



THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (DDIS)

**IMPLICATIONS OF SANCTIONS ON LOCAL POPULATIONS IN AFRICA: A CASE
STUDY OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA'S SANCTIONS AGAINST SUDAN.**

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R80/55630/2019

**A PhD THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE AWARD OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, DEPARTMENT
OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.**

JULY 2024

DECLARATION

This PhD thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other university.

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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this PhD thesis to my late mother, who, through her sacrifices and prayers, along with the support and guidance of my late father, played a crucial role in getting me to where I am today. Additionally, I'd like to express my dedication to my two dear brothers, who provided significant assistance in the absence of our parents and ensured I could continue my education without financial constraints. Lastly, I'd like to also dedicate this thesis to my beloved wife, the love of my life, for her unwavering prayers, genuine support, and continuous guidance during my research journey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Patrick Maluki and Dr. Steven Handa. Their unwavering support, cooperation, guidance, motivation, and mentorship played a significant role in the success of this research project. I'd also like to extend my appreciation to my lecturers at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, who, during my Bachelor's and Master's Studies, broadened my understanding of the subject matter of this study. Furthermore, I'm thankful to my family for providing the peace of mind I needed throughout this project, especially to my two wonderful brothers - Abdullahi and Mohamed. I can't forget to mention my dear friend and immediate classmate, Ramla Abbas Sheikh, who consistently encouraged me during challenging times. Finally, I sincerely thank the university for granting me admission and the opportunity to pursue this course.

KEYWORDS

AU – African Union

CLTG - Civilian-led Transitional Government

CNPC - China National Petroleum Corporation

CPA - Comprehensive Peace Agreement

EU – European Union

FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization

FDI – Foreign Direct Investment

FGM – Female Genital Mutilation

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GNP – Gross National Product

HAC - Humanitarian Aid Commission

HIPC - Heavily Indebted Poor Countries

ICC – International Criminal Court

ICRC - International Committee of the Red Cross.

IDP – Internally Displaced Persons

IGAD – Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IFAD – International Fund for Agricultural Development

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IT - Information Technology

JCPOA - Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action

JEM - Justice and Equality Movement

LRA – Lord’s Resistance Army

MOEM – Ministry of Energy and Mining

NACOSTI - National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

NCP - National Congress Party

NGO – Non-Governmental Organizations

NIF - National Islamic Front

RCI-LRA - Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord’s Resistance Army

SADC – Southern African Development Community

SAF – Sudan Armed Forces

SNPC - Sudan National Petroleum Corporation

SOEs – State-Owned Enterprises

SPLA - Sudan People's Liberation Army
SSTL - State Sponsors of Terrorism List
SWIFT – Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication
TIP - Trafficking in Persons
PAIC - Popular Arab Islamic Conference
UN – United Nations
UNAMID - United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur
UNHCR – United Nations Human Rights Commission
UNICEF - United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNITAMS - UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission to Sudan
UNSC – United Nations Security Council
USAID - U.S. Agency for International Development
UK – United Kingdom
WFP – World Food Program
WHO – World Health Organization

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ABSTRACT

International sanctions are actions undertaken by a country to force another country abide by international laws and national interests of the state imposing the sanctions. Sanctions are imposed for different reasons including security, political, and social issues. The targeted self-governing state is required to agree to the terms stipulated in order for the sanctions to be lifted. The U.S has been using sanctions as a powerful tool to advance its foreign policy objectives. Sudan is one of the countries that have faced sanctions by the U.S mainly for security reasons. The U.S has accused Sudan for a long time of supporting terrorism and thus a key threat to global peace and security. The sanctions imposed to Sudan have been geared towards ensuring the regime cooperates with the U.S and international community in the fight against terrorism. However, the implementation of sanctions had a dire effect especially on socioeconomic and political areas. This begs the question on whether the sanctions have been effective in changing the behavior and actions of the regime in Sudan towards upholding the stipulated terms in lifting the sanctions. The U.S preferences expressed through sanctions in Sudan have an effect on local populations. This study examined the effect of U.S sanctions especially on local populations in Sudan. The study adopted interdependence liberalism theory which sheds light on the scope of relations and interdependence among states in an increasingly globalized world. A case study approach was adopted in understanding the effect of sanctions towards local populations. The study made use of both primary and secondary data in retrieving key content that facilitated development of research findings and reports based on the study objectives. A sample population was extracted with key primary data derived from different stakeholders including government representatives and experts in the field of diplomacy. Semi-structured interviews as well as questionnaires were developed and used in collecting primary data. The questionnaires align with the key objectives of the study centering on understanding the impact of U.S sanctions on local populations in Sudan. Data synthesis was done through quantitative and qualitative analysis. Content analysis was adopted in evaluating data and aligning with study objectives. The main themes as derived from study objectives were developed to help identify the study patterns and align with themes. Tables, graphs, and charts were used to present the study findings and facilitate identification of further studies and presentation of recommendations and conclusions. The findings of the research revealed that the US sanctions on Sudan affected key socioeconomic areas including education, health, trade and investment, food security and humanitarian activities. The study recommended the adoption of blockchain technology to support humanitarian organizations to allocate humanitarian aid in bid to ensure accountability, transparency, and minimize diversionary practices in the wake of sanctions. while U.S. sanctions aim to compel the Sudanese regime to comply with international norms, their implementation has disproportionately impacted the socioeconomic well-being of innocent civilians, challenging the ethical justification of such measures. This study highlights the necessity for more targeted and transparent approaches, like the adoption of blockchain technology, to mitigate unintended hardships on the local population while pursuing international policy objectives.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

States sanctions have been advanced in diplomatic circles in form of political and economic decisions with the focus on influencing a country's national interests. The decision to impose sanctions is informed by the need to push states towards upholding the interests of the sanctioning countries. The trade, economic, diplomatic, and other restrictions are lifted in case there are no emerging threats. The U.S and Sudan have been long embroiled in diplomatic tussle triggered by Sudan being accused on harboring terrorism.¹ The U.S has on different occasions put sanctions on Sudan for allegedly sponsoring terrorism and abuses on human rights. The penalties range from blocking financial transactions to stalling Sudanese assets. The U.S has continued to put pressure of the Sudan government through sanctions as part of forcing them to abide by the global standards of peace, democracy, and governance.

The U.S sanctions towards Sudan have dire effects especially with regards to trade among the two countries.² Doing business with entities ceased. The aim of the sanctions was to punish and deter the Sudan regime from advancing its terror interests and protect the globe from terrorism. The U.S hoped to change the behavior of Sudan government towards security and improve peace in Sudan and neighboring countries. However, the sanctions in some cases affect local populations who bear the brunt of sanctions.

¹ Malik, M., & Malik, M. (2015). The efficacy of United States sanctions on the Republic of Sudan. *Journal of Georgetown University*, 2015(1), 7.

² Ibid.

This study focuses on the effect of sanctions on local communities based on U.S. sanctions against Sudan. The focus is on how these severe sanctions have disrupted the lives of Sudanese people and made their existence extremely difficult. The study findings aim to provide recommendations on mitigating the effect of sanctions on local populations and how they can be minimized in foreign government sanctions. This research sheds light on the influence of sanctions on poverty levels and economic development in Sudan, particularly concerning local communities.

1.1 Contextual Analysis of Sanctions

International sanctions are economic and political decisions made against a state with the aim of protecting its national interests. Countries that seek to defend their peace and security impose sanctions on other countries that are perceived as their threat. Sanctions ensure change in behavior of targeted nation's regimes in such a way that the imposter will not feel threatened anymore. Sanctions express the U.S preferences as the government focuses on protecting its interests in security, economic, democracy and human rights.

Economic sanctions involve the intentional and politically driven interruption of regular trade or financial dealings with a country, organization, or person.³ These measures can be enforced by different bodies, such as the United Nations, regional governmental groups like the European Union, or individual nations.⁴ While economic sanctions have been a part of international diplomacy for a long time. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) gradually gained the ability to enforce economic sanctions that required participation from all member states,

³ Yahia, Y. E., Liu, H., Khan, M. A., Shah, S. S. H., & Islam, M. A. (2018). The impact of foreign direct investment on domestic investment: Evidence from Sudan. *International Journal of Economics and Financial Issues*, 8(6), 1.

⁴ Ibid.

providing a means to push states to change their responses towards issues especially of democracy, peace and security.⁵

Notable instances during this era included comprehensive sanctions imposed on Haiti, the former Yugoslav republics, and Iraq. Haiti and the former Yugoslav republics suffered severe consequences due to these sanctions, but Iraq endured the most catastrophic impact, surpassing any previous use of economic sanctions outside of wartime. For instance, UNICEF calculated that the economic restrictions imposed on Iraq resulted in the loss of 500,000 children because of hunger and sickness.⁶ Following the devastation wrought by economic sanctions in Iraq, numerous organizations began earnestly exploring the potential for alternative forms of economic sanctions. These alternatives aimed to avoid harming "ordinary people" and instead target those believed to be morally responsible for the policies in the targeted state.⁷ The outcome was the adoption of "targeted" economic sanctions as the preferred tool by the United Nations throughout the 2000s which resulted to frosty relations among states within the international system.

