



## The Political Crisis Following the December 2019 Revolution and its Impact on Sudan's Democratic Transition

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### Abstract

**Objective:** This study aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the complex dynamics underpinning Sudan's political crisis and its democratic transition, highlighting the central role of citizens in building the foundations of democracy.

**Methods:** A historical-scientific approach examines the historical events that have shaped Sudan over the past decade. A descriptive-analytical approach is employed to study the political transition to dictatorship in Sudan, focusing on the Bashir coup and its aftermath. The descriptive section addresses military coups, while the analytical section explores the role of civil society in the democratic transition, emphasizing the theoretical frameworks and institutions that contributed to this process.

**Results:** The study demonstrates that civil society in Sudan has played a significant role in shaping the democratic process by challenging existing political systems and structures. These efforts have led to the development of policies with a profound impact on the democratic transition.

**Conclusion:** The military coup and the fall of the Bashir regime have drastically altered Sudanese politics, creating opportunities for democratic governance. However, public support for this transition has faced numerous obstacles and challenges. Understanding the complex dynamics of internal and external influences is essential for grasping the expansion of democracy in Sudan.

**Keywords:** Sudan; political crisis; democratic transition; civil society; political sanctions

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## الأزمة السياسية عقب نجاح ثورة ديسمبر 2019 وأثرها على مسار التحول الديمقراطي في السودان

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### ملخص

الهدف: يهدف هذا البحث إلى تقديم تحليل شامل للديناميات المعقّدة التي تدعم الأزمة السياسية في السودان وانتقاله الديمقراطي. ويدرس مجموعة من العوامل المترابطة التي تسلط الضوء على الدور المحوري للمواطنين في بناء أسس الديموقراطية.

المنهجية: يستخدم منهج تاريفي-علمي لدراسة الأحداث التاريخية التي شكلت السودان على مدار العقد الماضي. ويستخدم منهجاً وصفياً تحليلياً لدراسة الانتقال السياسي إلى الدكتاتورية في السودان، مع التركيز على انقلاب البشير وما تلاه. ويستعرض القسم الوصفي الانقلابات العسكرية، بينما يفحص القسم التحليلي دور المجتمع المدني في الانتقال الديمقراطي. مع تسليط الضوء على الأطر النظرية والمؤسسات التي ساهمت في هذا الانتقال.

النتائج: يوضح البحث أن المجتمع المدني في السودان له دور مهم في تشكيل العملية الديموقراطية من خلال تحدي الأنظمة السياسية والصور القائمة. وقد طورت هذه البلدان سياسات قوية كان لها تأثير عميق على الانتقال الديمقراطي.

الاستنتاج: أدى الانقلاب العسكري وسقوط نظام البشير إلى تغيير جذري في السياسة السودانية، مما خلق فرصاً للحكم الديمقراطي. وفي هذه العملية، واجه الدعم العام العديد من العقبات والتحديات. إن فهم الديناميات المعقّدة للتأثيرات الداخلية والخارجية أمر ضروري لهم توسيع الديموقراطية في السودان.

الكلمات الدالة: السودان، الأزمة السياسية، الانتقال الديمقراطي، المجتمع، العقوبات السياسية.



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## 1. Introduction

This study provides an analytical framework to examine the challenges facing democratic transition in Sudan (2019-2022), a popular revolution against the National Independence Revolutionary regime (1989-2019) that came to power through a military coup on 30 June, nearly three decades after the 1989 parliamentary system choice (1986-1989). As long as the regime in Sudan.

The reasons for the revolution have to do with the structure and internal contradictions of the regime, the rise of opposition forces and the erosion of its political base, and the deteriorating economic situation resulting from its policies of economic control. Ideologically, the regime gave the slogan (Civilization Project) of Islamizing the state and society, and politically, its members were promoted to key positions of the state to be used for its civilizing project destroying the national efficiency of public service.

The regime therefore faced political opposition from the outset, led by groups and organizations opposed to the coup and its Islamist version. A failed coup attempts in April 1990 and opposition from the Sudanese People's Liberation Front led by John Garang presented military challenges for the regime, which fought the regime for years before lengthy negotiations led to a successful peace agreement whole in 2005, allowing South Sudan's no 2011 secession paved the way in. In 2002, armed struggle groups erupted in Darfur against the central government in Khartoum, the uneven distribution of power and wealth Apart from this ideological, political and military opposition, the regime faced internal fragmentation, represented by governance in 1999 leaders and its philosophers. There was a political split between the godfather and Hassan al-Turabi, who was ousted and founded the opposition Popular Congress Party in 2000. More than a decade later, this split affected the ideology and politics of the regime policy Ibrahim Abd al-Jalil (Wad Ibrahim), who was considered one of the regime's closest supporters and a veteran fighter (Al-Zain Al-Abideen, 2014).

Meanwhile, a reformist movement has emerged within the regime, including the youth party "Saihoon", the ruling party of parliamentarians led by Ghazi Salah al-Din and a group of Islamic university professors led by Director Muhammad Saeed Khalifa of Al-Azhari University leadership supports However, this movement did not receive recognition or heed from the political leadership of the Salvation Army. This is evidenced by the defection of some of Ghazi Salah al-Din's reformers from the then ruling National Congress and the formation of the "current reform movement" the financial crisis when the south withdrew in 2011; Because 70% of the central budget's oil revenues went to South Sudan, where the major oil refineries are located (Al-Tajani, 2013).

