

JOHN CABOT MODEL UNITED NATIONS

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Committee Study Guide



SECURITY COUNCIL

TOPIC: The Developing Political and Security Situation in Sudan

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LETTER FROM THE CHAIRS

Dear delegates,

It is with great pleasure that we welcome you to this 2020 edition of JCUMUN in Rome Italy. My name is Eleanor Shabtai, and I am honoured to be your chair for the Security Council, in which we will address the developing political and security situation in Sudan. The United Nation Security Council (UNSC) was founded in 1945 and met for the first time on the 17th of January 1946. Since then, this body, whose main aim is to ensure peace and stability and to assist in solving conflicts threatening peace, has passed more than 2500 resolutions on a plethora of matters.

The Security Council has worked a great deal in order to find solutions to the situation in Sudan. It is currently one of the heaviest military conflicts in Africa. In order to find a fitting solution, it requires every single member's full attentiveness and cooperation.

You have been chosen as members of this advanced level committee, which means that many of you have already gathered some MUN experience. As the expectations have already been set high for this committee, we also have great expectations from each and every one of you to enjoy your time with us in the best possible way. We encourage you to create new friendships, be kind to one another and create unforgettable moments. As a delegate, we expect you to carefully read this study guide as a first step in orienting your more extended research into this conflict and your country's position with respect to it.

Lastly, we expect you to be thoroughly acquainted with the Rules of Procedure prior to the conference. We remain available for any needed clarification or inquiries. We have great confidence that this conference will be a substantial learning experience for all who partake and bring together different ideas and perspectives. We are eager to meet you all this February. I hope you come prepared, excited, full of passion, creativity and imagination in order to make the most of your MUN experience.

Best of luck!

Eleanor Shabtai



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INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE

The Security Council

The Security Council is one of the 6 main bodies and arguably the most powerful, of the United Nations. Within this committee, 5 nations sit as permanent members along with ten elected members, each on a two-year term to give a total of fifteen member states, each with one vote. The five permanent members, also known as the P5, have the power to 'veto' a decision of the Council by voting against it. The permanent members consist of the People's Republic of China, the French Republic, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. The remaining ten are referred to as alternating members, in which the seats are distributed on a regional basis as follows: five for African and Asian States; one for Eastern European States; two for the Latin American and Caribbean States; and two for Western European and other States.

The Security Council's main task is to maintain peace between and within nations by passing resolutions. They aim to achieve this in a peaceful manner, however, in the most extreme situations, the UNSC has the power to authorize sanctions, blockades and even collective military action through resolutions if deemed appropriate. The presidency of the Security Council is appointed using an alphabetical rotation system on a monthly basis. The rotation uses the member states' official United Nations names in English.

The Security Council has held over 8,400 meetings since its establishment, discussing a plethora of topics including: security threats, insurgencies and revolutions world-wide, as well as international relations and conflicts over land and resources. The Security Council takes seriously conflicts which threaten world peace and security. Under the authorization of the United Nations, all member states must comply with the council's decision. The Security Council must first determine that a situation is a significant threat to international peace. It then calls upon the relevant parties to discuss the issue with the attempt to settle it in a peaceful manner. The Council has the ability to set the foundation of an agreement between the two parties, conduct an investigation, dispatch a mission, appoint special envoys, or even request that the Secretary General use his good offices to reach a settlement.