Targeted economic sanctions encompass measures like freezing the assets of high-ranking government officials or individuals suspected of financing terrorism, imposing arms embargoes, and nuclear sanctions, among others.⁸ While the harm inflicted by targeted sanctions is generally less extensive than that caused by previous sanctions affecting entire populations, they are not entirely effective and may still raise moral concerns.

⁵ Taylor, Brandon (2011) *Sanctions as grand strategy* London: Routledge.

⁶ Saeed, F., & Katman, F. (2020). Economic Sanctions in the United Nations and Its Modern Applications (1990-2002). *European researcher. Series A*, (11), 104-111.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Lopez, G. A., & Cortright, D. (2018). Economic sanctions in contemporary global relations. In *Economic Sanctions* (pp. 3-16). Routledge.

To realize foreign policy ends, sanctions normally take the form of foreign assistance reductions, arms embargoes, support cut-offs, import and export limitations, tariff increases, asset freezes, and revocation of trade status. Other forms of sanctions include withdrawal of diplomatic engagements, negative rating in international financial agencies, visa denials, and prohibition to access to financing, credit, and investment. Based on these forms, sanctions can have dire consequences on capacity of governments in terms of reduced revenues and resources and subsequently stream down on local populations.

Sudan has faced hostilities from the US and its allies due to indecisive governance triggered by the unstable political regimes.⁹ The country`s political elite have not been able to consolidate peaceful coexistence and unity among the citizens. This has left a big gap in terms of governance as most leaders have focused on selfish gain at the expense of the citizens. The lack of political goodwill triggered the US to enforce repressive sanctions against Sudan in the past with the aim of forcing the state to reflect on good governance and human rights.¹⁰

The United States have been championing for democracy and peace in Sudan.¹¹ This has resulted to the enforcement of sanctions that have been geared towards putting pressure on the regime to rescind hard political stands and consider the welfare and peace of the citizens. United States relations with Sudan have been strained for a long time. The key elements that continue to define the strain focus on security concerns by the U.S as Sudan is regarded by American as supporting terror activities, lacking human rights capacity, and democracy and governance

⁹ Deng, J. B. B. (2018). Traditional Justice Methods and Their Possible Impact on Transitional Justice Models in South Sudan. *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law Online*, 21(1), 331-352.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

issues.¹² The sanctions impact directly on the state officials and gradually on civilian populations especially where economic and trade sanction measures are imposed.

Normally, the repressive measures significantly affect normal citizens and not entirely on the state individuals in government.¹³ This means that innocent populations suffer from the sanctions that are normally imposed towards targeted state officials. The sanctions do not mostly impact on the targeted state officials but significantly affect innocent populations. The implications of sanctions on local populations in Africa, exemplified by the case of US sanctions on Sudan, display a complex interplay of diplomacy and geopolitics. The application of sanctions to achieve political objectives, often brings about unintended consequences that bear moral implications. The implications of sanctions on local populations in Africa, with a specific focus on the case of US sanctions on Sudan, raise profound questions on international policy. Sanctions, often deployed for political pressure, carry wide-ranging consequences for the ordinary citizens they aim to protect or influence.

The thesis underscores the delicate balance between international power dynamics and the human rights of marginalized populations. Ethical considerations are explored, addressing the broader implications of sanctions on nations striving for stability and growth, and the complex interplay between political goals and the well-being of local inhabitants. Examining the implications of sanctions demands a philosophical exploration of the ethical dimensions of collective punishment, the sovereignty of nations, and the pursuit of global justice. This study elicits critical reflection on the responsibilities of global actors and the ethical foundations of international relations.

¹² McDowell, D. (2021). Financial sanctions and political risk in the international currency system. *Review of International Political Economy*, 28(3), 635-661.

¹³Ibid.

The effect of U.S. sanctions on Sudan demands philosophical analysis, considering both the intended goals and unintended consequences of such measures. From a utilitarian perspective, the sanctions advance democracy and stability in Sudan. The U.S. government believed that by exerting economic pressure, it could incentivize the Sudanese government to address issues of concern. However, the actual impact is multifaceted and requires a broader examination. From a deontological standpoint, sanctions trigger questions about the justifiability of using such measures against an entire population.¹⁴ However, the suffering of ordinary Sudanese citizens, particularly in terms of limited access to essential services like healthcare and education, challenges the moral foundation of such sanctions. Realism provides insight into the geopolitical interests that underlie the imposition of sanctions. States act to secure their own power and security, often employing sanctions as a tool of statecraft.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

The study is centered on investigating the profound socioeconomic impacts of U.S. sanctions on Sudan. This study aims to delve into the multifaceted consequences these sanctions have had on the local populace, emphasizing the unintended hardships that arise. While sanctions are typically imposed to influence political or economic behavior, their repercussions often extend far beyond the targeted regime, severely affecting the daily lives of ordinary citizens. In Sudan, U.S. sanctions have led to significant disruptions in economic stability, healthcare access, and overall quality of life. The research problem identifies the need to understand how these punitive measures exacerbate poverty and hinder development.

¹⁴ Viotti, P. R., & Kauppi, M. V. (2019). *International relations theory*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

The study explores the social strains on communities as they navigate the challenges imposed by sanctions. By comprehensively examining these impacts, the research seeks to unravel the broader implications of international sanctions, informing policymakers and humanitarian organizations about the collateral damage inflicted on civilian populations. This inquiry is crucial for developing more effective and humane approaches to international policy that mitigate unintended negative outcomes while achieving desired political objectives.

The U.S sanctions on Sudan have had implications on local populations. It is imperative to define whether the sanctions have been impactful in realization of the U.S diplomatic agenda and interests towards Sudan or not. Sanctions provide limits to a country in terms of their engagement internationally. It is on the backdrop of this that this study seeks to identify, define, and examine how sanctions targeted towards Sudan as a country by the U.S have adverse effect on local populations. Consequently, the research further examines the effectiveness of sanctions as a principle and its moral standing since populations are most affected by the sanction.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the role of sanctions in improving or mitigating inter-state relations?
2. How did changes in US foreign policy priorities influence the implementation and effectiveness of sanctions on Sudan?
3. Which key factors have contributed to the imposition of sanctions by the US on Sudan?
4. Which key socio-economic and political sectors have been directly affected by US sanctions over Sudan?

1.4 Objective of the Study

Main Objective

To analyze the socioeconomic effects of U.S. sanctions on Sudanese local populations.

Specific Objectives

1. To examine the role of international sanctions in improving inter-state relations.
2. To analyze the changing nature of U.S sanctions imposed on Sudan.
3. Assess the key factors that triggered the imposition of sanctions in Sudan.
4. Determine the impact of U.S sanctions on local populations in Sudan.

1.5 Theoretical Literature

The use of sanctions and the ongoing discussion about how well they work and how harmful they can be have become central topics in the world of international politics. Exploring the key elements, methods, and economic and social consequences of these sanctions in the global economy provides a basic insight into this matter. Conventionally, international sanctions policy primarily relies on a flexible approach that involves the application of strict regulations when necessary. This flexibility is evident in the practical implementation methods, means, and instruments employed when imposing sanctions.

Interdependence liberalism theory posits that economic and political cooperation between states promotes peace and prosperity, as they become mutually interdependent, reducing the likelihood of conflict. Lack of economic and political cooperation hinders peace and prosperity. The engagement between the U.S and Sudan aligns with interdependence where the U.S imposes sanctions with the focus on its national interests.¹⁵ Sudan on the other hand cannot be able to

¹⁵ Asada M. (2020). *Economic sanctions in international law and practice*. Oxon: Routledge.

operate in isolation and therefore bears the brunt of sanctions. Innocent populations are affected by the sanctions especially in the case of trade as they are not able to advance their trade beyond the local spheres or engage in international trade. Interdependence liberalism theory is essential for this study in addressing the link between sanctions and impact towards innocent populations.

Deterrence theory and linkage theory hold significant importance within the realm of sanctions. Deterrence theory asserts that the imposition of severe penalties is meant to deter entities and individuals from committing such actions in future.¹⁶ The theory underscores the notion that the severity of punishment should correspond to the gravity of the offense for maximum effectiveness.¹⁷ By intensifying the consequences of transgressions, the likelihood of their occurrence diminishes.

Deterrence theory operates by elucidating the potential outcomes of a specific action, and in some instances, the consequences of not taking that action.¹⁸ Sanctions include economic, political, or military, and are commonly used to punish countries for breaking international laws or agreements. Deterrence theory aims to highlight the impact of sanctions and discourage undesirable behaviors without inflicting excessive harm on the affected population.

