



Security Sector Reform SSR: an Approach for Sustainable Peace and Restore Security in Transitional-Democratizing Sudan

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ABSTRACT

The center of this paper is to tackle the challenges of Security Sector Reform SSR in transitional Sudan, followed a thriving popular uprising evicted authoritarian – corrupted regime of the National Congress Party NCP had often led by former president Omer Al-Bāshir in April 2019. In fact, supremacy of military on Sudan’s politics, expansion of array paramilitaries, militias, pro-regime ethnic groups, sever corruption and ambiguous peace, all these complicating restore security, defect democratization and SSR agenda in the country. Therefore, this paper argues that political –structural reform, end corruption and revive economy’s processes and objects will probably lessen these formidable difficulties. The main objectives of this paper are to clarify how development of array paramilitaries along the country, economic deterioration continue impeding SSR agenda and democratization in Sudan; demonstrate the role of formulation of new national and foreign policies objectives in supporting application of SSR program, and illustrate how political –structural reform bases on civilian-democratized form will downsize domination of military in security sector and politics of Sudan. Uses analytical- inductive technique of Sudan politics, security sector challenges and democratic reform process, the paper shows that in transition Sudan, SSR, is a complicated process, combines purely political reform, targeting governance; civil societies and institutions reforms. Efforts should be exerted by international actors in supporting transitional government likely facilitate addressing issues of ending peace and economic recovery; could robust a path forward to democracy, stability and security. This paper shall probably be able to close the visible academic gap, by expanding debate and deepening understanding on governance, institutions reforms and functioning of SSR agenda in transition, democratizing Sudan.

Keywords: Political Reform, Security, Peace, Civil Society, Democracy.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since gained its independence in January 1956, Sudan has experienced waves of political turmoil and insecurity, often has shaped by civil wars, military dominated regime systems, which ever weakens democratization and institutionalization process. Lately, absolute supremacy of the ex-military-one party regime system in the politics of Sudan, and its role in setting up, developing array security forces- paramilitaries, severing corruption are factors behind obstructing of SSR agenda in the country. Though, popular uprising that ousted El-Bāshir’s regime, and found of joint civilian-military transitional government, supremacy of military and paramilitaries continues without downsize yet. The paper therefore, aiming first at: clarifying how development of array paramilitaries along the country impedes SSR agenda and democratization in Sudan, second: demonstrating the role of formulation of new national and foreign policies objectives in supporting application of SSR agenda, finally’ illustrating how political –structural reform bases on civilian-democratized form will downsize domination of military in security sector and politics of Sudan. Uses of analytical method of Sudan’s political-transitional period and actors, provisions and suppliers, this paper shall probably be able to close the visible academic gap, by examining additional, working factors concerning SSR reform agenda (i.e. political parties, civil institutions and national-international partnership) in Sudan, expanding debate and deepening understanding on such issue.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW: (SSR: NOTIONAL AND AN OPERATIONAL OUTLINE)

Globally, the literature regarding elucidate SSR, its definitions, challenges and resolutions are large. The concentration on it has elevated, since the notion of security is widen, merges political security with security governance sector reform, mostly in fragile, transitional conditions. In general, SSR is a comprehensive process linking state and non-state actors, civilian and public –