The Security Council is the only body of the UN which can pass legally binding resolutions. In addition, it has the power to nominate UN Secretaries-General, recommend new State members of the UN, and (jointly with the General Assembly) elect judges to the



International Court of Justice. The Security Council establishes and oversees UN peacekeeping forces, and it can enforce measures against uncooperative States or other parties. In the context of peacekeeping, the Council delegates to the Secretary General its powers to organize and to exercise command and control over armed forces, but it retains close management and oversight. The UN Charter does not explicitly assign peacekeeping powers to the Council, but such a power has been found by the International Court of Justice, in a 1962 case, to be implied. Peacekeeping forces are ordinarily deployed by the Council only after ceasefires have been established; peacekeepers are lightly armed and therefore should not be confused with an actual military. In the post-Cold War period, with greater unanimity among its members, the Council has undertaken many more peacekeeping missions than during the Cold War itself. In the pinnacle of the mid-1990's there were over 70,000 peacekeepers deployed. The Security Council may also take enforcement measures which are more vigorous than peacekeeping. These compelling powers are seen in Chapter VII of the UN Charter, which allows the Council to determine when a certain situation is a threat or breach of the peace has occurred and authorizes it among other things to impose economic and military sanctions.

Conflicts in Sudan

Sudan has known many political and military disputes since its independence in 1956. Prior to the secession of South Sudan, Sudan was the largest country in Africa geographically. Sudan's various ethnic and religious conflicts have been frequently characterized as the most severe of the 21st century. The decades of North-South civil wars have cost over one million lives, and protests against the al-Bashir regime were followed by state-sponsored violence against unarmed civilians. In addition, the unceasing clashes and conflicts in Darfur, the western region of Sudan, characterized by many as a genocide have left millions of people both internally and externally displaced, and over hundred thousand are dead. As a result of this, Omar al Bashir became the first sitting president to ever be indicted by the international criminal court when he was charged with five counts of crimes against humanity as well as other felonies.



TOPIC: THE DEVELOPING POLITICAL AND SECURITY SITUATION IN SUDAN

1.1 Definition of Key-Terms

Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) - An IDP is a person who has been involuntarily forced to leave his or her home due to religious or political persecution, conflicts, and natural disasters but has not crossed an international borderline.

Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF): The SAF is the army of the Sudanese government. The SAF are well-known for carrying out numerous counterinsurgency operations in Darfur. With the aid of their proxy militia, the Janjaweed, they have carried out mass murder, forced displacement, and rape that infringe international laws.

Janjaweed: Janjaweed is a militia group comprised of a Sudanese Arab tribe that operates particularly in the Darfur region. The Janjaweed acts of violence through the years drew international condemnation. There have been several violent struggles between the Janjaweed militia and rebel groups such as the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) in the form of guerrilla warfare in the Darfur region. In 2007 the US government had declared the Janjaweed killings in Darfur to be genocide and the UN Security Council called for the Janjaweed to be disarmed¹.

Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA) & Justice and Equality Movement (JEM): are rebel groups whose goal is a regime change in Sudan.

The Forces of Freedom and Change Alliance (FFC): is a wide political coalition of civilian and rebel coalitions of Sudanese groups, including the Sudanese Professionals Association, No to Oppression against Women Initiative, MANSAM, the Sudan Revolutionary Front, the National Consensus Forces, Sudan Call, the Unionist Gathering, and the Sudanese resistance committees, created in January 2019 during the 2018-19 Sudanese protests.

Transitional Military Council (TMC): The Transitional Military Council was the military council governing Sudan after the 2019 Sudanese coup d'état. The council was composed of the military generals.

¹ ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA- JANJAWEEED SUDANESE MILITIA



1.2 History of the Topic

In late 2018, the Sudanese government tripled the cost of goods at a time when foreign investment and foreign cash flow were extremely low. These decisions were made at a time when inflation had reached 70%. As a result, riots and protests against the government and its president, Omar al-Bashir spread rapidly all over the country. The protesters were only further enraged after the president's refusal to step down after a near 30-year pseudo-dictatorship. The protests grew quickly and found support from different opposition parties. Youth and women's movements are credited with being the driving force of the protests. The protests started in the town of Atbara in central Sudan and quickly spread into other regions of the country. The national capital, Khartoum, was the last to join. The protests broadened into demands for the removal of Mr Bashir who had been in office for 30 years. Bashir himself took power through a military coup in June of 1989. On April 6th, demonstrators occupied the square in front of the military's headquarters to demand that the army force the president out. Social media was blocked, and the power was cut off all over Sudan as the protesters held a sit-in at the military headquarters in Khartoum. Five days later, the military seized power in a coup d'état; where Bashir was overthrown and arrested.

