Abstract

Purpose: In the case of a conflict that today destabilizes a country's system such as a complex civil war, it is quite difficult to resolve it on its own. If disputes are not any more internal problems and threaten international security, efforts by the international community cannot help but be made. The purpose of this study is to analyze how the resolution of disputes in a country and the transition of democratic systems can be achieved through multilateral cooperation among various actors in the international community.

Method: To this end, the situation of Darfur in Sudan will be selected as a case study. First, the factors that influenced the resolution of conflict faced by Sudan and the transition of the democratic system will be divided into internal and external factors, then I look at how these factors worked and what the correlation between them is.

Results: The two internal factors, the demand for democracy by civil society, which used the coup as an opportunity for change, and the resolution of disputes by the transitional government and the transition to a democratic system, had positive impacts on Sudan. The external factor pushed by the U.S. has affected the will of the interim government for the transition to the democratic system. Efforts by the international community, including the United Nations, served as a positive external factor, too. The creation of a peace-building mission in response to the Sudanese government's willingness to resolve the problem has served as a practical external factor of the international community.

Conclusion: Intra-state conflict is not easy to be settled by the country’s single will. Therefore the Sudan case has meaningful implications to us on how that state and the international community will have to seek more inclusive efforts.

[Keywords] Multilateral Cooperation, Sudan Transitional Military Council(TMC), African Union-UN Hybrid Operations in Darfur(UNAMID), UN Integrated Transitional Mission in Sudan(UNITAMS), Peacekeeping Operations(PKO)

1. Introduction

The internal and international border are not always clear and sharp. The internal conflicts of each state are currently based on problems such as: civil wars, counterinsurgency and counterinsurgency, and war against drug trafficking. In these cases, there are third parties that support those states with means. But they avoid the deployment of troops on the ground, affecting the borders of states making these conflicts regional in many cases[1][2][3]. The participation of third parties, but avoiding the deployment of troops on the ground has been one of the continuous forms of conflicts of high and medium intensity that have marked the beginning of the 21st century[4].
The nature of conflicts in the 21st century will continue to maintain the relationship established by Karl von Clausewitz in his book “On War”, as a political instrument and mainly the relationship of the trinity, with the passion of the population, the rationality of politicians and the will of the military[3][5]. Disputes in the 21st century act as described above; measures to resolve them have also developed in response to these trends.

Darfur is a typical north-east African civil war, consisting of multiple overlapping conflicts interspersed with large-scale offensives by the government army and its proxies and rebels[6]. The conflict in Darfur of Sudan, known internationally as the "Sudanese Civil War," has marked a new turning point with multilateral cooperation from the international community. The actors who led the conflict resolution were the United Nations and the African Union(African Union, AU) based in Africa. The two organizations began a unique form of peacekeeping activity jointly established by them to resolve the civil war in Sudan and withdrew after achieving the mandate authorized by the UN Security Council. Since then, the authority of peacekeeping has been handed over to peace-building, the activity that strengthens the vulnerable national operating system to prevent the recurrence of disputes.

International attention caused by the Darfur conflict increased again at the end of the dispute resolution when President al-Bashir, who took power in a 1989 coup, was disqualified in a military coup. I would like to find out the impact factors that were able to resolve the conflict in Darfur in the face of multi-faceted threats even before national governance was normalized and to find out what this means.

To this end, the factors that affected the settlement of disputes and the transition to the democratic system are largely divided into two factors: internal and external factors. Each influencing factor is believed to have had a positive as well as a negative impact on solving the problem that Sudan is facing. Even though there are unstable factors that hinder progress in a developmental direction by having a negative impact on dispute resolution and the transition to the democratic system, the international community estimates that Sudan is achieving desirable results. I would like to find out why the Sudanese issue is considered a desirable outcome at a time when there has been a coup due to its weak national base and the Darfur conflict has been ending now.