private actors in the form of security, governance and development (Ryan, 2011). It focuses on conflict mitigation, and long-standing peace in war-ridden regions, state building in transitional, fragile situations. Some works define security sector reform through the institutional-structural aspects, accordingly, Schnabe and Ehrhart (2005) state that security sector reform means; addressing of growing security dilemma through structural and institutional reform. In same line, Sandoz (2012) says to that, “the objective of SSR is to institutionalize a professional security sector that is effective, legitimate, political and accountable to the citizens it is sworn to protect”. Recent work on security reform has identified the interdependent nature of governance, security sector reform, institution capacity building, conflict mitigation and peace building. Thus it’s a holistic political process that involves security institutions (i.e. armed and police forces), government and non-government institutions, private bodies, this in order to strengthen security and address governance issue in delicate situation (Sandoz, 2012). On the other hand, there is a group of literature make a link between SSR, institutions building and rule of law, in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development OECD (2005), Development Assistance Committee of OECD- DAC (2005) and United Nations Development Program UNDP (2009) literature, SSR is largely means the democratic and institutional control over security and attainment of stability in fragile situations. Cawthra (2003) report that to foster civil control over security sector, consistency of national constitution, institutional transformation, developed civil society and formulation of new national and foreign policies are prerequisites. Based on these definitions security sector reform is about uniting with development of democracy, civil and constitutional institutions, which have the authority to ensure individual and group’s human right, freedom and governance stability. In view of that, the Department for International Development (2003) states that security reform is a set of responsibilities and actions by number of key actors (composed of both civil and military institutions) to manage the security following the principles of democracy, good governance and human rights. In the same line, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2005) reports that the security sector reform demonstrates the development of a state capacity, security, forces, and the rule of law and strength institutions both governmental and non—governmental.

For the purpose of this paper, and as with case of Sudan, an operational outline is developed. The principles of this outline are to underline exact challenges and the processes to settle it. However, the country has suffered a lot and continues up to date, issues of Military supremacy, growing of regional armed groups, militias, occurrence of fragile civil, legal institutions, are often serious challenges laying in the present day Sudan. Drawing on these, multiple political, institutional and constitutional reform are prerequisites to SSR agenda move ahead. Table (1) below identifies these processes as follows:

Table 1, SSR: An Operational Outline

Term	SSR Agendas Challenges	Reform Process/s	Likely Interaction between Security Sector and Governance Reform
Governance	Military Superiority on Power	Civil-Democratic Reform	Democratization processes and reform minimize Military control over power, reform Security Sector Governance.
Security Sector	Multiply of paramilitaries, Militias and Military Control of Security over them	Demobilize; Reintegrate all armed forces under Control of Civil Institutions.	Downsize Security forces (i.e. Military. Police & Intelligence), their mandate and to be govern by accountable democratic institutions.
Civil Societies	Poor, Political Parties, Community’s Institutions & NGOs	Re-construct, Finance and Develop civil Societies’ Agendas and Activities	Democratic Reform, and fund will enable Civil Organizations to broaden public participation towards achieving peace and stability
Institutions	Poor Governmental, Non Governmental Institutions	Building Institutions Capacity & Institutionalize all regime process	Democratic-Security Governance Reform will institutionalize all SSR Agendas under National, International Political,

			Monetary & Instruction Institutions.
Legal and Authority	deficient lawful and Constitutional Means	Enforce National –civil Constitution and Rule of Law,	Presence of Good Governance, helps on consistency of national constitution & supremacy of the Rule of law.

Source: Adapted by the Researcher.

From this table, the principle of this operative outline and its process is to figure equally the challenges and mitigation processes aiming at sustaining peace and restoring security in all Sudan through improvement of governance system’s types and functions. Thus, tailored on these challenges and settlement processes, the SSR, is operationally defines as: “a comprehensive process targeting resolve all structural –functional obstacles threaten implantation of SSR agendas in transitional Sudan, through political, constitutional and institutional reform processes, given priority to establishment to civil- democratic governance form, downsize military control over power, security sector towards achieving lasting peace and restore security in terrible Sudan.