A council of generals assumed power in the form of a seven-member Transitional Military Council (TMC). The TMC was led by Lt-Gen Ab-del Fattah Abdelrahman Burhan. The Council stated it needed to be in charge to ensure order and security. The populace demanded that a civilian interim government be installed which would, in turn, allow for democratic elections to take place. Riots and protests continued and soon turned violent. Soldiers and paramilitary groups attacked protesters. In early June, negotiations between Transitional Military Council and democratic opposition groups began but ended very quickly when both sides could not reach an agreement.

The Khartoum Massacre

On Monday the 3rd of June 2019, the Military armed forces of the Transitional Military Council (TMC), headed by the paramilitary group, the Rapid Support Force (RPC). The RPC were the immediate successor to the Janjaweed militia and were under the command of Sudan's governing council. They used heavy gunfire and teargas to disperse a sit-in protest in the capital of Sudan, Khartoum. An estimated 118 people were killed, 70 men and women



were raped, and hundreds were injured. Witness reports state that the armed forces opened fire on protestors inside of medical facilities and disposed at least 40 bodies in the Nile river. The estimation of the number of victims was difficult in the days following the massacre due to Internet blockage and the presence of security forces. In response, the Sudanese Professionals Association (SPA) called for "complete civil disobedience" which led to a 3-day nonviolent political strike. Bridges, streets and workplaces were closed down, teachers and students were guided to abstain from going to their schools and universities.

Current situation in Sudan

Following the Khartoum Massacre, renewed protest as well as widespread international condemnation and outrage, the TMC decided to do political agreement and negotiation with the citizens. The agreement was made possible with the assistance of the African Union and Ethiopian mediators, on July 5th. The agreement specified a 39-month transitional period in which an interim government would create executive, legislative and judicial institutions and procedures. The July 5th agreement was merely verbal and to ensure stability and long term change an official agreement was signed on the 17th of August. This agreement specified the responsibilities of the interim government and laid out the exact terms in which such a government would function. Elements of the agreement are as follows:

- The creation of an 11-member Sovereignty Council with five military members and five civilians to be chosen by the two sides and a civilian to be agreed upon mutually;
- A transition period of 3 years and 3 months, led by a TMC member for the first 21 months and a civilian member of the Sovereignty Council for the following 18 months;
- The creation of a constitutional document for the transitional period; Article 9.(a) of the 4 August Draft Constitutional Declaration defined the Sovereignty Council as the head of state of Sudan;
- A Council of Ministers to be appointed mostly by the FFC, with the Sovereignty Council and its military members having a partial role in the decision;
- A ban on members of the transitional period Sovereignty Council, Council of Ministers and state governors from being candidates in the first elections ending the transitional period;



- A legislative council to be created within three months of the creation of the Sovereignty Council;
- The creation of a Sudanese "precise and transparent", independent investigation into the Khartoum massacre and "related" human rights violations incidents;
- A six-month peace program for Darfur, Blue Nile and South Kordofan;
- Initiating a procedure for preparing a new constitution;
- Establishing transitional justice mechanisms.

1.3 The Economic Issue

The cause which started the riots was the opposition to the rising prices of basic goods and the governments repeal of wheat and electricity subsidies. The al-Bashir government further devalued its currency to a point where its purchasing power was incredibly low.

In January 2018, large protests started on the streets of Khartoum, Sudan's capital, in opposition to the rising prices. The protests grew quickly and found support from all sides of the Sudan political map, when even Youth and women's movements joined the protests. To understand the Sudanese situation, it requires one to be aware of its economic history.

The Secession of South Sudan: caused a major loss of an important source of foreign currency, because of its oil output.

