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تداعيات الحرب الداخلية في السودان

(2024 - 2023)

دراسة حالة

The Implications of the Internal Conflict in Sudan

(2024 - 2023)

A Case Study



إعداد: منال الحامدي
Prepared by: Manal Al-Hamdi



:Introduction

A civil war has caused the displacement of millions of Sudanese people, exacerbating the food crisis and the fear of large-scale genocide, turning Sudan into a forgotten humanitarian crisis

The Sudanese war, which broke out in mid-April 2023, has led to the deterioration of humanitarian, political, and social conditions in a country already suffering from a severe economic crisis. This has resulted in the largest number of internal and external displacements, the spread of epidemics, total economic collapse, and the killing of thousands, forcing millions to leave their homes. This war has displaced more than 11 million people. The United Nations has declared that the war, which broke out in April 2023 between the army and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), has led to the displacement of 7.1 million people, describing it as the largest displacement crisis in the world. The conflict has resulted in more than 12,000 deaths by early December 2023, according to highly conservative estimates by the "ACLED" organization, which specializes in counting conflict ¹.casualties

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) announced that more than 4 million people have been displaced internally and externally due to the ongoing civil war since April 2023. The UNHCR condemned the deteriorating health conditions in Sudan and neighboring countries that have received refugees, noting that the lack of funding hinders the provision of essential health ².services to these refugees, leading to the spread of diseases and deaths among them

The war between the Sudanese army and the rebel Rapid Support Forces began after a power struggle erupted between the leaders of both sides. According to "Foreign Policy" magazine, given the international legitimacy of Al-Burhan, the chances of the RSF's victory over the Sudanese army are slim. The magazine suggests that Al-Burhan and Hemedti are likely to establish competing control areas in Sudan, similar to the situation in Libya, where the ongoing rivalry between various political and military factions persists leading to the creation of a fragmented state with multiple ³.power centers

United Nations: The war in Sudan has led to the displacement of more than seven million people, France 24, ¹ 27/8/2024. Website link: (<https://linksshortcut.com/MK0mH>)

More than 4 million displaced and refugees due to the war in Sudan, Migrant News website, 27/8/2024. ² Website link: <https://linksshortcut.com/VWVUe>

How the fighting in Sudan turned into a proxy war between Saudi Arabia and the UAE, Al Hurra/Translations-³ Washington, Al Hurra Magazine, 28/8/2024. Website link: (<https://linksshortcut.com/yvVpO>)

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It is evident that this war does not receive international attention due to the fact that civil wars do not gain media momentum like regional wars, and also because of the global tension from the war⁴ between Israel and Gaza as well as the war between Russia and Ukraine

What is the impact of the war on the Sudanese economy? How did the conflict between the army and the Rapid Support Forces begin? What are the long-term implications of the continuation of the war? What are the facts regarding the humanitarian situation in Sudan

:Background

Since the coup in October 2021, the Sovereign Council has been governing Sudan, with two military leaders at the heart of the conflict: the Commander of the Armed Forces and de facto president of the country, Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, on one side, and his deputy, the leader of the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, known as Hemedti, on the other. The conflict between them erupted in April 2023 when they disagreed on the direction the country should take and the proposal to transition to civilian rule. One of the main points of contention between Hemedti and al-Burhan is the plan to integrate the 100,000-strong RSF into the army and who would lead the new force thereafter. Consequently, the battles that broke out in the Sudanese capital, Khartoum, and other parts of the country are a direct result of the power struggle among the military leadership. Currently, clashes are taking place at strategic locations throughout the capital between⁵ RSF paramilitary forces and regular army troops

Since the start of the war in Sudan, both Ethiopia and Kenya have taken an unequivocally supportive stance toward the RSF. The position of the Chadian government has been more contentious; at the beginning of the war, Chad declared a neutral stance in support of the Sudanese army. However, this stance changed completely after President Mahamat Déby Itno's visit to Arab countries supporting the rebellion. Conversely, several neighboring countries and regional powers have been diligently working since the beginning of the war to extinguish the conflict and have taken clear positions supporting the legitimacy represented by the Sudanese Armed Forces.