Implementing economic sanctions can result in deterioration of human rights.¹⁹ The potential consequences of sanctions on other nations enables policymakers to make better-informed decisions. The theory of justified harm addresses the moral aspect of sanctions. Sanctions

¹⁶ Besedeš Tibor & Nitsch V. (2019). *Disrupted economic relationships: disasters sanctions dissolutions*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ McLean, E. V., & Whang, T. (2021). Economic sanctions and government spending adjustments: the case of disaster preparedness. *British Journal of Political Science*, 51(1), 394-411.

¹⁹ Ibid.

should be adopted to protect human rights, ensuring that the harm caused is proportional to the intended goals.²⁰

International sanctions form an integral component of global economic policy and are grounded in various theoretical inclinations. Rational choice theory seeks to explain the circumstances leading to specific outcomes or patterns of behavior when rational actors make decisions. According to this theory, individuals examine the costs of an action with its subsequent benefit to determine the suitability of a given option. Structural theory explains how states respond under particular circumstances, pressures, and threats.²¹ Decision-making theory examines the behavior of rational individuals in conditions of risk and uncertainty. These theories collectively define the reasons behind imposing sanctions, the anticipated objectives, and the potential outcomes.

1.6 Empirical Literature Review

1.6.1 Role of International Sanctions in Improving Inter-state Relations

International sanctions, as instruments of diplomacy and foreign policy, have significantly impacted inter-state relations throughout modern history. These punitive measures, intended to compel states to alter their behavior, are utilized to address various issues including global peace and security. Sanctions can manifest in multiple forms, including economic restrictions, trade embargoes, travel restrictions, and asset freezes. They are used as a means to address state behavior that is perceived as problematic or harmful to global peace and security. The reasons for imposing sanctions are diverse, but the primary goals typically include promoting conflict resolution,

²⁰ Fearon, J. D. (2008). Domestic politics, foreign policy, and theories of international relations. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1(1), 289-313.

²¹ Farrall J. M. & Rubenstein K. (2019). *Sanctions accountability and governance in a globalized world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

preventing human rights abuses, curbing weapons proliferation, and deterring aggressive actions.²² One of the key roles of international sanctions is to serve as a diplomatic tool to exert pressure on states to change their behavior.²³ By imposing sanctions, the international community seeks to convey a clear message that the behavior in question is unacceptable and will have consequences.

Economic sanctions, in particular, can have a profound impact on a targeted state's economy. Sanctions can limit trade and financial systems. This economic pressure aims to compel the target state to adhere to international norms and expectations. For instance, the sanctions on Iran were intended to pressure the Iranian government into negotiating restrictions on its nuclear program.²⁴ However, the success of sanctions in influencing inter-state relations varies.

In some cases, sanctions have been remarkably effective in influencing inter-state relations. The example of South Africa during the apartheid era is often cited as a success story. A comprehensive international sanctions campaign against South Africa, which included trade restrictions and investment boycotts, helped isolate the apartheid regime and pressured it to abandon its discriminatory policies.²⁵ In this case, sanctions contributed to a significant change in inter-state relations and supporting the transition to a democratic South Africa.

On the other hand, sanctions can sometimes have unintended consequences. They may hurt the civilian population more than the government, leading to humanitarian crises and further entrenching the regime in power. Sanctions can strain relations between the state imposing them

²²Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Park, J., & Choi, H. J. (2020). Are smart sanctions smart enough? An inquiry into when leaders oppress civilians under UN targeted sanctions. *International Political Science Review*, 0192512120931957.

²⁵ Ibid.

and the targeted state, potentially escalating tensions and making diplomatic resolution more challenging. Sanctions against Iran resulted in severe humanitarian suffering.²⁶

The effectiveness of sanctions also hinges on the targeted state's response. Some states have shown resilience and adaptability when faced with sanctions, finding alternative sources of support and circumventing restrictions.²⁷ The unity of the international community is another crucial factor. Sanctions advanced by a broad coalition of states or by a powerful international body like the United Nations, they tend to be more effective. However, when there are divisions among key players, as seen in the case of Russia's annexation of Crimea, sanctions may be less impactful. In such cases, the reluctance of some states to enforce sanctions can undermine their overall effectiveness, and the targeted state may find support from sympathetic actors. International sanctions also influence inter-state relations by promoting diplomacy and negotiation. Sanctions can create a sense of urgency and a willingness to compromise, as the targeted state seeks relief from the economic and political pressure.

1.6.2 The Changing Nature of U.S Sanctions Imposed on Sudan

Sanctions have long been a foreign policy tool employed by governments to achieve various objectives, from promoting human rights to addressing security concerns.²⁸ The US has used sanctions to advance its interests and shape the behavior of other countries. The nature of these sanctions has evolved in response to changing circumstances, both in Sudan and the wider international context. Sudan faced not only U.S. sanctions but also international condemnation for its involvement in the Darfur conflict, where widespread human rights abuses and a humanitarian

²⁶ Neuenkirch, M., & Neumeier, F. (2015). The impact of UN and US economic sanctions on GDP growth. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 40, Part A, 110-125.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Morgan, T.C., Bapat, N. and Kobayashi, Y. (2014), "Threat and imposition of economic sanctions 1945–2005: updating the TIES dataset", *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Vol. 31 No. 5, pp. 541-558.

crisis were reported. The U.S. sanctions, among others, aimed to curb Sudan's ability to procure arms and sustain its military operations, thereby forcing it to engage in peace talks and address the Darfur crisis.

In response to these sanctions and international pressure, Sudan sought to mend its international image and pursued a series of diplomatic efforts. In 2010, the U.S. government eased restrictions on certain areas, such as agricultural equipment and transportation, in an attempt to support economic development and encourage the implementation of the CPA. However, core sanctions related to arms trade and financial transactions remained in place. This marked a shift in the U.S. approach from punitive measures to selective engagement, acknowledging Sudan's steps toward peace and improved governance.

Continuous engagement of sanctions by the US reflected willingness to engage more constructively with Sudan. The decision to lift sanctions was influenced by several factors, including Sudan's cooperation on counterterrorism efforts, improvements in humanitarian access, and progress in conflict resolution, particularly in the Darfur region. One of the key drivers behind this shift was the belief that engagement and cooperation would be more effective than isolation in achieving U.S. objectives in Sudan.²⁹ Moreover, the U.S. government sought to provide an incentive for the Sudanese government to continue making progress on critical issues, such as improving human rights, resolving ongoing conflicts, and addressing the needs of marginalized communities.³⁰ In addition to easing sanctions, the U.S. government began engaging in a more comprehensive dialogue with Sudan. This included discussions on counterterrorism, human rights, and conflict resolution.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Farrall J. M. & Rubenstein K. (2019). *Sanctions accountability and governance in a globalized world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The U.S. has adopted its approach in response to developments on the ground, recognizing the need for flexibility and pragmatism in foreign policy. The U.S. has transitioned to a policy of engagement and dialogue to encourage positive change. In contrast, the easing of sanctions and the move towards normalization of relations have provided Sudan with a much-needed economic lifeline and the opportunity to engage constructively with the international community. However, the process has not been without challenges, and Sudan continues to grapple with internal conflicts, economic difficulties, and political transition. Sudan's experience also highlights the limitations of sanctions. While sanctions can apply economic pressure, they often have unintended consequences, affecting the general population more than the intended targets.³¹ Moreover, sanctions are more effective when combined with a clear diplomatic strategy that offers incentives for positive change.

1.6.3 Factors Influencing US. Sanctions On Sudan

The imposition of sanctions allows countries to exert pressure, convey disapproval, and achieve foreign policy objectives. The factors influencing U.S. sanctions on Sudan are diverse, encompassing a complex web of issues, including human rights abuses, terrorism, regional conflicts, and the evolving political landscape within Sudan. The primary driver of sanctions initially was the Sudanese government's support for international terrorism.³² At the time, Sudan provided safe haven to notorious terrorist figures such as Osama bin Laden.

The Darfur conflict, which began in the early 2000s, further fueled U.S. sanctions on Sudan. This brutal conflict, marked by allegations of ethnic cleansing and widespread atrocities,

³¹ Bezuidenhout, L., Karrar, O., Lezaun, J., & Nobes, A. (2019). Economic sanctions and academia: Overlooked impact and long-term consequences. *PloS one*, 14(10), e0222669.

³² Ibid.

drew international attention and condemnation. The situation in Darfur pushed for pressure on the government to manage the crisis and advance peace.³³

In addition to these factors, the involvement of Sudan in regional conflicts, such as its support for insurgent groups in neighboring countries like South Sudan, Uganda, and Chad, contributed to the sanctions.³⁴ Sudan's actions in these conflicts were seen as destabilizing factors in the region, and the U.S. aimed to curtail Sudan's ability to sustain such activities by restricting its access to arms and other resources. The early years of sanctions on Sudan reflected the U.S. policy of isolating the country on multiple fronts. The goal was to pressure the Sudanese government into changing its behavior and cooperating on issues such as counterterrorism, human rights, and conflict resolution. The sanctions included comprehensive economic and trade restrictions, travel bans on Sudanese officials, and asset freezes targeting individuals and entities connected to the government.