US relations: In 1993 the US declared that Sudan established links with international terrorist organizations. As a result, the US designated Sudan as a State Sponsor of Terrorism in 1993 and the suspension of U.S. Embassy operations in 1996, The former US President Bill Clinton issued an executive order that imposed a comprehensive trade embargo on Sudan and froze its government's assets in the US. In 2006, Clinton's successor, George W Bush, issued another executive order targeting those involved in the conflict in Sudan's Darfur region. In December 2019, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo stated that the U.S. and Sudan are to begin exchanging ambassadors after 23 years of no diplomatic relations. In December, it was reported that the Sudanese transitional government was set to close the offices of Hamas,



Hezbollah, and any other Islamic group designated as terrorist by the U.S. In spite of that effort, Sudan currently still remains on the U.S. state sponsor of terrorism list².

China relations: China is Sudan's biggest trade partner. China imports oil and exports armaments to Sudan. Sudan and China are enjoying vast economic trade and strong relation. Even after the United Nations imposed an arms embargo on the Sudanese government due to the war in Darfur. In 2008 BBC had reported to find evidence of China and Sudan weapon trade.

The Darfur War - Historical Review

The crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan is a result of both ethnic and economic tensions between Arab and non-Arab populations. The people of Darfur represent various linguistic and ethnic groups. They encompass non-Arabic speaking groups, such as Zaghawa, Fur, and Daju as well as Arabic-speaking groups such as Beni Helba, Missairiyya, and Rizaiqat. These groups also share common cultural and physical characteristics. A long history of intermarriages and assimilation in Darfur has created ethnic fluidity, which has led to co-existence.

Ever since Sudan gained its independence in 1956, the Sudanese people have known only ongoing political disputes, instability and civil wars. The Darfur crisis is part of several ongoing Sudanese conflicts. Many of the Sudanese crises have been a result of separate conflicts in a specific area of the country, which has escalated to a full-blown national crisis. The Darfur conflict is a product of a mixture of economic, environmental (resources), and political factors.

It is imperative to note that, in 1972, a chain of famines and increased de-population in western Sudan led to strong disputes over land between Arab vagabonds and non-Arab farmers. Moreover, Libyan funded Arab supremacist activities were introduced in the 1986 government of Sadiq al Mahdi, which resulted in many non-Arab Darfurian interests to be dismissed. In 1989, following a coup led by Omar al-Bashir, the Sudanese government continued to utilize Arab networks to spread its control over the entire country through the

² U.S. Relations With Sudan- *United States Department of State*



practice of identity politics to gain support which resulted in an unequal representation among various Darfurian communities.

Over the past 2 two decades, the Sudanese government has aggravated the situation in Darfur further. Apartheid policies were adopted and intensified throughout the country. Eventually, the government decided to separate non-Arabs by dividing Darfur into three different regions, in order to shatter the unity among the tribes of Darfur.

In the early 2000's the growing frustration with the government reached a climax, which led to the second Sudanese Civil War. Non-Arab Darfurian tribes began to form coalitions, in order to formulate strong rebel groups. In March 2003, the rebel groups launched a surprise attack against the Government of Sudan. The Government of Sudan responded by recruiting armed forces and militias to counterattack the rebels, with support from the Sudanese Armed Forces. Amongst the militias, the infamous Janjaweed was the focal component of the Government of Sudan counter-insurgency force. These militias launched campaigns of mass exterminations, forced displacement, and rape as an instrument of war.

Rape was commonly used as a tactical weapon by the Government of Sudan. One of the goals was to eradicate black Africans and non-Arabs from Darfur. Additionally, millions were internally displaced, and many were forced to flee as refugees, mainly to Chad. The international community responded by trying to develop practical solutions to end the conflict. Moreover, many governments and international bodies promoted actions to protect Darfurians from mass murder and displacements. Amidst international pressure in 2007, UN-AU hybrid missions were deployed, in order to monitor the progress of the 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) and the 2011 Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD). The DPA's regional piecemeal approach suits the GoS' divide and rule policy. As such it seems the DPA is more form than substance.