At the forefront of these countries is Egypt, which has maintained a clear stance supporting the Sudanese army since the beginning of the current war. Egypt's position is entirely consistent with the historical ties between Egypt and Sudan. The Eritrean government also played a positive role, with President Isaias Afwerki announcing from day one a strong stance supporting the army and rejecting the RSF's adventure and its supporters. The South Sudanese government has also supported the Sudanese army, clarifying that the participation of some of its citizens in the war alongside the RSF is an individual act rejected by the state

The war in Sudan... A forgotten conflict and an unforgivable silence, Katherine Scherer, DW Channel, 1/9/2024. ⁴

Website link: (<https://linksshortcut.com/LUuUT>)

For more information, see Sudan clashes: What's behind the current conflict between Abdel Fattah al-Burhan and⁵ Hemedti, Beverly Ochieng, BBC, 2/9/2024. Website link: (<https://linksshortcut.com/ZyCcR>)



At the regional and international level, Saudi Arabia's role has been notable as it adopted the Jeddah forum as the only effective platform thus far. Although the RSF has not yet adhered to the agreements made at the Jeddah forum, it still serves as a suitable mechanism for seeking a fair negotiated solution to the Sudanese war. One of the most significant international developments in the Sudanese war is Russia's shift from strongly supporting the rebellion via the Wagner Group to becoming an international partner supporting the Sudanese army and seeking a fair peaceful solution to the war. This shift occurred after the death of Wagner's founder and the reintegration of this rebellious entity into the Russian Ministry of Defense. Lastly, the ongoing war has revitalized Sudanese-Iranian relations, with Iran becoming a key supporter of the Sudanese army. Iranian drones have made significant advances for the army on the battlefield, bringing it closer to a ⁶.decisive victory

First: The Power Struggle Between the Army and the Rapid Support Forces

The origin of the conflict lies in the intense power struggle between the leader of the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo (Hemedti), and the leader of the army, Abdel Fattah al-Burhan. Both were partners in the coup that ousted President Omar al-Bashir in 2019. The two sides disagreed on the nature of the transitional period and the speed of transferring power to civilians, with each wanting to have the upper hand in forming the next government. Both the RSF and the army seek to control important economic resources in Sudan, such as gold and oil, which are major sources of wealth and influence. It is worth noting that both the RSF and the army have received military and financial support from regional and international countries, which has complicated and .intensified the conflict

Since the beginning of the war, the RSF, led by Hemedti, has shown clear superiority over the army, controlling most parts of Khartoum. Notably, the RSF has taken control of Sudan's main oil refinery.

The unstable political situation has led to the emergence and continuation of conflicts and civil wars, creating a fertile environment for this war. This war is considered a conflict between the two largest military forces in Sudan, which form the wings of military power in the country. Both forces possess significant military stockpiles, making it unlikely that this war will end in the near future. From Sudan's independence in 1956 until 2023, military rulers have governed the country for over ⁷.55 years, entrenching the phenomenon of the politicization of the army