1.6.4 The Effect of U.S Sanctions on Local Populations in Sudan

Sanctions on Sudan have had far-reaching and complex effects on the local population. These sanctions, imposed due to concerns related to terrorism, human rights abuses, and regional conflicts, have significantly impacted the daily lives and overall well-being of the people living in Sudan.³⁵ The consequences of sanctions can be seen in various aspects, including the economy, access to essential services, and overall living conditions. One of the most palpable and immediate consequences of U.S. sanctions on Sudan has been the severe strain on the country's economy. These sanctions, particularly economic and trade restrictions, have restricted Sudan's access to global financial systems, international trade, and foreign investment. As a

³³ Lopez, G. A., & Cortright, D. (2018). Economic sanctions in contemporary global relations. In *Economic Sanctions* (pp. 3-16). Routledge.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

result, Sudan's economy has faced enormous challenges, leading to reduced economic growth, high inflation, and a weakened currency.³⁶

The economic impact of sanctions is particularly concerning because it has triggered a series of detrimental consequences for the local population. The weak Sudan's economy has led to a substantial increase in poverty.³⁷ High inflation rates have made basic goods and services unaffordable for a significant portion of the population, pushing many households below the poverty line. The costs of food, fuel, and healthcare have skyrocketed, disproportionately affecting vulnerable communities and exacerbating income inequality. Unemployment is another serious issue that has resulted from the sanctions. A stagnant economy, combined with the isolation caused by sanctions, has led to high unemployment rates. Jobs are scarce, and many Sudanese citizens find themselves without stable sources of income.³⁸ This, in turn, has direct implications for households' financial stability and their ability to access basic necessities, including food, healthcare, and education.

The sanctions had an impact on local populations extends to the healthcare sector. Sanctions have substantially limited Sudan's ability to import medical equipment, pharmaceuticals, and other critical healthcare supplies, resulting in a shortage of these vital resources.³⁹ This shortage, in turn, has an adverse impact on the quality and availability of healthcare services in the country. The lack of funds and access to international markets for essential medical supplies puts a tremendous strain on Sudan's healthcare infrastructure. Hospitals and clinics often lack vital equipment, medications, and even qualified medical

³⁶ Verjee, A. (2018). *Sudan after Sanctions*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Giumelli, F. (2011). *Coercing, Constraining, Signaling. Explaining UN and EU sanctions*. Colchester: ECPR Press.

³⁹ Ibid.

personnel, making it challenging to provide adequate care to the population.⁴⁰ The lack of resources for public health campaigns and the difficulties in maintaining healthcare facilities can exacerbate the risk of disease outbreaks and significantly impact the overall health of the local population.

Economic hardships resulting from sanctions have also impacted food security in Sudan. The high prices and reduced access to basic necessities have placed many Sudanese at risk of food insecurity, with serious consequences for the well-being of the population. As the economic situation worsens, many households struggle to afford nutritious food. Sudan has become increasingly reliant on food aid from international organizations as a result of the economic difficulties brought about by sanctions. However, this dependency on food aid leaves many without access to adequate nutrition.

The education sector in Sudan has not been immune to the effects of U.S. sanctions. Reduced funding, disrupted academic schedules, and limited access to educational resources have hindered educational development, impacting the prospects and future of Sudanese youth.⁴¹ The limitations on economic activities, triggered by sanctions, affected the education system. Reduced government revenues have resulted in inadequate funding for schools and educational programs. The result is that educational institutions often lack the necessary resources to maintain and improve the quality of education.⁴²

In addition to financial constraints, academic schedules have been disrupted due to economic hardships and the resulting instability in the country. Strikes, protests, and inconsistent

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Verjee, A. (2018). *Sudan after Sanctions*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

⁴² Choi, S.-W., & Luo, S. (2013). Economic Sanctions, Poverty, and International Terrorism: An Empirical Analysis. *International Interactions*, 39(2), 217-245.

school attendance have become common features of the education landscape, creating disruptions in the learning process for students and diminishing the quality of education.⁴³ Furthermore, the sanctions-induced limitations on international trade have also affected availability of educational resources and online learning platforms. These constraints hinder the ability of Sudanese students to access up-to-date and comprehensive educational content, limiting their opportunities for academic advancement and future success.

1.7 Literature Review

International relations is one key concept adopted by the global community in promoting interrelations and interdependence among countries. A key area where international relations is evident is promotion of successful trade policies across nations. This encourages engagement in business, immigration and tourism providing local populations with opportunities that are aimed at enhancing their lives. International relations breed economic interdependence where local population participate in the economic system through division of labor and specialization. In this case, the trading network developed facilitates countries to sell the goods they produce and obtain products they do not produce. Trade is facilitated through economic interdependence but sanctions limit the interdependence and derail trade network.

Globalization and technology have resulted to opening of markets and economies. This means that the interrelation and interdependence among countries has increased significantly as social, political and economic elements are now defined from a global perspective and not only on a local approach. Government operations are therefore advanced from a global perspective meaning that states have to abide by global standards in governance such as respect to human

⁴³Ibid.

rights. Lack of adherence to international governance standards results to sanctions. International sanctions are economic and political decisions that envision diplomatic efforts by regional organizations and countries against states that aim at protecting international laws and principles and defending against external threats towards international security and peace. The decisions in principle include temporary imposition of obligations on target of trade, economic, and diplomatic restrictions.

The pressure of sanctions is to ensure the government adheres to international laid down standards that cover human rights and democracy. Sanctions are categorized based on the parties issuing the sanctions. Unilateral sanctions are impactful as a group of countries agree and no one state is aligned with the sanctions result. Unilateral sanctions are normally effected by an economically powerful country. The U.S sanction over Sudan can be regarded as a unilateral sanction as it is defined by two states.

Sanctions are also categorized on the basis of the type of trade limit. Blocking exports from a country through import sanction increases the chances of substantial economic burden. Sudan has not been not able to import products then the target economy faces sector collapse and unemployment which puts significant political pressure of government officials to respond.⁴⁴ Sanctions targeting a country as a whole have greater impact on civilian population especially in cases where they are not able to advance in trade and economic development. The limitation imposed through sanctions hinder a country`s economic progression especially in cases where the population produces goods and services that cannot be exported. The market limitation and lack of foreign exchange derails the economy.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Yahia, Y. E., Liu, H., Khan, M. A., Shah, S. S. H., & Islam, M. A. (2018). The impact of foreign direct investment on domestic investment: Evidence from Sudan. *International Journal of Economics and Financial Issues*, 8(6), 1.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Targeted sanctions on individuals has less impact on civilian population.⁴⁶ Most sanctions are leveled against business leaders and political figures that are allies to a corrupt regime. Enacting target sanctions on individuals is aimed at causing financial challenges for a small group of individuals and not generally on the entire population. This sanction is normally imposed in cases where economic and political power is concentrated on a small group of people with international financial interests.

The diplomatic relations between the U.S and Sudan was initiated in 1956 as it gained independence from common administration by the UK and Egypt. In 1967, the diplomatic row intensified as Sudan broke ties with the U.S and declared war on Israel.⁴⁷ The diplomatic relation has been on and off since then with the key issues raised by the U.S in defining the engagement focusing on human rights, democracy, and security. The U.S has criticized Sudan's government human rights record and harboring and supporting terrorists.

Sudan has been ravaged with political intolerance and wars that has resulted to involvement of the international community in helping civilians against the infighting regimes. The sanctions as retaliatory measure aim at ensuring Sudan abides by the international community standards on security and human rights.⁴⁸ The sanctions have targeted Sudan's economy and key members and allies of the government. The extent of suffering economically as a result of sanction is normally not immediately known. The severity of economic sanction and impact on targeted country is

⁴⁶ Early, B. R., & Schulzke, M. (2019). Still Unjust, Just in Different Ways: How Targeted Sanctions Fall Short of Just War Theory's Principles. *International Studies Review*, 21(1), 57-80.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

meant to push the government towards international coordination and cooperation.⁴⁹ The limits towards trading ties push a country towards engaging diplomatically to end the sanction.

