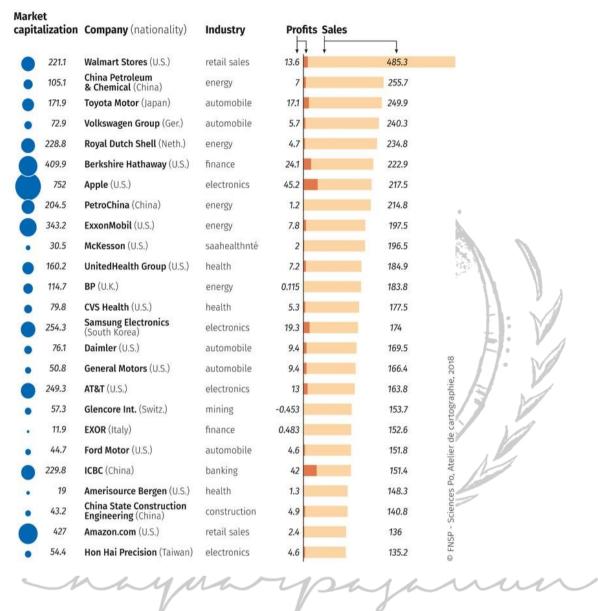
# **Multinational Corporations (MNCs)**

The most prominent contemporary NGOs are multinational corporations (MNCs). They are huge firms that own and control plants and offices in at least more than one country and sell their goods and services around the world. They are large corporations having branches and subsidiaries operating on a worldwide basis in many countries simultaneously. MNCs are a major driver of global economic integration and establish unprecedented linkages among economies worldwide. The biggest and the most effective industrial corporations are based in the United States, Europe, and Japan. In 1992, of the 20 largest MNCs, excluding trading companies, in terms of sales all were based in G-7 states — eight were in the United States, four were in Japan, three were in Germany, and five were in Britain, two of which were jointly based in the Netherlands.

MNCs can be classified according to the kinds of business activities they pursue such as extractive resources, agriculture, industrial products, transportation, banking, and tourism. The most notable MNCs are industrial and financial corporations (the most important being banks). Naturally, the

# primary objective of MNCs is profit maximization

Ranked by public company sales (billions of dollars)



# **Non State Actors and International Relations**

Non-state actors play a major role in foreign policy making of nation-states and significantly influence their foreign policy behavior. They lobby in domestic as well as international settings and mobilize their home or host states and national and global public opinion. Non-state actors are active in more than one state; therefore, they can exploit states.

# History of the agenda item

Classic conceptions of international law recognized non-State actors as subjects of international law only to a very small extent. This only changed with the creation of the League of Nations, a time which saw a proliferation of non-State actors, though their existence was owed mainly to States. Though there existed a small number of non-State actors in the inter-war period (History of International Law, World War I to World War II), their status was only formally recognized after World War II (History of International Law, since World War II). Qualitatively, the fall of the Iron Curtain marked a turning point (see also Cold War [1947–91]), after which the importance of non-State actors in international relations can no longer be denied.

This limited role for non-State actors changed in the interwar period, first with the creation of the League of Nations, but also other permanent international organizations, such as the International Labor Organization (ILO). Two of the ILO's main bodies, the International Labor Conference and the Governing Body consist of State, but also of labor and industry representatives. 11 In the early 1930s and following the ([7 June 1929] (1930) 24 AJIL Supp 81; Report of the Committee of Experts concerning the Settlement of the Reparation Problem 'Young Plan'; Dawes Plan [1924] and Young Plan [1930]), the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) was a creation of the interwar period in order to oversee the reparation payments imposed on Germany by the Versailles Peace Treaty (1919) ([signed 28 June 1919, entered into force 10 January 1920] [1981] 225 CTS 188). Still in existence today, the bank was incorporated according to domestic laws in Switzerland and founded by the central banks of six countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Japan) as well as a Japanese commercial bank and an American group of private banks. Its status has undergone changes, first having been incorporated under Swiss law, until in 1987 it concluded a Headquarters Agreement (International Organizations or Institutions, Headquarters) with the Swiss government. The bank's significance lies in the fact that it is one of the rare examples of State/non-State actor cooperation during this period in creating a permanent institution on the international level and in being a precursor of what was to transpire only after World War II, and, much more forcefully, after the fall of the Iron Curtain. 12 Though non-self-governing territories started to emerge as a concept in this time period, World War II halted any development towards decolonization. The interwar period can thus be characterized as laying the foundation for moving from the exclusivity of the State-centred system. After World War II,