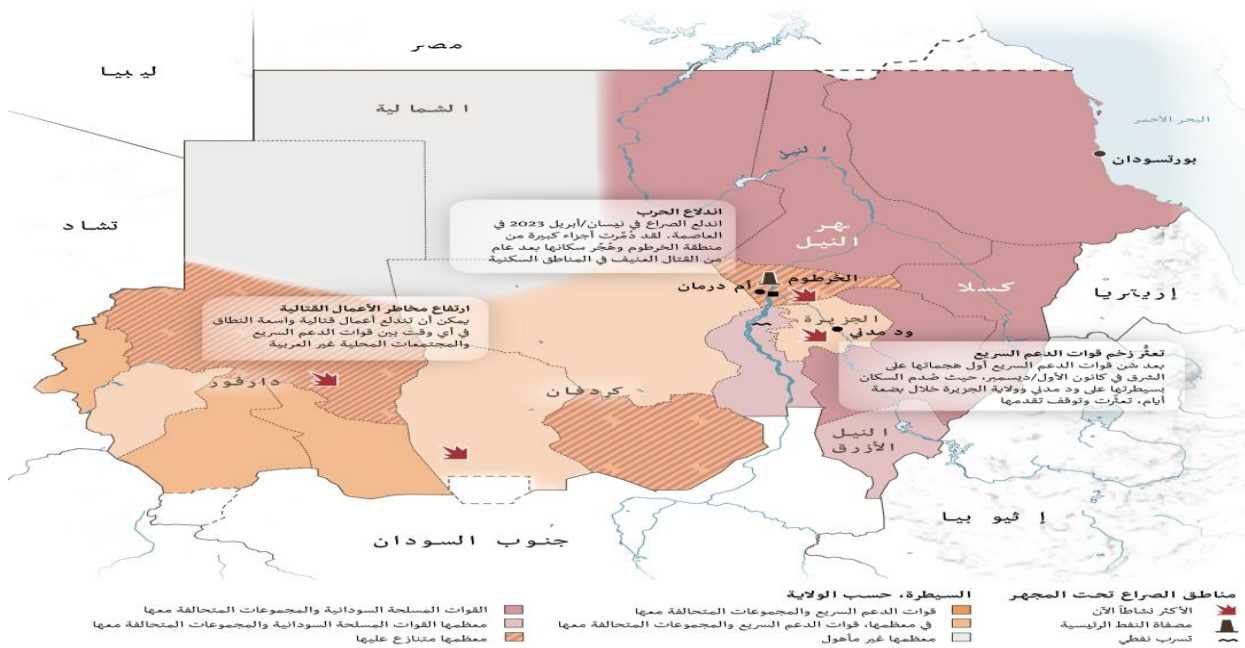
The Losers and Winners in the Game of Foreign Intervention in Sudan, Atta Al-Mannan Bakhit, Al Jazeera, 4/9/2024. ⁶

Website link: (<https://linksshortcut.com/JPpmK>)

Sudan: A Year of War, International Group Crisis, translated from English, accessed on 5/9/2024. Website link: ⁷

(<https://linksshortcut.com/rzdWX>)

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Source: Crisis Group Research. Mapcreator, OSM, Copernicus. CRISIS GROUP

After a year of war, the two main fighting sides have divided the country into almost two parts. The Rapid Support Forces control most of the west, while the Sudanese Armed Forces control most of the east.

This map shows us the large extent of the war in Sudan between the Rapid Support Forces and the army. The army controls most of the east, while the Rapid Support Forces control most of the west.

Rapid Support Forces (RSF):

The Rapid Support Forces is a Sudanese military force that originally began as a militia before being officially organized. This force has played a crucial role in many Sudanese events, especially during the era of former President Omar al-Bashir.

Origin and Development of the Rapid Support Forces:

The Rapid Support Forces were established in 2013 as an armed force under the Sudanese National Intelligence and Security Service. The RSF played a prominent role in the war in Darfur and was accused of committing serious human rights violations. The RSF also joined the Sudanese army in the coup that overthrew the regime of Omar al-Bashir in 2019. After the coup, a power struggle arose between the RSF and the Sudanese army, leading to increased tensions in the country.



:External Interventions in the Conflict

Last year, the city of Jeddah hosted talks sponsored by Saudi Arabia and the United States, during which the Sudanese army and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) reached an agreement to protect civilians, deliver humanitarian aid, and declare multiple truces. However, due to multiple violations of the ceasefire, Riyadh and Washington suspended the Jeddah talks in December⁸

Negotiations between the two conflicting parties resumed on May 6, 2023, in Jeddah, invited by Saudi Arabia and the United States, focusing on key issues such as achieving an effective short-term ceasefire, facilitating the delivery of emergency humanitarian aid, and restoring essential services. The plan was to establish a timetable for extensive negotiations to reach a permanent cessation of the war.