2. Civil war in Darfur in Sudan and the Military Coup

2.1. The matter of Darfur in Sudan

Figure 1. Geographical locations of Darfur and Sudan.
The Darfur civil war in Sudan is entangled by complex factors, finding no agreement between the Khartoum government, a number of resistant armed groups, or the parties involved in the conflict[6]. On July 31, 2007, after regional efforts, the UN Security Council Resolution 1769 established this hybrid peacekeeping presence, the African Union/United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur(UNAMID)[7][8][9]. The mission aims to support the creation of a stable and safe environment in Darfur, to monitor and identify violations of the cease-fire, to protect civilians and to implement peace agreements in Darfur and subsequent agreements. The prioritized goal of the U.N. police component of UNAMID was to create the capabilities of the Sudanese police structure and seek measures to protect civilians, such as the IDP, by engaging in Sudan’s central and local government activities[10].

As the situation improved due to a joint peacekeeping operation by the UN and the African Union, the peacekeeping operation adjusted the priorities of its mission in 2017 and began the transition for withdrawal, including the reduction of military and police personnel for two years. During this period, cooperation with the United Nations Country Teams(CT) was essential to maintain sustainable peace in Darfur[11].

The two-stage plan to downsize a peacekeeping operation was approved to carry out peacekeeping in specific areas where armed forces are active and to carry out peace-building in the rest of Darfur. The UNAMID ended its activities on December 31, 2020, and the United Nations established the UN Integrated Transitional Mission in Sudan(UNITAMS) to support the transition to Sudanese democracy through politics, peacebuilding, and development plans[12].

2.2. Emergence of the military coup

Amid the ongoing peacekeeping operation in Darfur, massive protests against the Al-Bashir government, which had been in power in Sudan for nearly 30 years, lasted for months, followed by a military coup in April 2019, and al-Bashir was ousted[13]. After the coup, the Transitional Military Committee(Transitional Military Council, TMC) was formed, but its members consist of figures during the Al-Bashir regime. Contrary to expectations, however, the military immediately indicted the former president to hide military brutality and subsequent corruption in the past Darfur civil war, and to weaken public resistance to the military. The Sudanese Defense Minister announced that the military would hold elections after a one-year transitional state administration. The military tried to stop massive protests led by the "Sudanese Professional Union(SPA)" by imposing a three-month emergency and a nighttime curfew, but civilian protesters continued their protests, demanding an immediate transfer of power to the civil sector.

In the midst of this, the unstable situation continued in the military, as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was dissatisfied with the core power and power hierarchy in the military, as well as the Sudan Transitional Military Commission(TMC), and attempted a coup to restore former President Al Bashir, who was ousted[14].

3. Influencing Factors of Dispute Settlement and Transition of Democratic System

3.1. Internal factors

Social movements represent a looser mass-based association of individuals and groups dedicated to changing the status quo. Social movements vary enormously in the types of formal or informal structures they use to mobilize support from activist networks to national and transnational social actions[15]. In this regard, Social movements in Sudan consolidate civil society and create a political actors to negotiate with the government.

First, the 2019 military coup, which toppled the Al-Bashir regime, has had the biggest impact on the Sudan issues, which has been running smoothly as previously described. It was an unexpected obstacle for the United Nations, the African Union, and related countries affected by the civil war in Sudan, which planned a smooth withdrawal of the peacekeeping operation.
response to the demand for transfer to civil affairs by citizens who were concerned about the long-term rule of the military government, the Sudanese Transitional Military Council mobilized Rapid Support Force (RSF), a former Janjaweed militia that supported the civil war in Darfur, to suppress protesters, causing bloodshed. Therefore, there was no clue to the dialogue between the military and civil forces.