The immediate effect of import sanction especially on Sudan is that the country`s exports are not sold abroad. One of the main economic resource in Sudan is oil. Import sanction means that the country`s oil is not purchased abroad. The country`s reliance on the economic resource defines the severity of import sanction.⁵⁰ In other cases, sanctions triggers economic and political instability that pushes for more totalitarian regime. The power vacuum can result to a failed state. Much suffering is borne by the citizens. There is also the threat of crippling the country and creating breeding ground for terror groups and extremists.⁵¹

Sanctions increase the costs to businesses and consumers. The target country is not able to purchase goods and this results to economic loss. Unemployment is imminent due to production loss. There is also reduction of choice of products and services that consumers in the domestic market can purchase. This in turn increases cost of doing business as companies are forced to put up their businesses elsewhere where they have access to supplies and international market. The end result is harm on the economy and this directly impacts on the welfare and livelihoods of civilians.

The U.S put sanctions on Sudan after tense diplomatic row between the two countries. The comprehensive sanctions in Sudan by the U.S were revoked permanently in October 2017.⁵² This was after the U.S government regarded Sudan to have made significant progress in five main areas

⁴⁹ Farrall J. M. & Rubenstein K. (2019). *Sanctions accountability and governance in a globalized world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Saeed, F., & Katman, F. (2020). Economic Sanctions in the United Nations and Its Modern Applications (1990-2002). *European researcher. Series A*, (11), 104-111.

that had necessitated the economic sanctions. However, the U.S still has Sudan within its radar and regards the state as a sponsor of terrorism. The lifting of the sanctions was positively welcomed by Sudan. However, the deteriorating economy, failure to resolve internal conflicts and government repression continue to overshadow U.S overture.⁵³

The pathway towards U.S sanctions in Sudan commenced in 1983 as the civil war broke in Sudan.⁵⁴ The civil war pitched government forces against insurgents of SPLM. SPLM was mostly composed of non-Muslim that inhabited most parts of the south. The government's efforts were to impose Sharia law across the whole country. In 1988, the U.S froze military aid and economic disbursement over Sudan for its failure to pay its debt for the year totaling \$12 million.⁵⁵ Congress extends non-humanitarian aid to Sudan. The Sudan government had to show commitment on providing food aid to its refugees and negotiation towards peace.

Sudan's sanctions had dire consequences especially on the import-export circle. Sudan lacked the capacity to advance its market beyond the domestic sphere as the international market was impeded by the U.S through the sanctions. Economically, Sudan lacked the necessary funding as the U.S blocked the avenues through which it could receive loans to finance development projects.⁵⁶ The sanctions had direct impact on the civilian population and coupled with infighting, the country moved backward in socioeconomic and political spheres.

A quantitative study on effect of U.S sanctions from 1982 to 2011 in Sudan revealed adverse effect on the poor resulting to an average increase in poverty gap by 3.8 percent. In 65 to 95 percent of the cases identified in the study where the measures enforced failed to realize their

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Giumelli, F. (2011). *Coercing, Constraining, Signaling. Explaining UN and EU sanctions*. Colchester: ECPR Press.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

goals as the poorest suffer most as compared to the elites.⁵⁷ The economic damages triggered by sanctions is mostly felt by the general public: the imports and exports decrease, inflation increases, and international capital decreases. Increased poverty levels of countries imposed with sanctions together with pressures on resources created by sanctions magnifies poverty levels increasing the disparity gap of livelihoods.

Alnasrawi (2001) study revealed that the sanctions on Iraq had adverse negative effect on the economy especially on local population. The sanctions on Iraq resulted to decreased life expectancy, loss of GDP, and decline in nutritional standards.⁵⁸ In addition, the sanctions led to increased unemployment rates, exorbitant prices, mass emigration of professionals, and increased school drop-out cases. The widened poverty gap in Iraq meant that the elites could be able to engage in trade transactions outside the country as the poor suffered. The government delivery of services to local populations decreased significantly.

Afesorgbor et.al. (2016) study examined the effect of sanctions and its link to income inequality and poverty gap. The quantitative analysis study targeted 68 countries imposed with sanctions between the periods from 1960 to 2008. The empirical evidence from the study suggested that sanctions pose unintended consequences and severe effects on income equality especially when spanning over longer duration. Addressing the challenge of widening income equality was also difficult even when sanctions were lifted ties an economy to poor growth and development and subsequently increased poverty levels.

Oechslin (2014) engaged in a study that aimed at understanding the response of different regimes imposed with sanctions. The study findings revealed that regimes imposed with sanctions

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Alnasrawi, A. (2001). Iraq: economic sanctions and consequences, 1990–2000. *Third World Quarterly*, 22(2), 205-218.

do not engage in counteracting the effect of sanctions.⁵⁹ Oechslin argues that states intentionally ran down economic productivity thus increasing economic hardship and making it costly for the citizens to revolt. The local population feel the greater negative impact as the elite are able to engage with international collaborators to hide finances abroad.

Peksen et.al. (2010) asserts that international sanctions deteriorate the levels of democracy. The quantitative study centered on 102 countries that had been imposed with sanctions and a comparison with non-sanctioned countries within the years 1972 to 2000. Economic hardships as a ripple effect of sanctions is used by regimes as a strategic tool of consolidating power.⁶⁰ Choi and Luo (2013) study focused on understanding the relations between economic sanctions, poverty and terrorism. The findings reveal that economic sanctions increase economic suffering of those in the poverty bracket as compared to the rich. Economic sanctions frustrate the poor people and this triggers them to turn towards terrorism violence.⁶¹ Sanctioned leaders normally manipulate the poor pushing them to terrorism through portraying countries that impose sanctions as threat to their well-being and sovereignty.

1.8 Gaps in Literature

Sanctions push a country towards aligning with the national interests of the country imposing the sanctions. Sanctions as a powerful tool used in international relations has been advanced by the U.S in different countries with the aim of protecting its interests. There has been rigorous academic and seminal works discussing the effect of sanctions. Majority of studies advanced on impact of sanctions on a country have been quantitative and thus involve a review of

⁵⁹ Oechslin, M. (2014). Targeting autocrats: Economic sanctions and regime change. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 36, 24-40.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

many case studies and lack specific detail especially with regards to Sudan. The quantitative data that forms the background of majority of the studies can be extracted and contextualized by use of qualitative studies. This study centers on understanding the effect of sanctions in Sudan with specific focus on local population and thus help expand the broad seminal works and studies.

1.9 Justification of the Study

Sudan has long been embroiled in internal conflict and war, prompting international attention that has resulted in sanctions being levied against Sudanese government officials, primarily by the United States. The sanctions often inadvertently affect innocent populations, exacerbating their hardships. This study is crucial for several reasons, spanning academic, philosophical, and policy perspectives. There is need to expand on research on the effect of sanctions. There has been less focus from prior research on the socioeconomic impacts, particularly on vulnerable populations. By examining the case of Sudan, this study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how sanctions operate in practice, offering valuable insights for scholars in international relations, economics, and humanitarian studies. It also provides empirical data that can inform future research and theory development.

Philosophically, the study engages with ethical questions on sanctions. From a deontological viewpoint, it scrutinizes the moral justification of imposing collective punishment on a population for the actions of their government. This exploration is essential in promoting a more humane approach to international policy, one that considers the moral imperatives of minimizing harm and ensuring justice. By highlighting the ethical dilemmas associated with sanctions, the study advocates for a reevaluation of current practices and the development of more ethically sound strategies.

The research will be important in policy development. Policymakers need to understand the full spectrum of sanctions' impacts to craft measures that achieve political goals without inflicting undue suffering on innocent civilians. This study's recommendations provide practical solutions to mitigate adverse effects. In addition, the study's insights can guide international bodies and governments in refining sanctions policies to balance political efficacy with humanitarian considerations, ultimately promoting better governance, democracy, and security in affected regions.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

Interdependence Liberalism Theory has been applied in this study as part of defining the scope of relations and interdependence among countries. The theory focuses on the element of reliance as country's interests are interrelated.⁶² Globalization and opened globe means that no country can be able to operate in isolation. Interdependence liberalism theory in international political economy and international relations analyzes the emerging nature and transformation of geopolitics.⁶³ The theory affirms that relations among states is becoming increasingly complex and deep. The increasingly compound webs of political economic interdependence weaken state power while elevating the influence and power of transnational non-state actors. The complex relationships are impactful in cases where sanctions are imposed that trigger socioeconomic and political changes. Interdependence liberalism theory is relevant for this study as it defines the need for interrelations between countries and the effect of isolation, in this case the sanctions against Sudan and subsequent implications.

⁶² Viotti, P. R., & Kauppi, M. V. (2019). *International relations theory*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

⁶³ Nye, Joseph (2004) *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

1.11 Hypotheses of the Study

- i. Imposition of international sanctions force states to change both their foreign policies.
- ii. The nature of US sanctions imposed on Sudan has evolved overtime due to shifting geopolitical interests and changes in international norms.
- iii. Sudan's actions have contributed to US sanctions on the country.
- iv. U.S sanctions on Sudan degraded the quality of life of the ordinary Sudanese citizens.