13 After World War II, the State-centered view of international law that had prevailed until then started to change more significantly. While individuals were still not considered subjects of international law, the period after the end of World War II witnessed the conclusion of important human rights documents, inter alia, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) (UNGA Res 217 A [III] [10 December 1948] GAOR 3rd Session Part I 71), as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) ([adopted 19 December 1966, entered into force 23 March 1976]

999 UNTS 171) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) ([adopted 16 December 1966, entered into force 3 January 1976] 993 UNTS 3). These treaties recognized that individuals no longer seen as mere objects of international law had a core of rights and a status that may not be disposed of by States or other entities or individuals. Aided by the growing number of States due to the process of decolonization, recognition of peoples as a distinctive group came to the forefront in the 1960s. Though its predecessor, the principle of nationalities, had existed as a concept prior to World War I and was taken up (in a modified form) in Art. 22 Covenant of the League of Nations ([signed 28 June 1919, entered into force 10 January 1920] 225 CTS 195), through the mandate system (Mandates), self-determination of peoples only entered the international scene as a legal concept in 1945 with the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations ([adopted 26 June 1945, entered into force 24 October 1945] 145 BSP 80; 'UN Charter'; United Nations Charter). Despite being mentioned in Arts 2, 73 and 76 UN Charter, numerous treaties, resolutions and other documents, the Case concerning East Timor (Portugal v Australia) ([1995] ICJ Rep 90) before the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and despite attempts to operationalize the concepts—eg in the Arab-Israeli Conflict—the legal content remains unclear. 14 Though belligerent parties in civil wars were already recognized in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Armed Conflict, Non-International; Belligerency; Recognition of Belligerency) namely in the American Civil War (1861–65) and the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), respectively they are specifically recognized in international humanitarian law ( Humanitarian Law, International). This is conditioned on an insurgent party having established stable control over a given territory. A more recent development is the recognition of national liberation movements, a process that evolved mainly from the process of decolonization and self-determination. This culminated in the inclusion of insurgent groups in Art. 1 (4) Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I) ( Geneva Conventions Additional Protocol I [1977]; Geneva Conventions I-IV [1949]). 15 Specifically recognized in Art. 71 UN Charter, NGOs have conceptually been traced back to the times of consolidating Christianity or the Middle Ages. NGOs in the modern sense were first created in the 19th century, most having an idealistic or scientific agenda eg the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1823, the International Geodesical Association in 1862, or the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in 1863, later on followed by the first economic NGOs. Close relations between NGOs and inter-governmental organizations already existed in the interwar period, but it was not until the creation of the UN that NGOs were officially recognized. The number of recognized NGOs has increased remarkably, currently standing at over 2,700; the number of nonregistered NGOs is indeterminable by now spanning every conceivable subject-matter and ideology. Equally remarkable is their influence on the policy-making level and in judicial activities (see paras 21–27 below). Another category of non-State actors prominent in this period is that of so-called de facto regimes, characterized by exercising more or less complete control over a largely well-defined territory without however being recognized as States and formal governments. Generally considered