In the early stages of negotiations between the military and civic political forces, Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, were reportedly supporting the military and pressuring the West to establish a civilian-led administration, not only making it difficult to reach a peaceful agreement between the military and civilian protesters but also raising concerns over the involvement of interested countries to further complicate the situation. In July 2019, the Sudanese Transitional Military Council agreed on a three-year sharing power with the Forces for Freedom and Change (FFC), an alliance of civic political forces. The military insisted on military-led state administration, causing raising suspicions about the regime’s willingness to make efforts to transfer to civil groups. Regarding issues related to the authority to manage state affairs, Sudan has opened a new way to switch to the operation of state affairs by a civilian government by signing the "Constitutional Declaration" document in August 2019. The 'constitutional declaration', which features a transitional government that will lead Sudan at the turn of three years until the election, contains the following [16].

*The Sovereign Council is comprised of a total of 11 people, including five soldiers appointed by the Transitional Military Council, five civilians appointed by the Force for Freedom and Change, and civilians appointed by mutual consent

*The Sovereign Council oversees the creation of the council of Ministers and the Legislative Council. 67% of the legislative council appointed by the Forces for Freedom and Change

*The Prime Minister appoints 20 ministers from the list of nominated candidates proposed by the forces for Freedom and Change, excluding the Home Office and the Defense Ministers, and forms a Cabinet

*Over the next six months, discussing with various armed forces in Sudan to develop new policies and achieve comprehensive and lasting peace

*And protection of equal social, civil, political, cultural and economic rights of men and women in relation to human rights and freedoms of Sudanese

The structure of decision-making in most organizations is very uniform and masculine, and it is urgent to ensure that women are fully involved in each sector of society and gender values are balanced [17]. The constitutional declaration implicates meaningful attempts of not only integration of military and civil forces, but also integrating of gender mainstreaming.

The fact that the Military General leads the Sovereign Council first, but the "Forces for Freedom and Change" can affect the formation of a cabinet with a large proportion of civilians and that the authority is not biased toward the military indicates that the Transitional Military Council is willing to transfer to the civilian government for national development.

It said it will continue to develop policies in consultation with armed forces in Sudan, showing sufficient willingness to resolve disputes as well as potential disputes through efforts to attract them into the system. The transitional government also followed policies for women pursued by the United Nations and participated in a necessary role as a member of the international community by allocating at least 40% of the seats to women in the Legislative Council and giving two seats for women in the Sovereign Council in order to expand of women’s political participation.

Such as this public policy processes grow more complex with the increased involvement of business, not-for-profits, interest groups, and multiple levels and units of government. Furthermore, this complexity becomes more intense as policy actors create ties with each other and as they pursue their
The Sudanese Sovereign Council, launched after the lifting of the Transitional Military Council, focused on solving chronic economic problems by appointing Abdullah Hamdok as the prime minister who has extensive experience in international organizations. Friendly relations with the UN-Sudan had to lift economic sanctions off the U.S. list of terrorist-backed countries and also needed support from the international community, including the UN which supports the lifting. As Brown argues, African states are increasingly separated by aid donors into categories like good performers, bad performers, fragile states, and failing states. Integrating the international and Sudanese economies by improving relations with the U.S. was the best way to overcome the crisis facing Sudan. Therefore, Sudan showed its efforts to implement large-scale reforms based on what was stated in the "Constitutional Declaration," and included an internal and external promise to internal and external promises to form a civilian cabinet by the prime minister and to hold democratic elections after the transition. The interim government has resumed peace negotiations with anti-government militants since the days of Al-Bashir and has prioritized ending the armed conflict.

The prime minister declared a permanent ceasefire not only in Darfur but also in the disputed areas, South Kordofan and Blue Nile within six months. He also temporarily asked the United Nations to stop reducing the number of UNAMID peacekeepers in the Darfur region. The UN Security Council was in the process of reducing the number of UNAMID as part of the preparation for its withdrawal in 2020 but decided to extend its mandate in consideration of the political crisis and not to cut personnel until the end of March 2020, giving a boost to Sudan's transitional government.