1.12 Study Methodology

1.12.1 Sample Design

The sample design provides the plan and strategy adopted to conduct the study. Sample design is the strategy and plan used by a researcher to select individuals and observations for the purpose of conducting a study. It outlines how the sample is drawn from the population, ensuring that it is representative and appropriate for the research objectives. Study design outlines the framework and structure. A case study approach was adopted in this study as part of defining how local populations in Sudan have been impacted by U.S sanctions. The study incorporated both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The case study approach gives the researcher the space to exploit the subject matter based on formulated study goals in a detailed manner. The case study approach ensures that the research is controlled and valid to enhance study findings. A quantitative study develops study findings on the basis of statistics and quantifying information. Qualitative study makes use of narration in developing study findings from the sourced content.

1.12.2 Study Site

Sudan has an area of about 2 million km² with a population of about 45 million people and the third largest in Africa. The country has 57 ethnic groups with each having own dialects and language. Sudan is divided by religion with Muslim dominating by about 70 percent, 20 percent

traditional, and 10 percent representing Christians. The ethnicity of the country incorporates Arab and African. The country has several distinct identities with key economic activities including pastoralist, urban, sedentary, and oil trade.

The study site covered key institutions that have adequate information on the subject. The study site included the offices of the Sudan`s Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of Petroleum, The United Nations Developments Program on human development statistic in Sudan and eminent scholars on Sudan Affairs as well as distinguished Diplomats in the field of Sanctions.

1.12.3 Target Population

The study population represents the larger group to which the research findings are meant to be extended or used. In this study, the target population consisted of government personnel working in different sectors. The researcher targeted the diplomatic missions in Sudan. The focus was on understanding the ripple effect of sanctions on Sudan`s main resources and its impact on government revenues and provision of necessary services to local populations. The other key target population included NGOs, Sudan Embassy in Nairobi, and experts in the field of diplomacy who have adequate experience with regards to international relations, role of sanctions, and impact towards local populace.

1.12.4 Sample Frame

The sample frame depicts the structure for selecting a representation of the target population with the goal of sourcing for critical information based on the research objectives. Purposive sampling technique was used in the study as part of ensuring the identified and selected participants have relevant information that aligns with the study objectives. In a survey, 10 – 30

percent of accessible population is sufficient sample for a survey.⁶⁴ In this study, the sample size is derived from the formula as:

$$n = \frac{NC_v^2}{(C_v^2 + (N-1)e^2)}$$

n represents sample size

N represents population

Cv is the coefficient of variation taken as 0.5

e is the tolerance of desired degree of confidence taken at 0.05 percent at 95 percent confidence level.

The sampled group incorporated people directly and indirectly conversant with the subject. The targeted sample for the primary data was 450 participants. The response rate after data collection was 88 percent. A total of 396 respondents filled the questionnaire and provided valid information that aligned with the research objectives.

Simple random sampling and convenience sampling were adopted in the study. It minimizes bias and allows for the results to be generalizable. The sampling method was applied in recruiting local people in the study. Convenience sampling involves selecting experts to participate in the research. This method allows researchers to gather specialized knowledge efficiently and quickly, ensuring that valuable insights are included in the study. The approach was applied in the study with experts from academia including University of Nairobi and United States International University as well as from regional and global organizations including AU and IGAD.

⁶⁴ Bryman, A., & Cramer, D. (2012). *Quantitative data analysis with IBM SPSS 17, 18 & 19: A guide for social scientists*. Routledge.

1.12.5 Data Collection Methods

Data collection in research is the systematic process of gathering, recording, and obtaining information and data relevant to a specific research study. Primary and secondary sources formed the basis of data collection. Secondary sources included government websites, academic texts and peer reviewed journals. Primary sources involved collecting data from key informants with information on the study topic. Semi-structured questionnaires and interviews has been adopted in the study. The questionnaire and interview questions focused on understanding the impact especially on civilian population. The semi-structured interviews was structured in a way where the key informants are able to provide detailed information based on the study objectives. The method is suitable in cases where experts are involved in providing their input based on an area of specialization. The structured and unstructured questionnaires were prepared and align with the objectives to facilitate the process. A pre-test study enhanced the effectiveness of the questions.

1.12.6 Reliability of Data Collection Instruments

Reliability affirms the effectiveness of sources in providing credible information to facilitate realization of study objectives. In this case, the researcher affirmed validity of the data collection instruments through seeking ten experts in the field of diplomacy who added great insight of the proposed survey items. The input from professionals in the field of diplomacy was important in ascertaining whether the survey items picked by the researcher in form of questionnaires and interviews represent the samples and areas to be measured. The focus was on ensuring the data collection instruments facilitate sourcing of information that can be relied on based on the study objectives.

1.12.7 Validity of Data Collection Instruments

Validity ensures meaningfulness and appropriateness of inferences developed during data collection.⁶⁵ Validity of data collection instruments was affirmed through pilot testing. Data triangulation was done from interviews and questionnaires to facilitate derivation of conclusions and recommendations. A valid data collection instrument must measure the intended aspect accurately and realize its purpose. Validation involved developing a sample of 15 questionnaires to be piloted on participants who were not included in the main assessment. The researcher also provided the supervisor with the questionnaire to check for errors, clarity, and meaningfulness.

The 15 questionnaires were pilot tested at University of Nairobi, facilitating gathering initial feedback and testing the reliability and validity of the questions. The participants for the pilot test were academia from UoN and USIU who were selected specifically because they are representative of the larger population but will not be included in the main assessment. The researcher also provided the supervisor with the questionnaire to check for errors, clarity, and meaningfulness.

1.12.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis in research is the systematic process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and interpreting data collected during a research study. The completion of data collection and fieldwork provides room for data processing and analysis. Content analysis formed the basis of data analysis. Information derived from the primary sources was developed into key themes that highlight the study objectives. Thematic analysis was significantly adopted in content analysis as part of assessing any patterns of information that align with study objectives. Data was presented

⁶⁵ Mugenda, O. & Mugenda, A. (2003) *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*, Nairobi: ACTS Press.

based on qualitative and quantitative means. Qualitative data collected from participants was organized into different themes based on the study variables and analyzed. Quantitative data was analyzed through cross-tabulation and trend analysis. Narration, graphs and charts was used to present the findings and conclusions.

1.12.9 Ethical Consideration

Ethical considerations in research is importance because it serves to protect the rights, well-being, and dignity of individuals participating in or affected by research studies.⁶⁶ The ethical consideration as identified by Moustakas include voluntary participation, confidentiality of participants, identifying the purpose, no harm to participants, and evaluation and reporting.⁶⁷ Ethical issues that arose in the course of sourcing for information from primary respondents were managed through upholding these key points. Participation in the research was through voluntary and no participant was coerced or forced to take part in the study. The researcher was keen not to conflict with voluntary participation when seeking for higher response rate. The participants were protected from any harm especially arising from sensitive questions, uncomfortable with certain form of asking questions, or embarrassment.

Confidentiality was maintained through protecting identity of respondents and the purpose of the study outlined in an introductory letter. A cover letter was availed showing the purpose of the study in the field and certification from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) backing up the purpose of the study. The research findings were presented in openness and honesty to affirm the accuracy of the report.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Moustakas, C. E. (2014). *Phenomenological research methods* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

1.12.10 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This research discusses how the U.S sanctions imposed on Sudan impact on civilian population. The study first defines the category of sanctions imposed, their target and aim, whether the goal of sanction has been realized, and how civilian populations have been affected by the sanctions. The study then provided recommendations on how civilian populations can be mitigated against adverse impacts in case of sanctions.

The main limitation to this study was access to participants. Getting appointments of key government officials and members of the diplomatic core may be a challenge especially based on their work capacity. Time schedule as well as cost implications was a hurdle in access to vital primary information. The researcher developed a schedule and seek permissions early from relevant officials with key information on the study.

1.13 Chapter Outline

The first chapter presents the background of the research with discussion on the impact of U.S sanctions in Sudan especially the effect on local populations. The chapter covers the literature review and study methodology. The chapter covers the problem statement under investigation and provides the pathway of the research. The background and lays the foundation for further research. The literature review provides the contextual history of the sanctions and the transformation in relations between the two countries. The methodology provides the process of collecting and analyzing data and presenting findings.

Chapter two examines the role of international sanctions and its effects on inter-state relations. The chapter provides the historical background of sanctions from a general perspective and its impact in different fronts. The chapter defines and discusses the history of international

sanctions, purpose of sanctions, dimensions of power in international sanctions, and how sanctions affect interstate relations.

Chapter three focuses on understanding the changing nature of U.S sanctions on Sudan and the key elements that have defined sanctions. The chapter outlines the history of US sanctions on Sudan spanning decades ago and how the different regimes both in the US and Sudan have defined the relations and sanctions. The chapter also outlines the different support the US has advanced to Sudan even with sanctions in place.