After two rounds, the negotiations were suspended on June 2, 2023. Riyadh and Washington announced that this was due to "serious violations" of the truce, accusing both sides of "claiming to represent the interests of the Sudanese people, but their actions have increased their suffering and endangered national unity and regional stability."⁹

⁸ The start of Geneva negotiations on Sudan amid the absence of the army, Al Sharq News website, 7/9/2024. Website link : (<https://linkshortcut.com/qotlh>)

⁹ For more information, see: Sudan between foreign interventions and the complexity of the field situation... Stalled negotiations between the parties hint at the continuation of the war, Hamza Habhoob, France 24, 8/9/2024. Website link : (<https://linkshortcut.com/oCwQA>)



Second: The Impact of the War on the Sudanese Economy and Living Conditions of Citizens

After a year of the destructive war between the Sudanese army and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), the economy and living conditions in the country are in total collapse and catastrophic conditions.

The state treasury has lost more than 80% of its revenue following a significant decline in gold exports and a drop in economic rates to their lowest levels. The Sudanese pound is devaluing daily and losing its value against foreign currencies. This was followed by a rise in the prices of basic goods, including food and fuel. Experts confirmed increasing inflation rates, and the World Bank¹⁰ predicted a decline in economic growth to -18.3%, as mentioned on the events website

The war has led to widespread destruction and losses in the banking sector, the oil sector, and the meat sector. Industrial facilities have stopped operating, gold has been looted, institutions are paralyzed, the budget deficit has increased, and business owners have gone bankrupt

Here we see that Sudan is suffering from a deep crisis that spans many years, inherited from decades of war, isolation, and sanctions. The current crisis is now more profound with the collapse of all institutions, putting the population at severe risk on all fronts. People are facing instability, hunger, and severe violations, including rape and killing. According to UN estimates, about 14,000 people have died, while Doctors Without Borders raises the number to at least 40,000

The war has displaced more than 10.7 million Sudanese people – about one-fifth of the country's population – in the worst refugee crisis in the world, leaving about half of the Sudanese population¹¹ facing the threat of famine

Export levels have significantly declined due to political instability, as on-the-ground tension has negatively affected the movement of traffic in land and sea ports

Over the past year, the value of the Sudanese pound against the dollar has declined from about 450 pounds in May 2022 to 559 pounds per dollar by April 25. The value of the Sudanese pound continued to fall from May 2022 until December of the same year. However, it saw relative stability¹² in the last weeks of 2023 at 559 pounds per dollar

For more information, see: A year after the war... Sudan's economy... Devastating losses, Rehab Abdullah – Nahed Oshi/ Al-Ahdath website, 9/9/2024. Website link: (<https://linkshortcut.com/Bfell>)

The war in Suda, Ahmed Al-Khatib, BBC Arabia, 7/9/2024. Website link: (<https://www.bbc.com/arabic/articles/cp9r2nnnm7zo>)

For more information, see: The Economic Implications of the Conflict in Sudan, Soheir El-Sherbini, International Association of Political Experts and Analysts, 11/9/2024. Website link: (<https://linkshortcut.com/rzdWX>)

:As for the potential impacts on the Sudanese economy, we mention the following

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) predicts a contraction of the Sudanese economy by 18.3% this year, the largest in its history, according to economic expert Abdel Azim Al-Amoui. He attributes this to the shocks and direct impacts after six months of war between the army and the RSF. Al-Amoui pointed out the catastrophic effects of the war on the currency, which has seen a sharp decline in exchange rates, with the Sudanese pound losing about 70% of its value. According to "Asharq Al-Awsat" newspaper, the official exchange rate in some banks exceeded 750 pounds per .dollar