The second influencing factor is the Sudanese transitional government's willingness to resolve disputes and switch to a democratic system. At the time of the UNAMID's transition to the initial peace-building phase, Sudan recognized the need for a new mission to support the implementation of the peace treaty during the three-year preparation period for the transfer of the civilian government and asked the UN to create a mission after the end of the AU-UN's peacekeeping mission. The UN DPPA(Department of Political and Peace-building Affairs) aims to develop the capabilities of Sudan's state agencies in charge of sustainable development during the transition period for the regime's civilian transfer by deploying the Special Political Mission(SPM) to Sudan. The plan was to support the successful transfer of authority to the democratic government under the responsibility of the Sudanese government, limiting the deployment of the special political mission to the transition period of the interim government.

The Special Political Mission in Sudan(the UN Integrated Transitional Mission in Sudan(UNITAMS) began its mission on January 1, 2021[20].

The coup d'état in Sudan itself had a negative impact and bloody clashes with protesters against the former government were expected. The clash between Rapid Support Force(RSF) and protesters, known to have ties with al-Bashir, led to the first bloodshed since the coup in April 2020. However, “The constitutional declaration” between the "Forces for Freedom and Change" and the Transitional Military Council officially reached the agreement, both sides focused on minimizing military intervention and civic-led transitional government. I believe it was possible to take a series of measures to clean up the existing regime and lift U.S. economic sanctions because of the interim government’s will and efforts to restore the Sudanese national system. The number of members of the Sovereign Council expanded from the first 11 to 14 in February 2021, and the additional members were anti-government organization leaders who additionally signed the peace treaty, bringing more armed groups into the system to maintain the effectiveness of the peace treaty.

### 3.2. External factors

One of the external factors to influence a country is sanctions. When negotiations founder among direct parties, sanctions are intended to encourage or compel the coup leaders to negotiate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The State Department in the United States defines "terrorism as a carefully prepared political violence in which non-combatants are targeted to
influence a large number of people, either quasi-state organizations or national secret agents," and the FBI has divided terrorism into international and domestic terrorism[21][22].

The first external factor that affected Sudan's transition to a democratic regime is that Sudan is included in the list of countries supporting terrorism designated by the U.S. and economic sanctions are valid. According to the U.S., Sudan has been considered as a country to support international terrorism since the former government. In early 1996 the U.S. withdrew its ambassador from Khartoum and imposed trade sanctions[10].

Table 1. U.S. sanctions imposed and lifted to Sudan[23][24].

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<th>Years</th>
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| Designated as a terrorist-supporting country in 1993 | -Excluded from the financial market  
- No necessary debt relief and funding from international organizations  
- Restrictions from foreign capital investments |
| Lifting the trade ban in 2017 | -The trade ban has been for 24 years. During that period, foreign capital investments were impossible |
| December 14, 2020     | -Sanctions against Sudan were lifted from the designation of terrorist-sponsoring countries imposed by the U.S. |

The trigger for the massive anti-government protests that followed the ouster of former President al-Bashir was Sudan's chronic financial crisis, but the U.S. economic sanctions, which lasted more than 25 years, also played a role in that situation.

By 1997, the U.S. was not only attempting to isolate Sudan but also indirectly arming "The Sudanese People" (SPLA) fighters. And anti-government organizations to overthrow the Khartoum government and has imposed international sanctions, judging that Sudan is a sponsor of international terrorism and a gathering area comparable to Iran[25]. In other words, due to the U.S. sanctions, Sudan could not receive funding from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. U.S. aid, defense exports were banned and foreign capital investments have also been restricted. Sudan's transitional government not only passed a law of disbanding the former ruling party and reverting its property to the state but also showed its willingness to clean up the past regime by implementing measures such as banning politicians belonging to the Bashir regime or political parties from engaging in political activities for the next decade.

A key prerequisite for the U.S. excluding Sudan from the list of terrorist-sponsoring countries is the signing of a peace treaty between governments and anti-government organizations. After the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD), the transitional government held peace talks with Darfur anti-government organizations in December 2019 and signed a preliminary peace agreement with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) among major anti-government forces in January the following year to lay the groundwork for the final agreement.