to be partial subjects of international law, some States may decide to enter into relations with them, treaties may be concluded, and according to Art. 9 Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts ('Draft Articles on State Responsibility'; State Responsibility) their conduct may entail the international responsibility of the de facto regime. The significance of non-State actors was judicially recognized soon after the creation of the UN by the ICJ in the 1948 Reparation for Injuries Suffered in the Service of the United Nations (Advisory Opinion) (Advisory Opinions; Reparations), in which the ICJ observed that 'the progressive increase in the collective action of States has already given rise to instances of action upon the international plane by certain entities which are not States' (at 178). This increase in importance gained momentum after the end of the East-West standoff in the late 1980s. Several factors may be identified for this change: already in the process leading to the end of the Cold War a growing awareness of non-State actors set in as the stalemate of the bipolar world between the East and the West with its attendant proxy conflicts in Africa, Asia and Latin America ended. The formation of transnational civil society, aided by the increased ability of individuals and groups to communicate with one another, the globalization of the economy, as well as a growing awareness of global issues are all factors that played a significant role in this process (see also Community Interest). The end of the Cold War also saw a growing role for international organizations and private institutions as having a profound influence on the internal governance of States. Examples are the World Trade Organization (WTO), under the umbrella of which the Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures ([signed 15 April 1994, entered into force 1 January 1995] 1867 UNTS 493; Sanitary and Phytosanitary Standards) and the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade ([signed 15 April 1994, entered into force 1 January 1995] 1868 UNTS 120: Technical Barriers to Trade) function as regulatory and harmonization mechanisms, relying on external sources, such as the codex alimentarius (see also Codex Alimentarius Commission [CAC]); the World Bank's conditionality requirements (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD]; World Bank Group); and the UN Security Council's Counter Terrorism Committee. It was also in this period that the International Law Commission (ILC) finalized the Draft Articles on State Responsibility, according to which the action of certain non-State actors may be attributed to a State, which—given that an internationally wrongful act was committed—entails the responsibility of States. Of particular relevance are Articles 5 and 7 to 11 Draft Articles on State Responsibility. Under the principles of attributing private and official conduct, acts of individuals or groups may be attributed to a State. A similar project by the ILC on the responsibility of international organizations has not yet been finalised (International Organisations or Institutions, Responsibility and Liability). 19 The following section highlights the involvement and active participation of non-State actors in the areas of codification (Codification and Progressive Development of International Law) as well as adjudication before turning to the role of non-State actors in matters of international security.

### **General Overview**

Importance of non-state actors can not be overstated as the United Nations is a non-state actor, it is our responsibility to protect and enhance our working field. UNSC is there to protect and serve. We must be the balancing force in the world. Our most important purpose is to maintain peace.

Peacekeeping by the United Nations is a role held by the Department of Peace Operations as an "instrument developed by the organization as a way to help countries torn by conflict to create the conditions for lasting peace". It is distinguished from peacebuilding, peacemaking, and peace enforcement although the United Nations does acknowledge that all activities are "mutually reinforcing" and that overlap between them is frequent in practice.

Peacekeepers monitor and observe peace processes in post-conflict areas and assist ex-combatants in implementing the peace agreements they may have signed. Such assistance comes in many forms, including confidence-building measures, power-sharing arrangements, electoral support, strengthening the rule of law, and economic and social development. Accordingly, UN peacekeepers (often referred to as Blue Berets or Blue Helmets because of their light blue berets or helmets) can include soldiers, police officers, and civilian personnel.

The United Nations Charter gives the United Nations Security Council the power and responsibility to take collective action to maintain international peace and security. For this reason, the international community usually looks to the Security Council to authorize peacekeeping operations through Chapter VII authorizations.

Most of these operations are established and implemented by the United Nations itself, with troops serving under UN operational control. In these cases, peacekeepers remain members of their respective armed forces, and do not constitute an independent "UN army", as the UN does not have such a force. In cases where direct UN involvement is not considered appropriate or feasible, the Council authorizes regional organizations such as NATO, the Economic Community of West African

States, or coalitions of willing countries to undertake peacekeeping or peace-enforcement tasks.

Jean-Pierre Lacroix is the Head of the Department of Peace Operations; he took over from the former Under-Secretary-General Hervé Ladsous on 1 April 2017. Since 1997, all leaders have been French. DPKO's highest level doctrine document, entitled "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines" was issued in 2008.

The interregional organizations are getting more powerful day by day. As the UNSC, the most authorized organization in the world, it is our duty to be just and fair. We must also recognise other alliances such as but not limited to NATO. The authority should not be divided. The UNSC must be the balancing force and seek the well being of every citizen of the world.

# **Key Terms**

Source: United Nations

**Coalition:** two or more political parties that have joined together, usually to govern a country.

**Segregation:** the action or state of setting someone or something apart from others.

**State-centered:** Conducted by the government.

### **Block Positions**

Mostly in overbearing regimes, NGOs and IGOs are not liked. Because of the fact that they want to be in political solitude, they are not cooperative in most cases. Countries that are ruled by the absolute monarchy can be an example for this situation. As the UNSC it is our duty to preserve other citizens' lives.