The economic crisis sparked the September 2013 uprising, which was brutally suppressed by the security forces, killing more than 200 people and wounding dozens more. U.S. the dollar exchange rate to the Sudanese pound rose by nearly seventy pounds, and the country was severely short of local currency, foreign currency and petroleum products. Prices of essential commodities rose sharply in the markets, and public sentiment was ripe for revolution against the ruling regime (Haider, 2013).

Under these dire economic circumstances, the revolution erupted in some peripheral states in December 2018, calling for economic reform and improving people's living conditions. It then spread to the capital, Khartoum, and from there horizontally to most parts of Sudan and vertically through various segments of society. In addition to its economic demands, the popular revolution carried with it a political agenda, calling for the unconditional removal of the ruling regime. It also maintained its peaceful nature and widespread mass participation for four months in the face of the regime's repressive apparatus. The confrontation reached its peak after the revolutionaries announced a sit-in in front of the headquarters of the Sudanese Armed Forces in Khartoum on April 6, 2019. Thus, the regime was faced with two choices: either disperse the sit-in in front of the headquarters by force, regardless of the expected human losses, or step down and hand over power to the leadership of the popular revolution. At this critical moment, the Supreme Security Committee announced a coup against the head of the regime and its symbols on April 11, 2019, and sided with the people's revolution (Emad, 2020).

This step paved the way for democratic reform by the military. However, the reform process did not fully take off. The revolution did not completely overthrow the regime but instead led to its partial dismantling through the intervention of the Supreme Security Council. In this context, negotiations began between the revolutionary leaders, represented by the

Freedom and Change Forces (FFC), and the leaders of the militias and their units—including the armed forces, the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), the police, and national security.

Ultimately, these negotiations—resulting in a radical political transition—led to the formation of a transitional government in August-September 2019. This government consisted of a hybrid executive council with a military head, six civilian members, and five military members, along with a civilian cabinet and a legislature that had yet to be established. The 2019 Constitutional Document for the Transition Period outlined a roadmap for the transition period (2019-2022), focusing on achieving sustainable peace in Sudan's civil war-affected areas, addressing the country's economic collapse, and restructuring the civil-military state apparatus (Ahmed, 2019).

Within this context, this study provides a theoretical framework to analyze the challenges faced by Sudan's transitional government (2019-2022). It explores theoretical perspectives that can help address these challenges and offers positive assessments that may contribute to a progressive democratic transition. Before examining these challenges and related issues, the study first presents a comprehensive analysis of Sudan's transition experience, identifying its achievements and failures and exploring strategic approaches to sustain progress during the current phase of democratization and consolidation.

## **2. Research Framework**

### **2.1. Research Problem:**

This study examines the challenges of the democratic transition process in Sudan following the revolution that overthrew the regime of Omar al-Bashir in 2019. The regime's policies, which were based on radical Islamic fundamentalism. In addition to misgovernance and widespread corruption, Sudan suffered from prolonged civil wars resulting from political parties and armed groups that were widely opposed to the regime, and these factors, both internal and external together contributed to instability.

After the revolution, a transitional government was formed to manage the affairs of the country during a different period of transition. However, this government faces significant challenges that impede the democratic transition process. These major challenges include:

1. Political fragmentation: Political forces are deeply divided over the shape of the future political system.
2. Economic challenges: The economic crisis continues, with high unemployment and poverty.
3. External Intervention: Regional and international forces seek to influence events in Sudan.
4. Security problem: Ongoing security threat from armed groups.

The study aims to provide a comprehensive assessment of these challenges and propose practical solutions to help achieve sustainable democratic transition in Sudan. The study also seeks to benefit from lessons learned from past transition experiences in Sudan.

### **2.2. Research Hypothesis:**

1. There is an inverse relationship between frequent political crises in Sudan and the deep historical socio-economic roots and success of the democratic transition process
2. The failure of previous attempts at democratic transition in Sudan is largely due to the lack of a broad national consensus on the shape of the future political system
3. Foreign interference in Sudanese affairs complicates political stalemate and weakens the chances of a successful democratic transition process.

### **2.3 .Research Questions:**

1. What have been the main reasons for the failure of previous attempts at democratic transition in Sudan?
2. How can a broad national consensus be developed to address political crises in Sudan and facilitate a democratic transition process?
3. What role can the international community play in supporting the democratic transition process in Sudan while avoiding interference in domestic affairs?

**2.4. Research Objectives:**

1. To identify and assess the key political, economic, social and cultural factors that have led to the failure of previous attempts at democratic transition in Sudan.

2. To promote a model of broad national consciousness in Sudan, bringing together different political and social actors, with the aim of easing political stagnation and facilitating the process of democratic transition.

**2.5 Significance of the Study:**

1. Deeper understanding of the problem: This study contributes to a deeper understanding of the causes of the political crisis in the wake of the December 2019 revolution, and how these factors interacted and affected democratic transition the way of the.

2. Analysis of the transitional experience: The study provides a comprehensive analysis of the Sudanese democratic transition experience, identifying its strengths and weaknesses.

3. Draw Lessons: The study extracted important findings that can be applied to other countries in Sudan or other democratic transition processes in countries facing similar situations.

4. Providing practical recommendations: The study provides practical recommendations to help resolve the political crisis and strengthen democracy stability in Sudan.

**2.6 .Scope of the study:**

- Deadline: 2019 to 2022
- Geographical boundaries: Republic of Sudan
- Knowledge limitations: The research is based on scientific basics in politics and history, as well as on specific sources such as press reports, interviews, and government documents.

**2.7 .Limitations of the study:**

The study is subject to the following scientific limitations:

➢ Key events after the revolution: Key events that shape the course of the crisis, such as military coups, political alliances, and mass protests.

➢ Key actors: Key actors involved in the crisis such as political parties, armed forces, armed groups and civilians.