The U.S. resumed ambassador-level diplomatic relations with Sudan by positively evaluating a series of measures attempted by the Sudan transitional governments, and the sanctions, which were expected to take time, were eventually lifted after the U.S. removed Sudan from its terrorist aid list about 11 months after the resumption of diplomatic relations. UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres welcomed the Sudanese government's efforts to stop supporting terrorism and asked the international community to provide financial support for Sudan.

The second external factor is the efforts of the international community, including the United Nations, to solve the problems facing Sudanese people. As conflicts continue to engulf the African continent, the international community has been drawn into the crisis in one way or another[26]. After the 2019 coup, the "Constitutional Declaration" was quickly announced in
Sudan because the mediation of global, regional, and sub-regional organizations such as the United Nations, the African Union, the Inter-Governmental Authority On Development (IGAD), and Ethiopia played a major role in allowing the military and civic forces to reach the agreement on that. In fact, IGAD has been engaged since 2003 in efforts to develop a new peace and security strategy [27]. Due to a coup d’état in 2019, the peace process related to the civil war in Darfur was suspended as the existing negotiating body disappeared after the Al-Bashir regime fell. Therefore, the launch of the Sudanese Transitional Government, which consists of the Sovereign Council, meant the emergence of a new negotiating body with the existing armed forces. In other words, there was no reason for anti-government groups to reject the interim government that was hostile to the Al-Bashir regime, prosecuting Al-Bashir and clearing the existing regime. It increased the likelihood of peacefully resolving disputes not only in Darfur but also in South Kordofan and Blue Nile, so the result of an agreement among parties concerned in Sudan presented how much the role of mediators from global and regional levels was paramount.

The United Nations, which was preparing for the transition from African Union-UN Hybrid Operations in Darfur (UNAMID) to peacebuilding activities, recognized political environmental changes such as the launch of an interim-government as a special opportunity to end permanent conflict and achieve overall peace throughout Sudan. For this reason, the United Nations focused on creating an environment in which more armed groups could participate in the transfer process pursuing the civil government to comprehensively implement the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD). The DDPD is the culmination of two and half years of negotiations, dialogue, and consultations with the major parties to the Darfur conflict, all relevant stakeholders, and international partners. Also in accordance with the DDPD, the Government of Sudan appointed a Darfur Regional Authority and a Darfuri as Second Vice President of the Republic of Sudan [28]. The changes that took place in Sudan provided conditions to dismantle the existing long-term government and advance to a democratic regime, so the United Nations, the African Union and, the IGAD did not miss the opportunity and actively sought to reach an agreement through bilateral negotiations between the Sudanese military and civil political forces. Its success in mediation between the Sudanese Transitional Military Council and civil political forces, the interim government, and armed groups has enabled the UN to solidify further its political position as a multilateral security cooperation body in the world, leading the African Union of a regional organization and IGAD of a sub-regional organization in charge of East Africa. In particular, the IGAD, which had a weak position as a sub-regional organization, clearly imprinted its presence as an East African security organization by actively intervening in both national issues, by organizing its committees to devise proposals necessary for conflict arbitration and consensus not only in Sudan but also among political forces in South Sudan [27].

The third factor is the creation and activity of the UNITAMS, which implements a peacebuilding operation in cooperation with the Sudanese government. As UN peacebuilding activities began at the request of the Sudanese government during the process of reducing UNAMID, the UNITAMS was developed to support the transfer to a democratic regime through the political transition period in Sudan. This is not only related to the second factor but also supports the Sudanese’s willingness to resolve the problem and transform it into a democratic system. The initial mission was to support the complete withdrawal of UNAMID. The UNAMID mission ended on 31 December 2020, but the deadline for full withdrawal is 31 June 2021 [29].