3. SETTING THE SCENE

Sudan civil war is historic, and it was erupted even before its independence in south in 1955 and prolongs up to date. So far the conflict has split into the two areas (South Kordofan and Blue Nile) and the east, and has continued to recent history (Komey, 2010). Element of military- authoritarian regime, regional, cultural disparity and historical grievance are among the most reasons for the rise stakes of political violation and insecurity in the country at large. Historically, many of effort were exerted to settle conflicts, yet, peace not achieved (i.e. Addis Abba Accord 1972, Machacos Protocol 1994 and, Abuja talks of 1990s). During the last two decades, and in attempt to settle this prolonged rivalry between successive governments in the center and insurgences in different part of Sudan, a number of peace agreements were signed throughout 2005-2006 (i.e. Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Darfur Peace Agreement and East Sudan Peace Agreement), between the central government and rebel groups of South, Darfur and East regions) . The peace partners agreed equitable allocation of power, wealth and balanced development in all Sudan. However, peace was fragile and shortly collapsed and dispute between the Sudanese and totalitarian regime system are continuing without lasting solution. In addition to regional disparities, mal-development the major reasons caused civil wars in Sudan, destruction of infrastructures, productivities losses, food shortages and augment of poverty, all have complicated the situation, interrupted peace and security in Sudan. The current transitional government, rules jointly with civilian-military has born weak, inherited sever crisis in areas of security, economy and political, social fragmentation, the difficulties laying in the history of modern Sudan. Within this context, and next to popular uprising, a partial, deficient peace agreement is signed, between the transitional government and a number of armed groups in Darfur and the two areas “Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan” in Juba, South Sudan, October 2020 (Berhe and Detzner, 2020). As lacking of reliance between the transitional government’s partners (Military and political partners), fragmentation of civilian components of transitional government and their political alliance (i.e. Freedom and Changing Forces), and continuing economic crisis, issue of political volatility and lasting peace not reach lasting solution yet, and military took- over power again. And thus, the country drawn in political chaos and an opportunity for moving SSR program forward is narrowed. To relieve these challenges, the researcher, symbolized adequate, workable processes to move SSR agenda forward as detailed below.

4. Governance, Civil Society Reforms & National- International Partnership: A Pathway To Functioning Ssr Program In Transitional Sudan

Almost three years and half following overthrow of the NCP regime, Sudan’s transitional period and democratizing process are still at risk. However, recurring of military to power, variance, ineffective array of civil coalition and ever expanding of militias, peripheral armed forces, all of these have aggravated the situation. In fact, historic contested relationship between military - civilian on taking power, multiplication of paramilitaries/peripheral armed groups and fragile civil society, and also legalized institutions have obstacle SSR program to move ahead, interrupted democratic transformation in Sudan. In this complexity, joint national, international and regional efforts will be exerted are prerequisites to restore security within the country.

It’s important to note, one continuous issue faces Sudan’s transition period and peace, is the hurdle of integrating multiple growing paramilitaries and peripheral armed forces. The country holds multiple armed factions with competing interests, power sources and different locations, making security sector reform very complicated. However, integrating powerful paramilitary and

peripheral armed forces (i.e. Rapid Support Forces RSF & Sudan People’s Liberation Army-N) into the army has emerged as the latest stumbling block in Sudan’s transition to civilian rule following the popular uprising evicted the NCP’s autocratic regime.

Table 2, Multiple Paramilitary & Peripheral Armed Groups

N0	Arm group	Region
1	Rapid Support Forces RSF- founded 2013	All Sudan (origin of foundation: Darfur)
2	Sudan People’s Liberation Army/Movement SPL/M (N) Formed in 1986	South (Kordofan/ Blue Nile)
3	Sudan’s Liberation Movement / Faction of Abdulwaid Nur- formed in 2003	West (Darfur)
4	Sudanese Liberation Army / Minnawi faction –formed 2006	West (Darfur)
5	Justice and Equality Movement JEM –formed 2001	West (Darfur)
6	Sudan Liberation Movement –Transitional Council –formed 2015	West (Darfur)
7	Liberation Forces-formed 2017	West (Darfur)
8	Liberation and Justice Movement –formed 2010	West (Darfur)
	Beja Congress –formed 1958	East

Source: Adapted from EASO-COI (2020).