➢ Factors influencing crisis: Factors influencing crisis, including economic, social, cultural and regional factors.

➢ Impact of the crisis on various sectors: An examination of the impact of the crisis on various sectors such as economic, political, civil and human rights.

**2.8 .Key steps of the study:**

The concept of democratic transition generally refers to the processes and interactions involved in shifting from non-democratic to democratic forms of government. There are different models of non-democratic governance, including totalitarian, authoritarian, civilian or military rule, and systems controlled by either an individual or a small group.

The transition can occur in various ways, such as moving from a closed system of power through electoral democracy to a semi-democratic system. A semi-democratic system may eventually develop into a liberal democracy or something close to it. Change can be initiated from above—within a non-democratic system—through the agenda of ruling elites or an internal reformist class. Alternatively, it may be driven by opposition forces backed by broad public support or emerge through negotiations and grassroots networks (Ibrahim, 2020).

The success of these initiatives depends on several factors, the most important of which are: achieving a consensus among active political forces on a clear strategy for democratic reform, fostering strong national unity to prevent divisions and conflicts that could hinder the transition, implementing emergency measures to address economic and religious crises that often exacerbate tensions under the old regime, and strengthening civic engagement to promote adherence to democracy and spread its culture among the population (Madi, 2009).

Through a profound approach to transition to democratic governance systems, Abdul Fattah has played a key role in shaping the consensus among new political forces. Democratic governance systems based on its principles, methods and promises are an alternative a substitute for cruelty. This consensus requires a strong political belief in democracy, words

and deeds, a fair and open political discourse to strong dining, and a timely extension of the law. We believe in the existence of a democratic political system, and we are committed to the peaceful settlement of political conflicts and to putting pressure on the elites of the old system without interfering with its identity and support for democracy. In summary, Abdul Fattah Mazi said that moving countries in southern and eastern Europe, Latin America, southeast Asia and Africa is a form of leadership and skill. Reformers promise to be one of the most important factors for the success of the democratic transition (Madi, 2009). This means that consensus and lack of communication between users is one of the strongest consequences of post-democracies, especially in terms of corruption. Our leaders are characterized by high levels of competence.

This "democratic transition" project depends on its nature and involves a number of internal and external factors in its design and outcomes. Let us rely on the transition to democratic order in the other sector, and it is impossible to rely on the God of conflict scenario, as in the cases of Syria, Yemen and Libya after the Arab Spring uprisings in these countries, or the emergence of new welfare systems as a practice. In the Sudan after the uprisings of October 1964 and April 1985, and in the case of Egypt. Thus, the transition phase towards the emergence of a foreign policy, a system that does not represent undemocratic in the classical sense, is inclusive or comfortable, and does not then exist the democratic system has collapsed, with some exceptions undemocratic processes and some practical and democratic processes (Ibrahim, 2020).

According to Samuel Huntington, as Samuel Huntington through whom the name "Third Wave of Democracy" created power and unity in to support democratic reform activities, it is easy to provide financial support to a nation in progress the, or providing material and technical assistance to political parties and civil society organizations, or applying political pressure and imposing restrictions on the business model, etc. It is also the United States and the European Union all partner in promoting democracy in the regional world, especially in Southern, Eastern and Central Europe for the European Union, and Latin America for the United States. On the other hand, the role of international financial institutions, especially the IMF and the International Monetary Fund, in facilitating economic and political liberalization processes and democratic reforms in countries Asia, South America, Eastern and Central Europe. how to expand the role of international civil society in a meaningful non-governmental framework through democratic and human rights issues; Its organizations have been trained to provide various supports to local civil society organizations and to monitor elections in countries experiencing democratic transition, and to expand their practices today Training and pressures they are working on...etc (Huntington, 1991).

Ibrahim advocates for democracy and human rights through the exchange of knowledge, information, and communication, aiming to support democratic development worldwide. He emphasizes the role of global cooperation in addressing the costs and challenges of democracy in different regions. Additionally, IjmalPATY facilitated the unification of opposition workers into a broader movement. In consultation with experts, including Dr. Mustafa and Sheikh Mmuuee, discussions were held on democratic transition and governance structures (Ibrahim, 2020).

Given that "democratic transition" represents a compromise stage, as mentioned earlier, its completion requires the presence of a number of milestones, such as: finalizing a constitution and institutional arrangements by consensus, in particular by a new constitution to ensure free and fair elections and the ability to operate transparently. A functional and policy-making government that reflects the evolving state of affairs in democracy, especially in the political, social and economic spheres of citizens promoting rights. What follows is "consolidating and sustaining democracy" so that people and their political parties have a strong belief no matter how big the future challenges, democracy remains a government of best to cope (Diamond, 1999).

And consolidating democracy also means that democratic institutions and practices are embedded in political culture and embedded in social institutional life, leading to greater political equality (Gao, 2016). Conflicts and conflicts may persist in established democracies, but none of the major actors use illegal means to achieve their goals.

According to Huntington, there are four influential factors that can undermine democratic change and prevent democracy from consolidating and lasting. The first factor is weakness and lack of commitment to democratic values among political leaders, who often advocate post-democracy when they lack sovereignty. A second resource is used for sabotage

and serious economic disruptions that have a profound effect on people's lives, leaving them dependent on quick fixes that can be imposed by authoritarian regimes on them the s. The third factor is the structural failure of democratic systems and the inability of state institutions to function effectively and efficiently to ensure lawlessness and stability. The fourth factor is the intervention of non-democratic external powers, especially when non-democratic states increase their power significantly and seek to extend it beyond their borders, thereby encouraging hegemony over other countries (Huntington, 1991).