### **Points a Possible Resolution Should Cover**

A possible resolution on the Growing impacts of Non-State Actors in Interregional Relations should take all of the discussion in this study guide into account. As the UNSC we have to be the balancing force. The growing impacts of non-state actors is a truth but without the proper control over new mechanisms, the world would not become a better place. Also cooperation between poles apart is the key

Briefly, a new resolution by the UNSC should cover:

- Long term solutions on sustainability of interregional relationships
- Controlling the actions that can be taken by the non-state actors
- Cooperating with non-governmental organizations
- Cooperating and controlling MNCs
- An action plan in order to observe the acts of non-state actors

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# **Further Reading**

https://www.apa.org/international/united-nations/publications

https://www.escr-net.org/resources/non-state-

<u>actors#:~:text=Non%2Dstate%20actors%20include%20organizations,paramilitary%20and%20armed%20resistance%20groups.</u>

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-state actor

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-state actor#Effects on the Westphalian state model

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Westphalian\_sovereignty

https://www.britannica.com/topic/multinational-corporation

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https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/19401

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\_Nations\_peacekeeping

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 $\underline{https://espace-mondial-atlas.sciencespo.fr/en/topic-strategies-of-transnational-actors/article-3A11-EN-\underline{multinational-corporations.html}$ 





# UN Security Council STUDY GUIDE

**Agenda Item 2** 

-Question of Sudan and South Sudan

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### UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL STUDY GUIDE

**Topic:** Question of Sudan and South Sudan **Committee:** United Nations Security Council

Name:

**Position:** 

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challenged more intensively than in the years past. It is a demanding challenge to pursue international peace, security, and collaboration while respecting sovereignty and tackling political agendas. In a globe with highly complex security threats and advancing methods of terrorism, the Security Council will be asked to resolve this proliferating nature of chaos.

### **B.** INTRODUCTION TO THE AGENDA ITEM

The Second Sudanese Civil War was an armed conflict from 1983 to 2005 between the central Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army. Since the 1983 start of the civil war, more than 4 million people have been displaced, and an estimated 2 million have died. Opposition groups as well as the government have been accused of atrocities in the conflict. An estimated 2.3 million civilians in Darfur are in need of emergency aid, but bottlenecks created by both the government and the rebel forces cut them off from food and medical supplies.

Since 2003, violence in Darfur called ethnic cleansing by some and genocide by others has left an estimated 50,000 to 80,000 dead and an estimated 1.2 million to 2 million people displaced. Survivors face severe shortages of food and clean water. Since the start of the War, This conflict has been one of the most important topics of UNSC and UN.

C. TIMELINE

### **Pre-Independence**

In 1899, Britain and Egypt reached an agreement under which Sudan was run by a governor-general appointed by Egypt with British consent. In reality, Sudan was effectively administered as a Crown Colony. The British were keen to reverse the process, started under Muhammad Ali Pasha, of uniting the Nile Valley under Egyptian leadership and tried to hinder all efforts aimed at further uniting the two countries. In 1905 Local chieftain Sultan Yambio gave up the struggle with British forces that had occupied the Kordofan region, finally ending the lawlessness. The continued British administration of Sudan fuelled a huge nationalist backlash and made Egyptian nationalist leaders determined to force

Britain to recognise a single independent union of Egypt and Sudan. With a formal end to Ottoman rule in 1914, Sir Reginald was sent that December to occupy Sudan as the new Military Governor. Hussein Kamell was declared Sultan of Egypt and Sudan, as was his brother and successor, Fuad I. They continued upon their insistence of a single Egyptian-Sudanese state even when the Sultanate of Egypt was retitled as the Kingdom of Egypt and Sudan.

From 1924 until independence in 1956, the British had a policy of running Sudan as two essentially separate territories; the north and south. In July 1936 the Liberal Constitutional leader, Muhammed Mahmoud was persuaded to bring Wafd delegates to London to sign the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. The treaty stated that the British Army was allowed to return to Sudan to protect the Canal Zone and they were able to place training facilities and the RAF was free to fly over Egyptian territory. It did not, however, resolve the problem of Sudan: the Sudanese Intelligentsia agitated for a return to metropolitan rule, conspiring with Germany's agents. Mussolini made it clear that he could not invade Abyssinia without first conquering Egypt and Sudan; they intended unification of Libya with Italian East Africa. The British Imperial General Staff prepared for military defense of the region which was lacking. The British ambassador blocked Italian attempts to secure a Non-Aggression Treaty with Egypt-Sudan but Mahmoud was a supporter of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem; as a result the region was caught between the Empire's efforts to save the Jews, and moderate Arab calls to stop migration.