The mission did not limit the scope of the parties to negotiate to the transitional government, but saw it widely, including political party and civil society representatives, representatives of the military and armed groups, and continued to negotiate with groups that did not participate in the peace process even after the withdrawal of the UNAMID.

The strategic objectives of the UN Integrated Transitional Mission in Sudan (UNITAMS) are largely four. It is to support the development of democratic governance and sustainable peace for the operation of good offices, political transformation, protection, and promotion of human rights. To support the efforts of the transitional government, it also supports the draft constitution and technical support for election preparation and the implementation of human rights,
equality, accountability, and constitutionalism. Second, the task force cooperates with the government to support the meaningful participation of Sudanese civil society, women, youth, refugees, domestic displaced persons, and members of the marginalized group. Third, it supports peace building, civilian protection, and constitutionalism, especially in the Darfur, Southern Kordofan, and Blue Nile regions. Four, it supports the economic and development assistance movement and humanitarian aid cooperation in Sudan in cooperation with international financial institutions. It ensures effective and integrated cooperation between United Nations agencies, funds and programs and expands cooperation with relevant partners.

The lifting of Sudan from the list of countries supporting terrorism written by the U.S. has created to overcome economic problems with the support of international financial institutions. External factors, such as the UNMITAMS’s activities to support the complete withdrawal of the UNAMID and encourage additional actors who have not previously signed the peace treaty to participate in the peace process. The mediation and negotiation efforts of regional organizations have had a positive effect on the resolution of disputes by the Sudanese government and the transition to the democratic system.

4. Conclusion

Due to internal and external influencing factors, the democratization process of the Sudan regime seemed to be carried out smoothly. However, a military-led coup broke out again last October in 2021, and the function of the transitional government was suspended. Concerns in the international community have also increased. Meanwhile, civil forces’ resistance to the military, which recently took power through a coup, is high within Sudan. In addition, it is not easy for government leaders to be changed by the military as in the past because civil society’s will for democracy is not only strong but also is mature. International community arbitration and negotiation efforts, which are external influencing factors, have also resumed. Eventually, the military gave up the military-operated system and agreed to share power with the transitional government in mid-November 2021, a month after the coup[30][31]. The Prime Minister of the Transitional Government was reinstated. It shows that internal and external factors work together systematically to escalate tension after insecurity state.

Sudan is currently in the process of settling disputes and transitioning to a democratic state. However, positive factors such as the military and civil society’s willingness to hand over to the civilian government through elections, reaching an agreement between the military and civil political forces peacefully in the process of resolving the coup, and the policy direction to a democratic state that appears in the bilateral declaration show that Sudan does not return to the past.

The U.S. measure to designate the state that supports terrorism has put pressure on the interim government in line with the Sudanese government’s willingness to resolve the economic crisis that triggered anti-government protests. Political and diplomatic arbitration efforts by the United Nations and other international communities have prevented Sudan from going off track. Even though there was a possibility that the situation could worsen after the coup. The UNAMID peacekeeping activities ended after meaningful achievements, and the decision of the UN Security Council and the implementation of rapid peacebuilding activities, which decided to build peace in response to the request of the Sudanese government for sustainable peace, are also positive factors. In solving the Sudan problem, internal and external factors did not work separately. The two factors created a synergy effect by exchanging influences.

Even in disputes occurring between countries or within countries today, it is quite difficult to resolve disputes only with the efforts of the parties concerned. Even in the event of a coup amid ongoing international dispute resolution efforts, as in the case of Sudan, internal factors will inevitably be affected by external factors. The primary responsibility for problem-solving lies in the country concerned, but it is natural that external factors act to enable the country’s spontaneous efforts to be expressed. Amid the emphasis on multilateral cooperation on common interests in the international community, the analysis of internal and external factors surrounding the country such as Sudan which contribute
to resolving conflict has many implications for us to revisit easing security tension between two Koreas in the Korean peninsula.

5. References

5.1. Journal articles


5.2. Books

5.3. Additional references


6. Appendix

6.1. Authors Contribution

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