### **3. Theoretical Framework and Literature review:**

#### **3.1. Theoretical framework:**

##### **➤ The December 2019 revolution**

The Sudanese Revolution, also known as the December Revolution or the Glorious December Revolution, emerged from a series of protests that began on December 19, 2018, in several cities across Sudan. These protests were sparked by rising prices, increasing costs of living, and the country's overall decline at various levels. The Sudanese Workers Party, along with other leftist and communist groups, called for the protests in response to deteriorating economic conditions, government corruption, and ongoing conflicts in the provinces.

The protests started in al-Roseires in the south, Senar in the center, and escalated in Port Sudan in the east, Atbara in the north, and al-Qadarif in the east the following day, December 20. Protests also spread to other cities, including the capital, Khartoum, and continued for several days, particularly on Friday and Saturday, with major demonstrations in Khartoum, Omdurman, and El Obeid in North Kordofan province.

These peaceful protests were met with a violent response from the authorities, who used various forms of force, including tear gas, rubber bullets, and live ammunition in some cities to disperse the demonstrators. Many protesters were killed or injured during these clashes. One iconic image from the protests was the slogan "Just Fall" written on the ground with empty tear gas canisters, and another protester wrote "Just Fall" on a wall (Amal, 2022).

On April 11, 2019, the military announced it was overthrowing President Omar al-Bashir and beginning a two-year transition period that ended with elections to restore power (Thabit & Daoudi, 2024).

##### **➤ Democratic transition**

The concept of democratic transition typically refers to the processes and interactions involved in moving from a non-democratic to a democratic system of government. Non-democratic systems can take various forms, including totalitarian, authoritarian, closed public, military regimes, or systems controlled by individuals or small groups. The transition may involve a shift from a closed system of power to electoral democracy, or to a semi-democratic system. A quasi-democratic system can then evolve into a liberal democracy or something close to it.

Change can be initiated from above, often by ruling elites or reformist parties within undemocratic systems, or by opposition forces backed by broad public support. It may also result from networks and negotiations between elites, which could involve the intervention of both ruling and opposition forces, or even foreign powers (Huntington, 1991).

The process of 'democratic transition' therefore defines an intermediate stage, usually with stages, in which the old undemocratic system is dismantled in time and replaced by a new democratic system formed by a general election, as government this has the power and capacity to exercise its power and create a new framework that reflects the transition to democracy, and a new force that challenges the power and authority of bureaucracy hard work, legislative and judicial; improving the participation of public institutions and citizens in the political process to improve their performance in the management of public affairs; restructuring civil-military relations in accordance with the foundations of a democratic system; and to achieve transitional justice. Success in carrying out these initiatives depends on several factors, most importantly: the consensus of active political forces in the region on a clear strategy for democratic transition and promoting national unity strengthen to prevent divisions and conflicts that impede the transition implementation of emergency measures to prevent economic and service crises that often lead to resentment governance the old so the mouth; and strengthening the role of citizens to encourage adherence to democracy and spread its culture in society.

### 3.2. Literature Review

1. Salamate, Omar (2006), Sudanese crisis: 1983-2005, University of Algiers: Faculty of Political Science and Media - Department of Political Science and International Relations.

This study addresses the Sudanese crisis from all sides using a minority theoretical approach on the subject of Chapter 3, Southern Crisis in Sudan 1983-2005, representing lack of national integration, economic and social marginalization, then Darfur crisis and potential crisis in eastern Sudan, of course covers on the north-south peace process from 2002-2005. The final section of Chapter 3 discusses the possibilities and likelihood of a wider Sudanese crisis. This study addresses the local role of "neighboring countries" and international interventions in the Sudanese crisis.

2. Buhennia , Q. , & Haddadi , I. (2018, February 11). The problem of the secession of South Sudan and its impact on the African Axis countries. In A. Al-Zaidi (Ed.), Studies in international relations (pp. 123-145). University Press.

This study deals with how the South Sudan crisis caused many political and economic crises in Sudan. And it underpinned social conflict, fragmentation of political powers, and instability of domestic and foreign policy. The first and second military regimes and democratic systems found in the country collapsed. Some analysts describe the southern crisis as a regional crisis with consequences spreading across the Arab world and the African continent. Several attempts have been made to solve the Sudanese crisis, and successive Sudanese governments have dealt with it in various ways, a military solution involving forced integration of South Sudan with the North, and a political solution it shows the difference between. The Naivasha Agreement of 2005 was a milestone in these efforts, as it ended the fighting, laid the foundation for power and wealth sharing, and gave the people of the South the right to vote on the future of the South after six years, whether to vote secession or union with the North. The people of the South chose to secede, but the issue will not stop there, as this has implications for both sides.

3. Mankash, Z. A. (2011). Darfur: Between the Humanitarian Crisis and International Intervention. International and Political Journal, 18(1), 457-478.

This study treats the Darfur crisis as a political, economic, cultural and development issue, similar to the southern crisis in terms of development needs offering some proposed solutions that are still in the hands of the Sudanese government. The first of these measures is: first, disarm troops including Janjaweed forces and replace them with regular Sudanese soldiers to protect the entire population of the region from any military aggression number one two, continue the process of negotiation and achieve peace with all groups, especially the Sudanese People's Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement , which has been and remains one of the most important ways out of this crisis. Third and finally, the strengthening of peacekeepers in Darfur, which has become a priority and is seen as a real solution to the humanitarian tragedy in the region.

4. Al-Nesi, M. (2014). Internal, Regional, and International Factors Leading to the Separation of South Sudan in July 2011. Queen Arwa University Journal, 10(10), 19.