The Egyptian Revolution was what finally started the march towards Sudanese independence. Having abolished the monarchy in 1953, Egypt's new leaders, Mohammed Naugib and later Gamal Abdel Nasser, believed the only way to end British domination in Sudan was for Egypt to officially abandon its claims of sovereignty. In addition, Nasser knew it would be difficult for Egypt to govern an impoverished Sudan after its independence. The British on the other hand continued their political and financial support for the Mahdist successor, Abd al-Rahman Mahdi, whom it was believed would resist Egyptian pressure for Sudanese independence. Rahman was capable of this, but his regime was plagued by political ineptitude which garnered a colossal loss of support in northern and central Sudan. Both Egypt and Britain sensed great instability and thus allowed both Sudanese regions, north, and south to have a free vote on whether they wished for independence or a British withdrawal.

### First Sudanese Civil War

The first Sudanese civil war was an armed conflict from 1955 to 1972 between the northern and the southern parts of Sudan. Half a million people died over the 17 years and the war was divided into four major stages: initial guerrilla warfare, the creation of the Anjana insurgency, political strife within the government, and the establishment of the South Sudan Liberation Movement.

On 18 August 1955, members of the British-administered Sudan Defense Force Equatorial Corps mutinied in Torit and Juba Yei. The immediate causes of the mutiny were a trial of a southern member of the national assembly and an allegedly false telegram urging northern administrators in the South to oppress Southerners. The mutinies were suppressed, though survivors fled the towns and began an uncoordinated insurgency in rural areas. Poorly armed and unorganized, they were little threat to the outgoing colonial power or the newly formed Sudanese Government. The insurgents gradually developed into a movement composed of the 1955 mutineers and southern students. These groups formed the Anyana guerrilla army. Starting from Equatoria, between 1963 and 1969, Anyanya spread throughout the other two southern provinces: Upper Nile and Bahr Al Gazal. This put heavy pressure on the Northern army's ability to properly maneuver. Even though the separatist movement was crippled by internal ethnic divisions between the "Nilotic" and "Equatorian" groups, the government was unable to take advantage of the rebel's weaknesses because of their own factions and instability. The first independent government of Sudan, led by Prime Minister İsmail Al Azhari, was quickly replaced by a coalition of various conservative forces, which was in turn overthrown in the coup d'état of Chief of Staff Brigadier İbrahim Abdoud in 1958.

On the evening of 20 October 1964, a raid by security forces on a seminar on "the Problem of the Southern Sudan" at the University of Khartoum sparked nationwide protests and a general strike. Abboud ceded to the massive scale of civil disobedience by creating an interim government in October 1964. These protests included the first appearance of İslamist Hassan Al Turabi who was then a student leader. Between 1966 and 1969, a series of Islamist-dominated administrations proved unable to deal with the variety of ethnic, economic, and conflict problems afflicting the country. After a second military coup in 1969, Colonel Gaffar Nimery became Prime Minister and promptly outlawed political parties. Also during this time, the Anyanya insurgency took advantage of the unstable situations which enabled them to send their leaders and continue their operations abroad. Infighting between Marxist and non-Marxist factions in the ruling military class led to another coup in July 1971 and a short-lived administration by the Sudanese communist party before anti-Communist factions put Nimeiri back in control of the country.

The South was first led by the late leader Aggrey Jaden; he left the movement in 1969 due to internal political disputes. In the same year, Gordon Muortat Mayen was elected unanimously as the new leader of the South. Southern Sudan at this time changed its name to the Nile Republic and resumed warfare against Khartoum, however, some of the former leader Jaden's troops would not accept a Dinka leader and fought against the Anyanya. In 1971, former army lieutenant Joseph Lagu formed a successful coup against Gordon Muortat with help from Israel which pledged him their support. In doing so, the defected Equatorian commander was able to unify these troops of guerrilla fighters under his Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM). The Addis Ababa agreement ended the First

Sudanese Civil War's fighting in 1972, Southern Sudan became an autonomous region. It failed to completely dispel the tensions and addressed only some of the issues stated by Southern Sudan. The breakdown of the initial appearement later led to a reigniting of the north-south conflict during the Second Sudanese Civil War, which lasted from 1983 to 2005.

### Second Sudanese Civil War

Going back to the 1965 elections, a political party called the Islamic Charter Front which aimed to spread the views of the Muslim Brotherhood everywhere, failed to get the results they wanted. The disappointment after the elections led to a change of leadership in the party and Hasan al-Turabi was selected to be the chairperson; with his change in position, he renamed the party as Islamic National Front (NIF) and was determined on a course of action to take control of the Sudanese Government even though only a minority of the Sudanese citizens supported the Muslim fundamentalists. The recent popularization of Islam specifically in the Middle east gave NIF and the Muslim Brotherhood the drive to continue their actions to get more people to support their ideologies.