In September 2016, reports claimed that a chemical weapon had been used by the government of Sudan. It was also reported that this attack was on civilian populations in Darfur, which killed at least 250 people and that the majority of the victims were children. Early in 2018, reports from UNAMID and the African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies suggested that low-level violence continued in Darfur with Sudanese government forces attacking communities in the Jebel Marra area.



Current situation in Darfur

Many reports refer to what they call a "Genocide in attrition"³ meaning the internally displaced camps of Darfur which are in constant deterioration of food, water, sanitation and medical shortages. The camps are subject to acts of terror on a regular basis and continue to experience an increase in the number of displaced people, especially in the Jabel Mara area.

Ineffectiveness of peacekeeping forces- UN peacekeeping forces are reported to fail in performing their duties⁴, for two main reasons: the first- the Sudanese government is actively blocking the peacekeeping forces by setting up roadblocks and military posts. The second reason is the lack of communication. There have been claims that data of many reports have not been accurate: A French news agency revealed that a report written by UNAMID on one of the largest mass raping attacks in one of the villages was done under the inspection of the Sudan armed forces⁵. It has been reported that while UNAMID investigated the village, the Sudan's forces were filming and recording every one of the villagers while they were interviewed by the UNAMID. As a result, truthful testimony was not given due to fear of death.

The return of the displaced refugees is not an easy task either. Sudan's dictator Omar al-Bashir was overthrown but the officers of the new military regime are still responsible for murdering more than 300,000 Darfur residents and displacing 2.5 million people from their homes. This has created major distrust amongst the people of Darfur. Furthermore, many of the abandoned villages were granted by the government to Arab Sudanians which means the refugees have no home to return to.

International Decisions Timeline:

- January 2005 - The UN reports that the Sudanese government and the Janjaweed continue their abuse and violent campaigns in western Sudan.
- March 2005 - The UN Security Council decides to sanction any party that violates ceasefire in Darfur.
- September 2006 - Sudan calls for the withdrawal of African Union troops from Darfur as their mandate expires the within the same month.

³ "Genocide by Attrition in Sudan," The Washington Post

⁴ UN Failed to Stop Darfur Attacks. BBC

⁵ "Denial of Darfur Rape Case by UNAMID Shocks Tabit Victims - Sudan." Radio Dabanga.



- December 2006 - Sudan reluctantly accepts the deployment of UN troops in Darfur.
- May 2007 - US President George Bush imposes sanctions on Sudan.
- August 2007 - Deployment of 26,000 peacekeeping troops is authorized by the Security Council for Darfur's hybrid mission.
- October 2008 - UN reports that approximately 300,000 have died and 2.5 million have been displaced.
- March 4, 2009 - The International Criminal Court issues an arrest warrant for Sudanese President Al- Bashir for war crimes.
- July 2011 - Sudanese government and the Liberation Justice Movement, a newly formed rebel group, sign the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD)
- 2014 - 3,000 villages were destroyed according to UN reports and more than 400,000 attacks occurred up until October.
- December 2019 - The Guardian reported that irrigation projects built around community-based weirs are enabling "green shoots of peace" to appear, helping to end this conflict. This project was conducted with funding from the European Union and was overseen by the United Nations Environmental Program

1.4 Security Council Actions Taken

September 2004: Security Council adopted the resolution number S/RES/1567. This resolution called for the imposition of sanctions if Sudan failed to comply with its obligations on Darfur, and demanded that all armed groups, including both militias and rebels, to cease all violence. Furthermore, this resolution demanded the Sudanese government to submit the names of disarmed Janjaweed militiamen and the names of those who were arrested for human right infringements and violations of international humanitarian laws.