The aim of this study is to identify, articulate, analyze and develop the historical dynamics that affected the ninth of the Great Kingdom of Sudan, which occupied a strategically important position regionally and internationally, globally . . . . This crisis was kept hidden in most of the world and does not emerge as a global crisis until the Moksha rebel government came to power in 1989, ending the Cold War and bringing about the collapse of the Soviet Union The impact of this crisis was not North and Only the South, but extended to all Sudanese regions, which began to top global media after South after Darfur etc. The secession of South Sudan was prepared by Sudanese hands before it was a street. Political elites in power and opposition know no cooperation beyond independence, which both sides lost in negotiations through several agreements, from the 1965 Addis Ababa Round Table Agreement to the 2005 Naivasha Agreement, which opened on July 9, 2005. 2011. The new state The way for local, regional, international and international actors to prepare for determining the destiny of South Sudan by establishing.

5. Thabit, M., & Dawoudi, A. (2024). The Media Coverage of the Sudanese Crisis by Al Jazeera News Channel: A Descriptive and Analytical Study of a Sample of Episodes of the "Inside Story" Program. (Unpublished Master's/Doctoral Thesis). University of Ouargla.

The aim of this study is to understand the background and political and military dynamics of the Sudanese crisis, and to identify the key players involved and the mechanisms used by Al Jazeera News Channel's "Inside Story" program to cover it. It described the issues that the program focused on in various formats and content, as well as an analysis of the media formats used, and persuasive tactics used to draw audience attention to the issue. De mouth a remedy that can reveal the extent to which its commitment to neutrality, objectivity and comprehensiveness leads to local, Arab and international public opinion. Finally, the study compares the acceptance of Al Jazeera news channel with the acceptance of its news policy in its coverage of the Sudanese crisis.

### **3.3. What Distinguishes This Study from Previous Studies**

The comparison shows that previous research tends to focus on political transitions prior to the Sudanese crisis, such as the Southern Crisis or Darfur, or the revolution of 2019. Unlike the current research, it focuses on a specific time period, i.e. post-revolutionary, making it modern and relevant Sudanese recent events

Furthermore, the temporal perspective of the study varies. While previous studies have addressed Sudanese crises both historically and analytically, the present study takes a prospective approach, seeking to understand the impact of the crisis on the process of democratic transition in Sudan.

Studies also differ in geographical focus. Some previous studies focused on specific crises or regional and international interventions, while the present study focuses on the Sudanese political crisis as a whole, focusing on its impact on democracy the transformation process

Finally, the objectives of studies vary. While previous research aimed to understand the causes and shape of past crises and to assess international and local interventions, the present study aims to understand how current political understands the crisis, assesses its impact on the process of democratic transition, and makes recommendations to strengthen this strategic.

## **4. Research Methodology:**

### **4.1. Methods of Research**

Due to the nature of the study, the following procedures were adopted:

Historical Method: The historical method is defined as gathering evidence and reviving past events and then organizing them in a suitable manner so that the facts can be presented effectively. 2. Documenting their studies and analysis of past events based on the roots of the scientific method to obtain facts and generalizations that help to understand the present and predict the future (Brahimi, 2021).

Using this approach, the researcher examines the temporal evolution of the political crisis since the December 2019 reforms, examining key events and changes

Descriptive-analytic approach: Descriptive-analytical approach is defined as a combination of two approaches, descriptive approach and analytical approach. The descriptive method is the main approach adopted in the research, the research method is used to help analyze the phenomenon and find appropriate solutions, all with the aim of achieving success in the research process.

The researcher relies on this approach to define the problem and its consequences, and then examines the factors that contributed to its development (Davidri, 2000).

### **4.2 .The study area**

The study area is Sudan, and the focus is on events following the December 2019 revolution. The study also includes research in the region, but Sudan will be the focus of the study.

### **4.3. Data Collection**

#### **➤ Primary Sources:**

Official documents: laws, official statements, documents, reports of investigative committees.

Interviews: Eyewitnesses, politicians, entrepreneurs, experts.

Discourse analysis: An analysis of the discourse of political leaders and the media.

➤ **Secondary sources:**

Previous research: academic studies, reports from international organizations, newspaper articles.

**5. Assumptions and Perceptions from an Analytical Perspective:**

The perceptions and expectations of Sudanese people about the process of democratic transition are interconnected, creating a complex picture of its challenges on the one hand, recurring political crises rooted in history, society and economy undermine trust have in institutions and deepen divisions

On the other hand, state uncertainty hinders the process of democratic transition and makes it vulnerable to foreign intervention, which tends to further complicate the crisis and multiply complications that create a vicious cycle, somewhere with each factor amplifying the other (Ahmed, 2021).

This complex picture suggests that these interrelated challenges must be effectively addressed for the democratic transition in Sudan to succeed. They should focus on building trust between citizens and political elites, strengthening democratic institutions, encouraging inclusive national dialogue and limiting foreign interference. Any proposed solution must take into account the historical, social and economic roots of the crisis and seek to win the interests of all Sudanese constituent (Amal, 2022).

In short, democratic transition in Sudan requires a concerted effort by all Sudanese states supported by the international community to break out of this vicious cycle and build a stable and prosperous future (Abu Shuk, 2019).

Democratic transition refers to the processes and interactions associated with the transition or transition from non-democratic to democratic regime. In theory, democratic transition refers to the intermediate stage where the old undemocratic system breaks down or collapses and a new democratic system are created, institutions and the political process, and patterns of citizen participation in the political process, etc. Furthermore, each stage of democratic Transition is capable of managing conflicts, negotiations and networking processes between key political actors (Abu Shuk, 2022).