The expert reported that the significant collapse in the business sector resulted in about 2.5 million people losing their jobs in the private sector, and a few remaining in institutions had to take unpaid leave. Al-Amoui, a specialist in global financial markets, mentioned that the biggest damage was to the banking sector, noting that 32 banks in the country cannot access their assets, and customers cannot get their money. Thus, the depreciation of the currency will erode the capital of banks and .investors

Regarding the agricultural sector, which Sudan is known for, he said the cultivated area in the country has decreased by at least 60% compared to previous years due to the Agricultural Bank's inability to finance farmers and high fuel prices. He added that the winter season requires 250,000 tons of "urea" fertilizer, but currently, only 10,000 tons are available in the markets, creating a large .gap that may cause many farmers to refrain from farming this season

World Bank figures indicate that the war has destroyed citizens' purchasing power due to the depreciation of the national currency and the sharp rise in the prices of goods, including in areas not affected by the war. Major factories and companies, mainly concentrated in the capital Khartoum, have been destroyed, looted, and their machinery and equipment smashed, causing a significant shortage of locally produced goods and foodstuffs. This has led to a broad shift towards importing from abroad. Economic experts estimate infrastructure losses in the country to be more .than \$60 billion

There are also negative expectations regarding gold exports, which account for about 50% of the state's total exports, and the risk of investors leaving the country amid instability and insecurity. .Additionally, there are disruptions in internal supply chains on which citizens heavily rely

A Sudanese Ministry of Trade official told Al-Jazeera Net that at least 1,000 economic establishments have ceased operations since the war began, all working in industry, trade,



medicine, and food sectors due to partial or total destruction. Despite the absence of official statistics on the economic losses caused by the war, they are estimated at \$200 billion, attributed to the stoppage of operations in most ports, leading to a decline in export revenues in hard currencies

The infrastructure, information sector, and agricultural sector suffered tens of billions in losses, affecting future agricultural productivity. The banking sector was the most affected after banks in the Gezira, Darfur, and Khartoum states were looted almost entirely. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in Sudan previously predicted a 12% contraction in the economy because the conflict halted production and destroyed human capital and state capabilities. The education sector was also affected, with the most significant impact on higher education, as there are 36 public universities and over 130 private universities and colleges in the war-affected states, with about 85% of these universities looted almost entirely, leaving only the walls standing¹³.

Third: Long-term Implications of the Continued War

1. Continued fighting may lead to the collapse of the Sudanese state and its division into small states, increasing the severity of conflicts and threatening security and stability in the region.
2. The war will undoubtedly exacerbate the humanitarian crisis, increase the number of displaced persons and refugees, deteriorate living conditions, and spread diseases and epidemics. Health authorities have confirmed cholera cases for the first time since the war between the army and the RSF. The Sudanese Doctors' Association reported 3,398 cases of dengue fever in the states of Gedaref, Red Sea, North Kordofan, and Khartoum. Residents in Gedaref told Reuters that dengue fever, malaria, cholera, and diarrhea are spreading partly due to the lack of rainwater drainage and overcrowding in health facilities with displaced people from Khartoum. Last week, the United Nations reported that over 1,200 children died from suspected measles and malnutrition in displacement camps in White Nile State, while cholera, dengue fever, and malaria pose a threat across the country.¹⁴
3. The war will completely destroy the country's infrastructure, such as bridges, hospitals, and schools, hindering reconstruction and development efforts.
4. The war will increase social, ethnic, and sectarian divisions, making national reconciliation and building a democratic state difficult.