March 2005: Security Council adopted the resolution number S/RES/1593. This resolution decided that the Sudanese government and all parties involved in the crisis in Darfur should cooperate and provide necessary information and assistance to the International Criminal Court and the Prosecutors mentioned in the resolution. Moreover, the resolution emphasized on the importance of promoting reconciliation and healing among Sudanese communities in order to reinforce efforts to restore long lasting peace in Darfur.



May 2006: Security Council adopted the resolution number S/RES/1679. The purpose of the resolution is to consider taking drastic measures such as asset freeze and travel ban against any groups or individuals that violate or impede the process of the Darfur Peace Agreement.

October 2010: Security Council adopted the resolution number S/RES/ 1945. Its primary objective is to extend the mandate of the Panel of experts and to strengthen the enforcement of an arms embargo.

February 2015: Security Council adopted the resolution number S/RES/2000 and is currently (as of July 2015) the most recent resolution adopted concerning the crisis in Darfur. Its goal is to extend the mandate of Panel of Expert until the 12th March 2016.

July 2018: Extended UNAMID's mandate until 30 June 2019. The resolution welcomed the improved security conditions in Darfur. Though the Security Council expressed concern over the ongoing clashes and restricted humanitarian access in the Jebel Marra area, noting that inter-communal conflicts remain one of the main sources of violence in Darfur. The Security Council has also welcomed significant reductions in the number of internally displaced persons but noted that approximately two million people remain displaced in Darfur, with the majority in need of humanitarian assistance.

September 2018: The Security Council briefed on the Secretary-General's 90-day report on the AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), as requested in resolution 2429. Also, in October, Ambassador Joanna Wronecka (Poland), chair of the 1591 Sudan Sanctions Committee, is expected to provide the quarterly briefing to Council members on the committee's work, due to the fact that the mandate of UNAMID terminates on 30 June 2019.

January 2019: The Security Council renewed the mandate of the Panel of Experts assisting the 1591 Sudan Sanctions Committee by 12 February, in advance of its expiration on 12 March, as set out in resolution 2400. The Council was also knowledgeable on the Secretary General's 90-day report on the AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), as requested in resolution 2429.



RELEVANT QUESTIONS

1.5 The Developing Political and Security Situation in Sudan

- If the TMC and the citizen of Sudan reached an agreement on their own merit, is it in the UNSC role to intervene?
- How can another act of violent like the Khartoum Massacre be avoided?
- is there a way to help and ease the return of the refugees and displaced persons to Sudan?
- How can the UNSC make sure the Darfur refugees and Displaced Persons crisis is being addressed properly?
- Is your country facing a similar crisis and can offer solutions?
- How can the UNSC solve the allegations of ineffectiveness of UN forces in Darfur?

READING GUIDE

- Resolution 2429, Adopted by the Security Council at its 8311th meeting, on 13 July 2018, *Secretary General Report regarding the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur 14 January 2018.*
- Radio Dabanga. "Denial of Darfur Rape Case by UNAMID Shocks Tabit Victims - Sudan." ReliefWeb, reliefwb & OCHA, 11 Nov. 2014, reliefweb.int/report/sudan/denial-darfur-rape-case-unamid-shocks-tabit-victims.
 - *This article is telling the story of the Denial of Darfur rape case by UNAMID. This article is recommended because it tells not only the story about Tabit village victims regarding their attackers but also their describe of the flaws and incapability of the UN forces in their area.*
- "World Report 2019: Rights Trends in Sudan." Human Rights Watch, United Nations, 17 Jan. 2019, www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/sudan.
- *This UN HRW website is recommended due to its description of the Darfur crisis.* Kirby, Jen. "Sudan News: Military and Civilians Reach a Power-Sharing Deal." Vox, 5 July 2019, www.vox.com/2019/7/5/20683001/sudan-power-sharing-agreement-sovereign-council-protests.



- *This article is recommended due to the importance of understanding the agreements of the Sudan government.*

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