**5.1. Nature and Motivations of Political Crises in Sudan**

The nature and motivations of political crises in Sudan are embodied in the weakness of the Sudanese state itself, the absence of a comprehensive national vision that can make all political actors feel like partners in the success of the transitional period, the heterogeneous structural composition of the Forces for Freedom and Change, which represents the revolutionary leadership of the transitional period, as well as the regional threats facing the democratic transition process.

**Firstly: The Weakness of the Sudanese State Structure**

The weakness of the Sudanese state structure is linked to its early formation under the Turco-Egyptian rule (1821-1881), and then the Anglo-Egyptian rule (1898-1956), which laid the foundations for its functional structure to develop its natural and human resources to serve the priorities of the imperialist colonizer, without considering the consolidation of the values of national unity and the development of its economic and social capacities (Al-Tajani, 2013).

Therefore, the national state emerged as a legitimate heir to the colonial state; it carried with it the genes of its origin, manifested in geographic, historical, cultural, and social heterogeneity, as well as weak mechanisms for national integration or building national unity, and the absence of a comprehensive strategic vision to employ the state's natural and human resources in the service of the requirements of equitable economic and social development (Haidar, 2013).

During the National Liberation Administration (1989-2019), this weakness accumulated through the creation of civilian and military institutions parallel to the nation-state, followed by appointments to public office in which loyal parties were created (Ruling State Parliamentary Party) with professionalism not in keeping with the autocratic National Liberation Government. As a consequence, the machinery of the state practically collapsed; The central government could not expand its security authority and public policy across political state borders, because the influence of armed opposition groups in some peripheral states spread that the central government could not provide basic social services to its citizens did not bind him (Muhammad, 2021).

**Second: the forces of autonomy and change and the challenge of heterogeneity**

The Army of Liberation and Reform is a broad political coalition that effectively led revolutionary opposition movements, thanks to its unity of purpose to represent the overthrow of the regime but its divergent policies during the

regime head was launched on April 11, 2019, and the initial communication Features began to emerge (Hassan, 2014).

Looking at the structure of the revolutionary forces behind the transitional regime, we note that it is a distinct structure, although it temporarily condoned regime collapse, but with different measures and actions on how to remove it the remains have been removed.

The powers of the Declaration of Independence and Transition that govern this policy framework are divided into three main categories. The first is a group led by the Sudanese Communist Party and some leftist militias that, because of their ideological agenda, seek to completely uproot the one-party state that ruled Sudan for thirty years, and dismantle its laws, institutions the size, and human workers. The second group is represented by the National Umma Party, which calls for a "soft landing" through strategies for democratic reform with accountable councils and a parliamentary alliance to prepare for statehood of the general election. The third group consists of armed struggle groups that have not established a clear and coherent strategy for peace in war-affected Darfur, South Kordofan, South Nile and East Sudan. Indeed, their political expressions fragmented solutions and the creation of second terms associated with regional advantages have been engaged without considering the details requiring sound scientific research and innovative solutions and objective relationships between the immediate rights of those affected and the collapsed economic situation in war-affected areas (Muhammad, 2021).

Also, the strong membership of the transitional regime, one of whose three tiers contains some inherited characteristics of the old regime (military in power) and an authoritarian state where the military is not interested in dismantling institution the types of. On the other hand, members of the breakaway National Assembly and their allies who privately and publicly opposed the coup before the fall of the old regime, and many of them are working to stop its course for fear that they will fail and be held accountable for the profits they made, therefore.

### **Third: Important Socio-Economic Conditions:**

The economic downturn was one of the reasons for the collapse of the National Salvation regime. The post-revolutionary government therefore prioritized in priority and calculation the provision of basic services, restoring confidence in the banking system, increasing money-related production, and demanding a solution for Sudan's external debt, which... at the last official figures reached U.S \$54 billion with no more than 80% of the loan repaid; Financial institutions and banks therefore refused to lend to Sudan before the outstanding debt was paid (Othman, 2022).

These loans originated in excess of \$17 billion, with interest and penalties amounting to \$37 billion in late payments. Further complicating the fact that since South Sudan gained independence in 2011, the Sudanese government budget has massive deficit, worth \$13 billion in 2017 to 2018. It rises to \$25 billion in 2010. This means... the Sudanese government cannot meet its external debt payments except to forgive or restructure these loans, and then allow international financial institutions to lend (Emad, 2019).

This complexity has led directly to inflation, depreciation of local currency against foreign currencies, loss of confidence in local banking and banking activities. Institutional and widespread corruption in government agencies and public private institutions - The contracts are linked, in addition to smuggling large quantities of precious metals, especially gold, from Sudan, causing huge losses to the Sudanese public treasury. Therefore, this financial file will be an important performance record in determining the success or failure of the transition government.

### **Fourth Edition: Regional and International Implications.**

The political and military coalitions formed by ousted President Omar al-Bashir pose a regional threat to Sudan's national security. One such example is the Sudanese army fighting in Yemen under the Saudi-Emirati coalition, led by Lt. Gen. Hamdokti estimated that they are 30 thousand Sudanese. The main challenge lies in the willingness of the Saudi-Emirati coalition to keep Sudanese troops in Yemen. In exchange, they can pay a huge amount of money to the Sudanese government and emergency forces. The withdrawal of the Sudanese military from this coalition could lead to a split in the transitional government, as members of the cabinet have vowed to Riyadh and Abu Dhabi to keep Sudanese troops in the war until their mission is completed (Thabit & Daoudi, 2024).