Chapter four examines the socioeconomic and political effects of U.S sanctions over Sudan. The chapter outlines the implications of US policy towards Sudan and its transformation over the years. The chapter provides the linkage between sanctions and the situation in Sudan from the perspective of socioeconomic and cultural spheres. The focus of the chapter is on understanding how the different spheres of life in Sudan have been affected by sanctions.

Chapter five examines the key areas that are significant to Sudan's local population impacted by U.S imposition of sanctions. The chapter examines how key industries have been affected by US sanctions and the long-term implications of the limitations to the society. In addition, the chapter examines the implications of sanctions on the humanitarian and political dynamics in Sudan.

Chapter six analyzes data gathered and presents findings. The findings were organized based on the themes generated and presented in form of charts, graphs, and texts.

Chapter seven provides the summary, conclusion and recommendations. The chapter highlights a summary of the research findings with an in-depth conclusion. In addition, the chapter provides recommendations for different stakeholders.

CHAPTER 2

SANCTIONS AND INTER-STATE RELATIONS

2.0 Introduction

Chapter one examined the background and conceptual analysis of US and its allies' sanctions in different countries. It further provided a background of the study with key focus on theoretical and philosophical framework, objective of the study, research questions, literature review and methodology. In chapter two, the focus is the discussion on the role of sanctions in shaping inter-state relations. International sanctions limit the participation of a country and engagement with the international community. The sanctions are effected in order to influence certain actions and policies towards the state especially when state officers fail to adhere to set standards. The limitations effected in the course of sanctions derail a country`s engagement with the outside world and this weakens their international relations. The state participation in global matters is impeded by sanctions affecting both national, regional, and international engagement. This means that inter-state relations is affected as a country is not able to participate fully in different areas of international relations.

Inter-state relations are the interactions, both cooperative and conflictual, between sovereign nation-states in the international system. These relations encompass diplomacy, trade, alliances, conflicts, and collaborations, and they are shaped by factors that influence how countries engage with one another on the global stage. Sanctions significantly influence inter-state relations as it affects engagement and the changing aspects of inter-state relations. This chapter examines how sanctions affect inter-state relations from the lens of economic, political, social, and military

aspects. This chapter examines the purpose of international sanctions and the impact of sanctions towards inter-state relations.

2.1 International Sanctions

International sanctions have been widely adopted by countries and global organizations as a key tool for defining relations across countries and regions.⁶⁸ They are adopted as an alternative use of force through military enforcement. International sanctions are diplomatic, economic, and political measures adopted by countries, coalition of countries, global organizations, to restrict financial transactions, trade, and other economic programs to specific states or individuals.⁶⁹ Sanctions are imposed to penalize countries for acting against international law and thus force such parties to change in policies and actions related to elements that threaten international peace and security. Sanctions also promote democracy and stability across states and regions and therefore push countries to align with international standards, laws, policies, and agreements.

International sanctions has transformed to become more sophisticated with development and emphasis on targeted global sanctions that focus on specific organizations, individuals, and countries. Sanctions have developed to become a model of hard power and coercive measures undertaken by states to protest the actions of another state and force change of actions and behavior.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Attia, H., Grauvogel, J., & von Soest, C. (2020). The termination of international sanctions: explaining target compliance and sender capitulation. *European Economic Review*, 129, 103565.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Giumelli, F. (2021). Targeted Sanctions and Deterrence in the Twenty-first Century. *NL ARMS Netherlands Annual Review of Military Studies 2020: Deterrence in the 21st Century—Insights from Theory and Practice*, 349-363.

2.2 Sanctions and Inter-state Relations

Inter-state relations are authoritative understandings, actions, and commitments of government authorities of one state with government authorities of another state or its citizens either through bilateral relations or international organizations.⁷¹ The relations cover different elements including international conferences, state visits, military aid, treaties, foreign businesses and generally foreign engagements. Authoritative actions by a government against a citizen or group of another state forms part of interstate relations. Countries cannot be able to operate in isolation and hence inter-state relations is inevitable.

The imposition of sanctions to a state should be guided by international rules and norms.⁷² When a country through its state officials fail to align with the set norms then the imposing country or entity examines the possible sanctions that will likely result to their desired results – that of changing the behavior of the targeted country. This forms the basis of targeted sanctions where state officials are targeted in the sanctions. This is meant to ensure that the sanctions only hit the specific officials whose action or inaction breached international norms. Government officials acting on behalf of the state bear the first consequences of sanctions based on their decisions and proximity to power.

The balance of power in the case of sanctions plays a key role in inter-state relations. Sanctions are made to force a state to comply with some rules and actions.⁷³ Imposition of sanctions based on the targeted government official's triggers balance of power between countries. The country with more political, economic, and sociocultural power is able to effect sanctions on

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Baldwin, David A. (2000). The Sanctions Debate and the Logic of Choice. *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 80-107.

⁷³ Gosnell, R. (2018). Economic Sanctions: A Political, Economic, and Normative Analysis. *International Relations*, 6(3), 152-170.

another country with less power and influence. The liberal world identifies sanctions as basic actions necessary in international relations to affirm law and order. The effect of sanctions is limiting inter-state relations as state officials are unable to reach consensus. The diplomatic engagement among the concerned states is negatively affected as one state forcefully expects the other state to consider certain decisions. Inter-state relations are thus directly affected when state officials representing and acting on behalf of their countries fail to agree with officials from another state.

2.2.1 Social Aspects of Inter-State Relations

Inter-state relations in the case of sanctions also negatively affect interpersonal relations.⁷⁴ Interpersonal relations are relations between citizens of different countries that act based on their personal interests. As sanctions place different forms of restrictions on a country, interpersonal relations are affected as the government fails to protect and facilitate engagement and movement with the imposing country. For instance, the number of tourists and investors may decrease significantly not based on the direct effect of sanctions but based on the international message portrayed indirectly on the sanction. The effect of sanctions impedes inter-state relations which then trickles down to organizational and personal levels.

The state controls foreign relations in a totalitarian state which also covers autonomous international relations of individuals and groups within libertarian societies.⁷⁵ The control by the state as well as the complex relations between diverse international actors define inter-state relations. The effect of sanctions based on inter-state relations also impacts on intersocietal relations. Intersocietal relations depict authoritative commitments, actions and understanding of

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Drezner, D. W. (2011). Sanctions sometimes smart: Targeted sanctions in theory and practice. *International studies review*, 13(1), 96-108.

leaders of groups in one state with the leaders of such groups in another state. Intersocietal relations is normally among organizations or membership of groups that transcend states. The effect of sanctions can move beyond inter-state relations to affecting different organizations or entities that have the regional and international lining.

2.2.2 Military Aspects of Inter-State Relation

Sanctions affect inter-state relations based on their influence towards national power.⁷⁶ The dimensions of national power including military power, psychological power, and economic power are directly affected by sanctions. Military power is a pivotal component of a nation's overall power and is fundamentally crucial in safeguarding its security interests. National security represents a key concern for sovereign entity especially with the threat of potential aggression and war from external actors. To uphold their security and territorial integrity, nations universally prioritize enhancing their armed forces. Military power, in this context, assumes an outstanding role in the pursuit of national security objectives.

The centrality of military power extends beyond the realm of national defense; it significantly shapes a state's position in the international arena.⁷⁷ A state's stature in international relations hinges decisively upon its military capabilities. The attainment of superpower status, for instance is defined by having substantial military prowess. Nations such as Japan and Germany, despite their economic power, remain unrecognized as superpowers due to their relative military capacities. Evaluating a nation's military power necessitates a holistic assessment, considering not only the constituent elements of military might but also the interplay with the other facets of national power, such as economic and psychological power.⁷⁸ It is notable that while Russia retains

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Park, J., & Choi, H. J. (2020). Are smart sanctions smart enough? An inquiry into when leaders oppress civilians under UN targeted sanctions. *International Political Science Review*, 0192512120931957.

its status as a nuclear power, its economic frailty has led to its exclusion from the superpower category. In contrast, China boasts substantial military capabilities, yet it has not ascended to superpower status in the global geopolitical landscape.

2.2.3 Economic Aspects of Inter-state Relations

Economic power represents a nation's overall power profile, constituting its capacity to satisfy its own domestic needs and exert control over the behavior of other states through the provision or withholding of economic goods and services. In contemporary international relations, economic instruments have emerged as the most powerful means through which a state can shape the actions and conduct of other states. Amassing military might is essentially linked to the acquisition of sufficient economic power. In the context of modern warfare, economic power becomes synonymous with military power.

Multinational corporations that have foreign subsidiaries are affected by economic sanctions that affect their scope of work especially goods and services.⁷⁹ Travel restrictions also affect movement of people across the countries especially as citizens consider the targeted country as not accommodative and a red flag. International professional associations are also affected especially in case the sanctions limit their full engagement in their professional activities. The contact with the foreign organizations and businesses is limited by sanctions as it creates an atmosphere of non-willingness by the targeted country to comply with international norms and rules.