Integration of multiple armies into the country’s unified military, remains a central requirement for Sudan’s transition, security reform, also concludes peace. The issue long has barrier peace talks between the transition government and insurgences, reminds that peace is a key to stabilize, help the country’s fragile path to stability, security survive following its successful revolution. Almost one year and half ago, the transitional government, succeeded to sing peace deal with some rebel alliance in Juba, October 2020. However, peace is ambiguous and partial, the main major insurgent groups, the SPLA.M (N)- Al-Hilu faction and SLAM led by Abdulwahid, haven’t agreed on some of critical issues. Secular nature of the state, Disbanding of all former regimes’ militias and revamping of the country’s military, and also Formation of transitional government, ethnics disparities, are among the reasons behind stuck their negotiations with the government to achieve final peace deal (Magdy, 2021). Further to the multiple armed factions’ complexity, their different goals, source of power and constituency, current massive economic crisis, lacking of government’s fund and competence, are addition challenges, facing integration of multiple armed forces into military and security sector reform in general. And these in turn, entail considerable backing to be exerted via external actors and international donors.

In this context, and after two decades and half, Sudan international isolation is about coming to end. The overthrow of Al-Bashir regime paved the way to the international actors to involve in restoring stability and reform processes targeting areas of economic recovery, peace and democratic reform in transition Sudan. The international actors, stepped ahead to put these reforms processes into practice, the World Bank, US, and Sudan partners (a joint committee includes e.g. Sudan, United Nations, Germany and European Union) are among the active actors. The U.S. removed Sudan form its list of state sponsors of terrorism, it aid, nearly \$700 million as emergency assistance, the USAID assigned to contribute \$ 356.2 million from the U.S. government for Sudan’s civil –democratic transition, to support the welfare of the people of Sudan (USAID, 2020). From their sides, “the World Bank organized a trust fund into which international donors could deposit aid payments to cut down government subsidies. The International Monetary Fund began structured advisory program, all of these steps to reduce Sudan’s extremely high debt, (Jahn and Kurtz, 2021), moreover, have permitted Sudan to turn back into global economy and global markets. To support Sudan’s economic reform, vulnerable Sudanese, peace and stability, the international partners promise a total \$1.8 million and EU 251.75 million (The United Nation, 2020). On peace area, the government of South Sudan, did efforts and played a key role to achieve peace deal in, Juba, capital of South Sudan Republic in 2020. Though, peace is incomplete, it contributes to a degree of stability in the regions of Darfur and two areas of South Kordofan and Blue Nile.

Even though, these progress and supporting efforts, lasting peace, restore political stability and security not reached yet. However, growing discord between civil and military allies over authority, governing transitional period and political discord between civil alliance (Force of Freedom and Change), stability and transition towards democratic government is cut down, and international aids suspended, as military seized control of power, dissolve the government. Both the U.S. and World Bank impeded their economic support to Sudan and stopped processing any new financial operations in the country (Kedem, 2021). These likely reacting will delay not only Sudan transition but also delay peace process and economic recovery, and thus, challenges SSR agenda in transition Sudan. Such state requires an inclusive political processes base on governance reform and institutionalized processes.

One continuing challenge of SSR in transitional Sudan is reforming of governance system. Move from totalitarian regime to democratic- good governance system, downsizes military supremacy, empower civil control over power, security and end peace are essential to security reform. Since early independence Sudan has experienced several cycles of civil, military-autocratic rule and revolution, had ever caused severe political turmoil, insecurity laying in the country's history. Following the Sudan's peacefully revolution evicted Al-Basir's regime, so far the interim government has commenced reform in regime system and development of democracy. A remarkable perceive has noted in this backdrop that is the consent of partners on democratic reform in the country (UNITAMS 2021). Yet, tension between and within the military and civil components of the transitional government have frustrated neglected Sudanese, delayed democratic reform and threatened the transition in Sudan, as the military takeover power once again, dissolving the civil government in 25 October 2021, as a result Sudan demonstrators continue to express their denying to military dominance over power, and international actors suspend their aids to Sudan. even though, the Prime Minster (Hamdok), return to power, transition to democratic, economy reform and ending peace yet at risk. Since downsize military supremacy, reforming military and security sector, founding of good governance and other civil transitional institutions are required.