After years of organized recruitment, they were successful in infiltrating officer corps and placing their men to seats in power by the 80s. The Muslim Brotherhood began to influence the ongoing of the government through their ranks, which did not go unnoticed by President Nimeiri, whose party was starting to fall in the eyes of the public and was failing to manage the already frail relations with both the Southern and Nothern Sudanese. Nimeiri appointed Hasan al-Turabi, to get support, as the attorney general and did not object to Turabi's ideas for a new constitution based on Islamic law. In September 1983, Nimeiri changed the nation's legal codes to those similar to Sharia Law (Islamic law). The Christians and animists of Southern Sudan of course reacted badly to this change and the civil war between the south and the north restarted with even greater ferocity than before. The southern rebels became dissatisfied with Nimeiri and his corrupt government so they came together under the banner of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and its new political wing, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM).

Despite Nimeiri's attempts to crush the Sudanese People's Liberation Army by military force, his aggressive actions succeeded in only restraining the distribution of food, which, when coupled with drought and diminished harvests, created widespread famine in Southern Sudan. Nimeiri was in a tense situation as he found himself facing an armed rebellion in the south and growing criticism in the north. Because of the backlash he received over his actions, Nimeiri tried to modify the policies and he annulled the state of emergency that he had invoked five months earlier because of the rebel attacks but these attempts were too late and weren't enough for the Sudanese people. As a result,

Nimeiri was overthrown in a bloodless coup in April 1985 by his chief of staff. The new military government held elections in 1986 but it didn't change the fact that the next three years were spent trying to deal with political instability, indecisive leadership, and party manipulations. There were many short-lived coalitions and many attempts to reach a peaceful settlement with the SPLA. On June 30th, 1989, these years of uncertainty came to an end when a Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), which was under NIF, led by Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir seized power with a coup.

### Bashir's Rule

Bashir dissolved the parliament, banned political parties, and strictly controlled the press. He began to Islamize the country with Hasan al-Turabi, leader of the National Islamic Front. In March 1991 Islamic law was introduced once again. This move further emphasized the division between the north and the mainly animist and Christian south. In October 1993 the Revolutionary Council was disbanded, and Bashir was appointed president of Sudan. The December 2000 elections was a special one as it fell short of international standards because of Bashir's two main opposition candidates prior to the contest withdrawing, who explained their actions by stating their suspicions of fraudulent practices on Bashir's side; but these did not change the fact that once again he was selected as the leader of the country and soon he dismissed the cabinet.

Under the terms of the 2005 agreement with the southern rebels, a referendum for southern Sudanese citizens was held in January 2011 to determine whether the south would remain part of Sudan or secede. The results overwhelmingly indicated a preference to secede, which occurred on July 9 2011. The economic fallout from the loss of the south's oil fields and the ongoing conflict with Sudan's new neighbor, South Sudan, as well as with rebel groups within Sudan, dominated Bashir's presidency. Opposition groups and the general public increasingly expressed their dissatisfaction with the NCP's inability to improve economic conditions and find a peaceful solution to end the rebel activity.

The most significant threat to date to Bashir's decades-long reign began in December 2018. Against the backdrop of a deteriorating economy, Sudanese citizens took to the streets to express their discontent; anti-government marches and demonstrations were organized, and many protestors and opposition leaders called for Bashir to step down. He refused, saying that he would leave only if he were voted out of office. In February 2019, in the face of continued protests, Bashir took several actions, including declaring a state of emergency, dissolving the central and state governments, appointing a new prime minister and banning unauthorized demonstrations. This did little to deter the organized protests, however. In March he resigned his position as head of the NCP and promised to

hold a dialogue with the opposition and enact reforms. Bashir still would not step down though and demonstrations continued.

The largest protest of the movement to date occurred on April 6, 2019, as demonstrators marched to the military headquarters in Khartoum, the capital. Harsh attempts by security forces to break up the crowds were met with resistance from some segments of the military. Their actions indicated that Bashir could no longer assume that he had the unwavering support of the country's various security and military forces. On April 11, 2019, Bashir was overthrown in a military coup and placed under arrest. Within a week, Bashir was moved to the Kober prison, in Khartoum. Later that month, large sums of money were discovered in his home, which led to formal charges being brought against him for having committed corruption-related acts. He was convicted in December 2019 and sentenced to two years in a reform facility. Meanwhile, he was charged with incitement and involvement in the killing of demonstrators earlier in the year during the protests against his rule; his questionable actions during crises, and the coup which brought him to power.