From another perspective, we note that the Saudi/Emirati/Egyptian axis is keen to keep Sudan away from the

Turkish/Qatari axis, which is seen as supportive of Islamist groups. Moreover, the Arab Republic of Egypt has its own agenda, linked to the fear of a strong democratic regime in Sudan that would oppose Egypt's presence in the Halayeb Triangle and help Ethiopia in the Renaissance Dam negotiations. Political of the country -He did not take concrete steps to support the developments (Thabit & Daoudi, 2024).

The forces of liberalization and reform must therefore use the positions of the West and the African Union to facilitate the transition of power to a civilian government. They should also engage with regional states with great caution and caution, as close cooperation with any of them could impede the progress of this insurgency in achieving its political ambitions. For this reason, it is clear that Article 8/13 aims "to establish a balanced foreign policy that serves the highest national interests, improves Sudan's external relations and preserves sovereignty based on independence and reciprocity." welcome", security, and national boundaries It provides an additional challenge, as any foreign policy has a cost to donor countries to benefit from (Othman, 2022).

Globally, Sudan must restore its standing in the international community and be removed from the list of countries accused of supporting terrorism. Placing Sudan on the list of state sponsors of terrorism presents an additional challenge to U.S. sanctions. believes that the transitional government system should strive to improve its record on human rights, civil liberties, the rule of law and bring peace to civil war-torn areas. In addition, the issue of the ousted President Omar al-Bashir and three other figures from his regime to stand trial at the International Criminal Court on charges they committed deaths and genocide in Darfur are there.

### **5.2 The impact of political crisis on democratic transition in Sudan**

Bashir's regime played a key role in Sudan's governance crisis. His administration was accused of fighting religious and ethnic wars on different fronts. Moreover, it has failed to ensure diversity, to distribute wealth equitably, to ensure meaningful political participation, or to meet the aspirations of diverse and ethnic groups, acting as a counter-separatist demand increasing variety or established a genuine national order. In addition to clashes and military paramilitaries parallel to military security agencies, democratization and civilian governance in the wake of the Bashir regime have prevented the end of these challenges (Saleh, 2021).

Three precursors to the crisis have been developed: the first involves a constitutional document setting out the legal framework for the reform period. The second part deals with the management of the interactions between the politicians themselves, especially after groups participate in the peace process (armed struggle groups) and the third part deals with the crisis in Eastern Sudan and the aftermath of the defeated coup on 21 September 2021 (Ibrahim, 2020).

The prevailing view in Sudan is that the military wing is biding its time to destroy its civilian partner, the Army of Freedom and Change, and is seeking to obstruct government officials and its institutions and resist its rule. Establishment of military partnerships (Madi, 2009).

Tenuous relations between civilians and soldiers followed a series of collusions and bloody incidents, including the dispersion of people sitting in the Army General Assembly, while leaving a negative impact on civilian relations between the armed forces as partners in transition (al-Tawwil, 2021).

In addition to the above, there were conflicts between the civilian sector itself, and some armed groups affiliated with the reformist organizations. There were complaints that other powers and other elements of the aforementioned groups were excluded to make it stronger, it also used political deadlock, which announced the breakdown of military-civilian partnerships was suspended from certain provisions of the constitutional document (Madi, 2009), plunging the country into a political and constitutional crisis unprecedented in modern history.

The October 2021 uprising sparked domestic and international condemnation, attracting the attention of various countries seeking a solution. Multiple initiatives and international efforts led to an agreement on November 21, 2021, which provided for the return of Prime Minister Abdullah Hamdok to his post and the release of detainees, but the deal was rejected by the rebel square, leading to Hamdok's resignation on January 2, 2022 (Saleh, 2021).

After the coup, the country saw the collapse of the Central Council for Freedom and Change, the Sudan Resistance Committee, an external mobilization aimed at removing its leaders from politics and power and served with the creation of

Rut that a fait accompli was inserted In addition , the suspension of legal and administrative reforms in state institutions represented the loss of the revolution, the withdrawal of military commanders from the commitments of the revolution, and the rhetoric and principles (Amal, 2022).

On the other hand, the parties in the peace process (armed conflict) have worked to consolidate the gains from the Sudan Peace Agreement signed in Juba, South Sudan, and have shown themselves has played a strong role in the triangular forces influencing the current political situation (al-Tawwil, 2021).

The end result was that the outside was unable to overthrow and eliminate the military side, even the military side was unable to complete its insurgency and form a government, the components of the peace process (armed groups). failed to take advantage of the Juba concept. As a result of all these, the situation has become increasingly tense in several international, regional and local systems, where political agendas have collided and the interests and positions of forces active in Sudanese politics have become conflicting (Bouhenia & Haddadi, 2018).

### **5.3 The impact of political crisis on democratic transition in Sudan shows**

Political crisis is among the most important obstacles to a democratic transition process in any country, and Sudan is no exception. Sudan has seen several military coups and civil wars that have weakened its institutions and created obstacles to building a stable democratic state (Brahimi, 2021).

The political crisis has significant implications for Sudan's democratic transition:

#### **Decline of trust in government institutions:**

##### **➤ The region of Sudan has seen a sharp decline in trust in all government institutions:**

Due to political crisis and frequent military coups These rapid events have weakened public confidence in the military, police and judiciary , because they are considered to be everything cornerstone political system stability Ability of institutions to maintain security and stability, protect their rights and freedoms, increased social conflict and division This loss of trust for institution the legitimacy of these types was weakened and their ability to carry out their duties as required was impaired (Abd al-Hadi, 2019).