Website: [After a year of war, Sudan's economy suffers losses of over \\$200 billion, aljazeera net/ special, 12/9/2024¹³
<https://linkshortcut.com/zROuc>](https://linkshortcut.com/zROuc)

More information: Warnings in Sudan about the spread of deadly diseases and epidemics* by Mohamed Amin Yasin, ¹⁴ Asharq Al-Awsat, published on September 13, 2024. Website: <https://linkshortcut.com/NmdiN>



5. The conflict may expand to neighboring countries, especially those hosting large numbers of Sudanese refugees, destabilizing the region. The International Organization for Migration reported that the number of internally displaced persons in Sudan has now exceeded 700,000, more than double the 340,000 recorded the previous week. The United Nations expects the number to exceed 800,000 if the fighting continues. Carlos Oliver Cruz, head of the IOM mission in Egypt, said that the number of Sudanese displaced to Egypt has reached 73,000, in addition to 5,000 of other nationalities. This figure adds to the number of internally displaced persons in Sudan, which was 3 million before the crisis. The total number of displaced persons exceeds 4 million, most of whom are concentrated in Khartoum, South, and West Darfur.

Chad is the second preferred destination for Sudanese refugees after Egypt, with over 30,000 new refugees arriving in recent weeks, bringing the total number of refugees fleeing Sudan to 60,000.

According to IOM statistics, children and women make up about 90% of the refugees, including many pregnant women, and five out of six children suffer from acute malnutrition.¹⁵

6. The war will threaten regional security and stability; increase the activity of extremist and terrorist groups. An American intelligence report predicts that branches of ISIS and Al-Qaeda will continue to expand in Africa, including increasing ISIS activity in western Sudan. The report stated, "ISIS in the Greater Sahara and West Africa contributes to destabilization and is used by governments in sectarian conflicts and struggles with marginalized groups to achieve gains, especially in Nigeria and the Sahel region."¹⁶

7. Continued war may lead to the flow of weapons and fighters into the region, increasing tensions and encouraging new conflicts. Amnesty International revealed the flow of weapons from six countries to Sudan China, Russia, Serbia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen, stating that the current arms embargo on Darfur is completely ineffective, as the conflict in Sudan is fueled by the continued flow of weapons into the country.¹⁷

8. The war will deteriorate Sudan's international relations and isolate Sudan from the international community, as seen in the current marginalization of the Sudanese reality.

The War in Sudan: How Many Displaced People and Refugees and Where Are They Going?" Monte Carlo ¹⁵
International, published on September 14, 2024, Website: <https://linksshortcut.com/zSenJ>

Ahmed Younis, published in Asharq Al- US Intelligence Warns Sudan Could Become a Haven for Terrorist Groups ¹⁶
Awsat on September 13, 2024, Website: <https://linksshortcut.com/TZwsX>

More information: Amnesty International: Arms Flow from Six Countries to Sudan Worsens Civilian Suffering, Radio ¹⁷
Dabanga, published on September 14, 2024, Website: <https://linksshortcut.com/dUyyn>



9. Other regional and international powers may intervene in the Sudanese conflict, complicating the crisis and worsening the humanitarian situation. Currently, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, the United States, and Russia play a significant role.
- 10- The conflict may continue for many years, deteriorating the humanitarian and economic situation in Sudan and threatening regional security and stability
11. A political solution to the conflict may be reached, but this requires strong political will from the warring parties and broad international support.
12. The conflict has led to the neglect of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam issue, and if the war continues, neighboring parties may benefit from Sudan's share of the water.

:Conclusion

The continuation of the war in Sudan means the collapse of the state's fundamental structures, and it will not return to its previous state soon. The ongoing war poses a serious threat to Sudan, its neighboring countries, and the international community. Therefore, a peaceful solution must be found, and the international community must make efforts to mediate this conflict through dialogue and negotiation to prevent the loss of more lives and the continuous violations that must stop.

The reality shows us that it is a struggle for power and wealth between two armies in one country, causing many disasters for the Sudanese people who are already suffering from numerous crises.

There are no signs of a solution in the near future, but negotiations are still ongoing in hopes of ending the war and reaching an agreement between the two sides, despite the absence of one side in the talks held in Geneva last month.