To develop security sector, as a priority through transition to democratic, empower civil institutions over military, an inclusive political reform, targeting building of institutions, place good governance and international support efforts remain significance. Nevertheless, "economic reforms and peace process along will not move Sudan towards democratic developmental state, this will require an inclusive political process, the transitional government and its democratically minded international partners can provide incentive to facilitate it" (Volker 2000, in Jahn and Kurtz, 2021). Practically, in many forms governing security sector refers to place principles of democracy, good governance and instructions capacity (DFID, 2003). In the case of Sudan, the country has suffered a lot of military rules, civil wars and economic crisis, security sector reform and governance, and economic reforms are coupled. Hence superiority of civil-elected institutions on executive, judicial and military institutions, broaden political participation and building state institutions are among the most reasons to move SSR process ahead in transitional Sudan. The first move ahead to complete civil rule and reforming security sector, services is to make consent among political components on placement of good governance principles (i.e. rule of law, institutional efficiency, strengthen democracy, separation of power) and its relative institutions, these including judicial, auditor, anti-corruption and electoral commissions (Reif, 2000). Moreover, efforts to establish transitional legislative council, Supreme Court and increase the role of women, youth participation political life must be undertaken.

Regarding the relationship between democracy, civil organizations and SSR, reform civil society in transition Sudan is critical, civil society organizations, including (political parties, professional associations, NGOs, grass level institutions) are key to Sudan's politics and transitions. As in the history of Sudan, their influential political rule likely will be continued far than transitional period as key to change and democratization in future Sudan. Though this important, they are facing structural challenges ever need to be reformed. Issues of ethnic-religion oriented affiliations, dividing and lack of financing continuing to confront their ideal involvement. Like many African countries, Kenya, Burundi in particular, where political leaders were able to keep civil society divided, through amplifying regional division, ethnic and religious through co-opting or recruited into the government (Berhe and Detzner, 2020). Sudan's civil society has suffered division and ethnic, regional based affiliation. Since the past "the history of political disparities and instability in Sudan dates back to the era of national movement in the 1940s, and emergence of political parties and their visions regarding the country's political future and govern it diversity (Dyab, 1984). However, the emergence of political is involuntary and not as an evolution of deep rooted institutions. Many of these parties (e.g. Zing and national parties), were drew only on kinship and family (The Secretary General, 1945). Essentially, the crisis of the major political parties has lain in their link to the sectarian and religious entities; this illustrates the case of earlier- main parties (Umma and Union Democratic parties). Historically, lack of institutionalized – based political parties, have shown their failure to precept a framework of good governance, nation-building and development, and thus encouraged founding of regional, ethnically –based parties and movements demanding their rights on development and power sharing (The British Documentation, 1956). In recent, history political elites have manipulated ethnicity, religious through co-opting policy or recruitment into government, and sharing wealth, this often exemplified Al-Bashir regime's co-opting, rewarding policy towards allied tribes, religious leaders and local institutions. The regional armed movements from their side used ethnic, regional diversity in from of political entities to fuel their fights against the successive central governments. All resulted, in poor, divided community's institutions.