### A New Government

After Omar al-Bashir's departure, the country has been ruled by the Council of Sudan, which was made to be the highest power to rule the country. On 25 October 2021, the Sudanese military, led by General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, took control of the government in a military coup. Numerous political authorities and figures were arrested. However, with both national and international opposition and protests all around the nation, al-Burnham decided to back off and negotiate with the former prime minister Hamdok. Although this attempt was at first declined, Hamdok decided to cooperate later on. Two sides signed a deal and the situation improved shortly after. Until the 2022 Sudanese General Elections, the country is to be jointly led by representatives from this council, Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, and Prime Minister of Sudan Abdallah Hamdok. However, al-Bashir's removal from power resulted in protests from either groups such as the Sudanese Professionals Association or independent advocates of al Bashir. The council tried to negotiate with the opposers for a couple of months until the massacre in Khartoum resulted in 128 deaths by the security forces of the council.

In 2021, Sudan established better relations with Israel and the United States As the continuous war has worn the diplomatic relations of Sudan, many new agreements were made especially with the US and its close allies while Russia and China remained neutral on the matter. Also, relations with the closest ally of Sudan; Egypt became even better. But these actions were interrupted by the Tigray War. First Sudan's neighbor Ethiopia sent a military attack on the borderline of Sudan. This event led to further political complications between the two neighboring countries. This rise in tensions went on

and small military operations took place. But it never turned into a full-blown war and the situation calmed down by time.

### **C.** KEY TERMS

- Coup: It is the series of sudden, violent seizure of power from a government and overthrowing the existing authority, usually performed by soldiers. They are considered reactionist and led into even more internal conflict.
- **Guerrilla Warfare:** It is a type of warfare that is fought by irregulars in fast-moving small groups whose members are often civilians or irregulars. In comparison to the regular armies, they utilize military tactics such as raids, sabotages, and ambushes.
- Intelligentsia: Highly educated people or intellectuals of a society are called intelligentsia, especially the ones who are commonly involved in political and social aspects of the nation.
- Islamism: Political Islam or Islamic fundementalism is a political idealogy which believes the guidance for social and political life shoul de formed from rules of Islam by applying sharia.
- Non-Aggression Treaty: A non-aggression treaty or pact is between two or more states which comprise the signatories not to engage in military action against each other.
- Sudan Defense Force: The Sudan Defense Force was a locally recruited Britishguided force established in 1925 to assist the local forces and maintain the borders of
  British administered Sudan. It was formerly referred to as the Sudan People's
  Liberation Army.
- Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM): The South Sudanese political party was founded as an extension of the Sudan People's Liberation Army. They are described as being on the left of center ideologically and have principles similar to social democracy. They have several branches and having the discipline of big tent which encourages a broad spectrum of views.
- **Sharia:** Sharia are the religious constitution of an Islamic nation regarding mostly social life. It acts as a code for living that all Muslims are obliged to adhere to and influences every aspect of the daily practices.
- National Islamic Front (NIF): An Islamic political organization founded in 1976 which influenced the Sudenese government and dominated the area for nearly a decade. It has emerged from Muslim student groups and supported the maintance of an Islamic state run on sharia, thus rejected the idea of a secular state.

- National Congress Party (NCP): The party was founded in 1998 which adopts ideologies Islamism, Arab nationalism and militarism. After the split of the NIF, the party was divided into two parties and its rule was the longest in independent contemporary Sudanese history.
- Popular Congress Party (PCP): This is an Islamist political party in Sudan which's main goals are to advocate a popular uprising to overthrow the government. It is also a member of the opposition alliance.
- **Liberation:** The act or process of freeing someone or something from dependency.
- Wafd Party: The Wafd Party was a nationalist liberal political party in Egypt which has influenced wide masses specifically during World War 1.