##### **➤ The fabric of life cracks:**

Political crises contribute to the deepening of social and ethnic divisions and the intensification of conflicts over resources and power, disrupting social fabric and undermining the sense of citizenship (Khalil, 2022).

##### **➤ Economic Downturn:**

As a result of political crisis and recurrent armed conflict, the Sudanese economy is in deep decline. These crises led to inflation and the collapse of the national currency, reducing the purchasing power of the people and increasing their misery This leads to sharp increases in the prices of basic commodities, poverty and hunger, especially in groups a lack the greater security and flee, leading to greater social life inequality This severe economic crisis poses a direct threat to political security and stability in Sudan, as it exacerbates socio-political conflict, it creates feelings of frustration and anger among citizens and pushes them to participate in protests and demonstrations (Gao & Stradiotto, 2016).

##### **➤ Foreign intervention:**

Recurring political crises in Sudan provide fertile ground for foreign power intervention, as outside powers pursue their interests at the expense of the Sudanese people Regional and international competition for influence on the African continent , especially on the Horn of Africa allows these powers to exploit weaknesses in the Sudanese political system It encourages you to further complicate the political situation with this multilateral Foreign intervention, preventing political deterrence finding a comprehensive solution to the Sudanese crisis and weakening the ability of the Sudanese state to make independent decisions, altering international treaties, and imprisoning its destiny in order to create instability and uncertainty have increased (Thabit & Daoudi, 2024).

##### **➤ Delayed correction:**

The reform process in Sudan has been significantly delayed by a series of political crises in the country. Frequent changes in governments, deep political divisions and militancy are all obstacles to attempts to implement radical reforms in various political, economic and social sectors f increases, key sectors such as health and education deteriorate, increase

public dissatisfaction and exacerbate conflict. Moreover, delaying transition makes Sudan less attractive to foreign investors, limits opportunities for economic growth and contributes to foreign dependence. animals are greatly affected (Saleh, 2021).

## **6. Conclusion**

Despite the current crisis and the gravity of Sudan's unfortunate political situation, there are many options that represent a viable solution and a safe path to this political and constitutional crisis and enables the country to overcome its current challenges and potential risks. This approach reflects a serious, responsible and rational political and social dialogue between the forces of the living revolution represented by the "Central Council of Freedom and Reforms" and the Freedom Committee, and the "power" of Freedom. between the initially and the Amendment - National Declaration " and the military component, including influential political forces in politics and considered to broaden political participation and based on the amendment aimed at reaching a political agreement if translated into new political constitutional declarations, approved transition period, defined military role in transition.

Furthermore, when the tripartite mechanism comprising the UN, the African Union and IGAD failed in dialogue with the countries in the crisis, leaving ongoing negotiations with Saudi and US. representatives in Khartoum weakened... Crisis groups seem to be the most promising way to resolve the current crisis. This is true when Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, army chief and chairman of the Sovereignty Council, announced and called for the withdrawal of the military side from the national dialogue on July 4, 2022. Political forces must agree on a non-government of the formation of a public one. These efforts have been praised by the Troika states (USA, UK and Norway), the four international choruses active in the Sudanese transition (the United States, the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates) , and the UN Mission in Sudan , African Union and IGAD.

Ultimately, the simplest way to overcome the current stalemate seems to be for the Liberation and Reform Army, National Reconciliation Party, Central Council and sections of the military sector to engage in direct dialogue. This discussion will then expand in the next phase, particularly as the U.S. Another envoy, John Godfrey, has followed up with a tripartite arrangement to cooperate with the Saudi Ambassador. Furthermore, recent developments indicate that former prime minister Dr. Abdalla Hamdok will have an important place in the leadership of evolving institutions, be it boards or power bodies. Hamdok's name resurfaced in the political arena after all efforts to find a suitable candidate to win the hearts of the Sudanese rebels failed. This is consistent with the results of most opinion polls, reports and opinions showing that Hamdok still enjoys the highest level of support locally and internationally.

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The study concludes that recurrent political crisis in Sudan is a major obstacle to sustainable democratic transition. The analysis suggested that the failure of earlier attempts may be largely due to the lack of a broad national consensus on the shape of the future political system, shaped by foreign interventions that further complicated the political process greater than

This study adequately addresses its main research questions by identifying the main failures of attempts at democratic reform, strategies for developing a broader national consensus, describing a better role each of the international community and the experimentation of political, economic, social and cultural factors influenced the democratic transition process , which can facilitate this transition The study has served its purpose by suggesting a provided an example of broader national perspectives and so this study provides new insights into why prior attempts at democratic transition in Sudan have failed,

as well as practical suggestions for opportunity to succeed in the future has increased.

### 1. Results and Recommendations:

#### 7.1. Findings:

- In Sudan, there is an inverse relationship between political crisis and successful democratic transition. This suggests that frequent political crises hamper the democratic transition process.
- The failure of earlier attempts at democratic transition is largely due to the lack of a broader national consensus. This suggests that disagreement about the shape of the future political system is a major cause of failure.
- Foreign intervention further complicated the political situation and weakened the chances of success. This indicates that foreign participants played a negative role in the reform process.
- Lack of strong institutions and lack of trust among various political and social actors contributed to the failure.

#### 7.2. Recommendations:

- A shared vision must be developed between political and social forces. This requires agreement on a common vision for the future of Sudan.
- Build confidence and strengthen public institutions. Efforts should be made to build trust among various stakeholders and enhance the role of government officials.
- Avoid foreign interference in Sudanese affairs. The international community should support the reform process without interfering in domestic affairs.

Focus on developing a broad national consensus on what the future political system will look like. This requires the design of a political system that suits the aspirations of the Sudanese people.

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