In transition, democratization Sudan and SSR processes, reform of civil, political organizations is prerequisites. Finance these organizations, especially political parties should prioritize set up of fund, training and advisory mechanisms to strengthen civil, local institutions and parties alike. This entails government, international and private association. As Jahn and Kurtz (2021) suggestion "the government could establish a state funded mechanism, its fund could come from for example from the profitable enterprises that the ministry of finance will take over from the security forces during the transition or from Sudan's established

business families". Moreover, the actors could support training courses for self-organization and participation down to the constituency level (Jahn and Kurtz, 2021). Hence, support political parties and other civil society's organizations to grow independent, sufficient and competent during transition, must take into account the following:

- Re-build, fund and develop civil societies' agendas and activities to strengthen and empower intra-society's institutions to stay united under national, democratic and SS reform programs in transition Sudan.
- Building institutions capacity and institutionalize all reform processes towards democracy and civil governance in Sudan.
- Encourage social groups (especially women and youth) to be involved in peace building and SSR programs, particularly in Sudan's peripheries.
- Alleviate illiteracy and develop knowledge around national issues through education, training courses and projects, especially in rural areas.

In addition to governance and civil society reforms, the role of international actors is crucial and believes to be continuing beyond humanitarian aid, as move to democracy, ending peace and restore stability not finished yet. Apparently, and since, founding of transition authority, Sudan's international partners and in many occasions have repeated their commitments to help the country transition to democracy, and stability (Security Council, 2021). In addition, to support Sudan deal with economic difficulties and deteriorations restore stability and security should prioritize partner's likely efforts in transitional phase. To do so , the United Nations, International and Regional Bodies, should focus on helping to advance the peace process, addressing root cause of intra-state conflicts in Darfur, East Sudan, and the two areas "South kordofan and Blue Nile" (Bing, 2021). On the other hand, purely technical and financial support for coming election, capacity building and training projects on governance and peace building is required. In doing so, international partners should wholly revere the viewpoint of the transitional government and strengthen its partnership with other international, regional actors involved in Sudan's affair.

In sum, to reform security sector, restore stability and security in transition Sudan and beyond, several unrelieved challenges obstructing well application of SSR agenda and civil supremacy over security governance sector, these including not inclusively for the example (enduring civil conflicts ; multiplicity of paramilitary; economic hardship and fragile-corrupted institutions). To deal with these challenges, some incorporated reform processes necessitated, governance, institutions reforms and coordinated- integrated efforts between the transitional government and international partners should probably robust a way ahead to democracy and stability in Sudan. To operate these reform processes and integrated effort, some policy implications and SSR agenda identified below:

- Formulate a joint national and international trust mechanism, to ensure follow and allocate of international fund to help Sudan deteriorated economy and vulnerable Sudanese, especially in war-ridden areas.
- Formulate a joint technical, political committee mandated for demobilizing, re-integrating various paramilitaries and insurgents into national army.
- Urge the international actors to play a serious political role in lasting peace and restore security in Sudan.
- Founding legal, political framework empowering civil institutions on governance and security sector.
- Placing of good governance principles, could solidity civil governance, combat corruption and systematize power among government institutions.
- Civil, military components and international partner should work together through a reliance political device to secure a peaceful transition to democracy in civil governance in Sudan.
- Re-build national, local and community's institutions, their capacity, agendas and activities around national issues, democracy and peace.
- Establishment of state-owned fund mechanism, to finance civil society activities, to grow competent, and highly involved in political life, during transition Sudan.
- Open a comprehensive-national dialogue among all Sudanese communities and organizations on central issues long have troubled Sudan.

5. CONCLUSION

Through transitional Sudan, SSR is a complicated process, involves different actors and institutions. Historic Supremacy of military in Sudan politics, development of paramilitary and periphery armed groups, also, fragile civil society, all have obstruct civil domination on governance and security sector. Inclusive political process bases on democratic, institutional reforms will support the country to move towards democracy. To do so, international financial, political support is believed, as the country faces unending economic deterioration and insecurity risk, often cause by productivity losses, augment of poverty and civil conflicts. Thus, priority given to establishment of civil-democratic rule, formulate of a joint (i.e. national & international biddies)

political and economic mechanism will facilitate downsize military control over power, security sector and achieving lasting peace, restore security in fragile Sudan.

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