# D. BLOCK POSITIONS

# **Sudan People's Liberation Movement**

The Sudan People's Liberation Movement is a political party in South Sudan. It was initially founded as the political wing of the Sudan People's Liberation Army in 1983. On January 9, 2005 the SPLA, SPLM and Government of Sudan signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, ending the civil war. SPLM then obtained representation in the Government of Sudan, and was the main constituent of the Government of the then semi-autonomous Southern Sudan. When South Sudan became a sovereign state on 9 July 2011, SPLM became the ruling party of the new republic. SPLM branches in Sudan separated themselves from SPLM, forming the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North. Further factionalism appeared as a result of the 2013-2014 South Sudanese Civil War, with President Salva Kiir leading the SPLM-Juba and former Vice President Riek Machar leading the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-in-Opposition. Although the party has not adhered to one consistent ideology since the independence of South Sudan and by extension the effective end of the New Sudan concept, and many factions exist, it has been described as "being on the left of centre ideologicaly speaking abd section IV.2 of the party manifesto states support for a regulated market economy with similar elements to social democracy.



<u>Visual</u> of the protest to overthrow the dictator

### **National Islamic Front**

The National Islamic Front was an Islamist political organization founded in 1976 and led by Dr. Hassan al-Turabi that influenced the Sudanese government starting in 1979, and dominated it from 1989 to the late 1990s. It was one of only two Islamic revival movements to secure political power in the 20th century (the other being the followers of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in the Islamic Republic of Iran. The NIF emerged from Muslim student groups that first began organizing in the universities during the 1940s, and its main support base has remained the college educated. It supported the maintenance of an Islamic state run on sharia and rejected the concept of a secular state. It took a "top down" or "Islamisation from above" approach of "infiltrating Sudan's state apparatus, army, and financial system". It demonstrated itself to be both politically adept and ruthless in its use of violence, in particular in the internal conflicts of the Second Sudanese Civil War and the Darfur conflict, as well in the provisioning of proxy forces such as the Lord's Resistance Army, West Nile Bank Front and Uganda National Rescue Front II against Uganda. In the late 1990s, the Front changed its name to National Congress, and the "gross human rights violations" of the regime's early years gave way to "more subtle methods of social control such as restrictions on the right to freedom of expression, opinion, religion, association, and movement." In 1999, al-Turabi and his supporters were expelled from the Congress by Sudan's ruler Omar Hassan al-Bashir, and subsequently founded the rival Popular Congress Party which has remained in opposition.

### E. RELEVANT UN TREATIES, RESOLUTIONS AND EVENTS

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1996 which established the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) as independent on 9 July 2011

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1990 which established the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA) on 27 June 2011

The UN Security Council authorized the fast deployment of roughly 6,000 security personnel to help in nation-building operations, in addition to the 7,600 soldiers currently in the country, in late December 2013.

The Security Council decided in May 2014 to change the mission's mandate from nation-building to civilian protection, empowering UN forces to use force in an unprecedented step. Due to the deterioration of the security situation and its complicated relationship with the government of the Republic of South Sudan, the UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan has experienced tremendous problems since reprioritizing protection.

Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan was signed by IGAD plus (which includes the eight regional nations called the Intergovernmental Authority on Development as well as the African Union, United Nations, China, the EU, USA, UK and Norway) the agreement established the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC) responsible for monitoring and overseeing implementation of the agreement.

In 2016, the United Nations authorized the deployment of an additional 4,000 troops as part of a regional protection force, however their arrival was postponed until August 2017.

On March 23, 2016, the United Nations Human Rights Council formed the South Sudan Commission on Human Rights for a one-year term by resolution 31/20, which was later extended annually until today.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 2524 established the United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan (UNITAMS), a special political mission, to provide support to Sudan for an initial 12-month period during its political transition to democratic rule on 3 June 2020.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 2579 extending the mandate of UNITAMS for a further 12 months, until 3 June 2022 on 3 June 2021.

### F. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

- Diversifying the country's economy away from oil, and more towards a new plan including renewable energy sector and agriculture.
- Introducing a power-sharing government
- Decentralization of the government and forming a federal system of legislatures
- Forming an effective civil service to deliver public services
- Developing a food security programme
- Expediting the reintegration of forcefully displaced South Sudanese
- Delivering and designing resilience-building activities
- Facilitating a people-centered national reconciliation and healing process
- Integrating security devices and supporting the sector to provide human security

# **G.** BIBLIOGRAPHY

https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/civil-war-south-sudan

### **Ğ. FURTHER READING**

- \_ <u>An article</u> regarding the current situation and possible solutions
- \_ <u>Study documents</u> regarding the Sudan conflict and its effects