Developed nations strategically harness their economic power to influence other states, using leveraging mechanisms such as economic aid and loans. Economic power is instrumental in safeguarding the interests. It operates both as an inducement and a coercive tool, applied through

⁷⁹ Ibid.

economic pressures to facilitate desired alterations in the behavior of other states. In the contemporary global landscape, economic power has ascended to a position of even greater prominence than military might. A case in point is Japan, which has substantiated the preeminence of economic power by achieving significant international influence despite not possessing commensurate military capabilities. The lack of economic power stands as a foundational factor underpinning the relative weakness of Third World countries in the global power hierarchy. An assessment of a nation's economic power necessitates consideration of diverse factors, including access to raw materials, natural resources, food reserves, industrial and technological power, Gross National Product (GNP), trade surpluses, transportation and communication infrastructure, Gross Domestic Product (GDP), GDP per capita, among others. Economic power, in isolation from military and psychological power, may yield limited value.

2.2.4 Political Aspects of Inter-state Relations

International relations within the libertarian political system is considered as an exchange society and forms a sociocultural field.⁸⁰ States are able to use the space to relate transnationally as groups and individuals across states use the medium to coexist. The medium of international relations govern inter-state relations and develops international values, meanings, and norms. The forces within inter-state relations are also generated by interests as its dynamics trigger conflict helix. The basic norms dictate that the interactions be primarily spontaneous as the fundamental relations are also based on free markets. Inter-state relations are also defined by overlapping and multiple local, regional, and international needs and expectations that are dependent on capabilities, interests, and the wills of parties involved. International order that defines inter-state

⁸⁰ Ibid.

relations is sewn together by different cross-cutting balances and interests of social and economic power.⁸¹

Statesmen are expected to act towards national and international interests within the context of multiple balances. The complex of rules and norms provide restraint on what should and should not be done. The statesmen have tuned expectations on their behavior and that of others and approach issues based on balances. In case the balances that define international behavior are upset then conflict ensues leading to unpredictable and undesired balance of results. The actors in inter-state relations are state officials whose actions define the path of a country within the international realms. States assign to international treaties and laws through government officials. Government officials are responsible for their actions and through defined rights can enter into treaties with other states.

State officials are tied into a model of international rules, norms, and procedures that govern their behavior as they represent different states and exchange of diplomats. The roles therefore tend to override personal differences. International behavior of government officials is structured, patterned, and fashioned through reference to the relationship and attributes of representing states.⁸² State officials are thus liable for their actions and decisions in case they act against international norms and rules.

Psychological power encompasses a nation's capacity to shape opinions and advance an image on the global stage from a political perspective. In international relations, propaganda and persuasive negotiations play a key role in inducing desired political behavioral changes among states. States actively employ these mechanisms to change the conduct of other nations. The

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

contemporary landscape of international relations is marked by a confluence of factors that emphasize the significance of psychological power.

Through strategic utilization of psychological and cultural means, nations endeavor to influence both its population and leadership of other states politically.⁸³ The ability to sway the perceptions of others through systematic dissemination of information, educational initiatives, and cultural outreach constitutes the psychological dimension of a nation's power. Generally, psychological power represents an intricate interplay of soft power tools, which encompass a spectrum of diplomatic and informational instruments employed to shape global perceptions and attitudes.⁸⁴ It encompasses efforts aimed at molding international opinion, fostering goodwill, and enhancing a nation's standing in the international community.

Psychological power extends beyond traditional state-to-state diplomacy, encompassing a dynamic landscape wherein governments, civil society actors, and national entities actively engage in the process of opinion formation as a political process.⁸⁵ Consequently, the use of psychological power facilitates a nation's ability to navigate complex diplomatic perspectives and mobilize support for its policy objectives through non-coercive and persuasive means. In the contemporary era, marked by an increasingly interconnected and information-driven global landscape, the effect of psychological power as a component of national power cannot be overstated.

⁸³ Bezuidenhout, L., Karrar, O., Lezaun, J., & Nobes, A. (2019). Economic sanctions and academia: Overlooked impact and long-term consequences. *PloS one*, 14(10), e0222669.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Hultman, L., & Peksen, D. (2017). Successful or counterproductive coercion? The effect of international sanctions on conflict intensity. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 61(6), 1315-1339.

2.3 Targeted Sanctions

The UN sanctions framework was initially established through Resolution UNSCR 1267 (1999), primarily targeting individuals and entities affiliated with Al-Qaida. Over time, subsequent resolutions have further fortified and adapted this sanctions regime. These resolutions mandate member countries to enforce specific measures on individuals identified by the UN Sanctions Committee. Moreover, they outline procedures for the inclusion and removal of individuals from these lists, define access to funds for essential and exceptional expenses, and safeguard the rights of third parties, among other provisions.

The UN bolstered the sanctions framework after the 2001 US bombings by enacting UNSCR 1373 (2001), which necessitates that nations establish mechanisms for designating terrorists and individuals linked to terrorism at the national level, leading to the application of asset freezing measures.⁸⁶ These procedures should also facilitate the handling of requests from foreign nations.

The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) Standards mandate countries to implement these UNSCRs by establishing mechanisms for asset-freezing measures against individuals linked to terrorism, proliferation, or their financing. Alongside monitoring FATF Recommendations, MONEYVAL tracks EU legislative measures related to the UN sanctions regime. The United Nations highlights economic sanctions as a critical tool. There is growing consensus on the need to enhance the design and implementation of Security Council sanctions to minimize their humanitarian impact on civilians. Concerns about humanitarian consequences and effects on third countries can undermine the political consensus needed for effective multilateral sanctions. The

⁸⁶ Grossman, G., Manekin, D., & Margalit, Y. (2018). How Sanctions Affect Public Opinion in Target Countries: Experimental Evidence From Israel. *Comparative Political Studies*, 51(14), 1823-1857. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414018774370>

Iraq case exemplifies this issue. Targeted sanctions aim to focus pressure on leaders, political elites, and specific groups responsible for objectionable actions while minimizing unintended harm to the general population and third-party nations.⁸⁷ This approach, emphasizing accountability of those in power for their state's unlawful actions, has gained traction.

2.4 Factors Influencing Sanctions

Interviews with practitioners and experts revealed crucial factors that significantly influence the effectiveness of targeted sanctions in preventing mass atrocities. These factors, identified by at least two-thirds of respondents, play pivotal roles in the success of sanctions policies aimed at averting mass atrocities.

Target's Exposure to the International System: The level of exposure that the target entity or individuals have to the international system emerged as a crucial determinant. This exposure encompasses the extent to which the target relies on international networks, financial systems, and resources. Practitioners emphasized that targets deeply integrated into the international system are more susceptible to the pressures exerted by sanctions. When targets have extensive international ties, they become reliant on the benefits of global engagement, making them responsive to threats of isolation and financial constraints.

Additionally, targets with substantial exposure to the international system often have more to lose from sanctions, as these measures can disrupt their access to global markets, financial institutions, and diplomatic relationships. Consequently, they may be more inclined to modify their behavior to avoid the severe consequences that sanctions can impose.

⁸⁷ Drezner, D. W. (2021). The United States of Sanctions: The Use and Abuse of Economic Coercion. *Foreign Aff.*, 100, 142.

It is essential for policymakers to assess the degree of the target's international exposure when contemplating the use of sanctions. Targets deeply embedded in the global arena are potentially effective tool for preventing mass atrocities in such cases.

Commitment of the Sanctions Implementer: The commitment and dedication of the entity responsible for implementing the sanctions policy emerged as another critical factor influencing effectiveness. Practitioners emphasized that the success of targeted sanctions hinged on the determination and consistency of the implementer. In many cases, this implementer is a state or international organization tasked with enforcing and monitoring the sanctions.

A committed sanctions implementer demonstrates resolve in maintaining and enforcing the sanctions regime over an extended period. This determination includes the willingness to allocate resources, personnel, and diplomatic efforts. It also involves the readiness to adapt the sanctions policy in response to changing circumstances, such as the evolving behavior of the targeted entity.

A lack of commitment from the sanctions implementer can undermine the effectiveness of targeted sanctions. When enforcement is inconsistent or intermittent, targets may perceive the sanctions as less credible threats, reducing their incentive to alter their behavior. Therefore, policymakers must ensure that the entity responsible for implementing the sanctions is fully committed to the policy's success.

International Support and Coordination: The level of international support and coordination around the sanctions policy emerged as a key success factor.⁸⁸ Practitioners underscored that targeted sanctions are more effective when they enjoy broad international backing and coordination. The

⁸⁸ Ibid.

support of multiple states and international organizations amplifies the pressure exerted on the target and enhances the credibility of the sanctions.

When multiple actors collaborate in implementing and enforcing sanctions, it increases the likelihood of comprehensive and sustained pressure on the target. Additionally, international coordination minimizes the chances of targets evading sanctions through resourceful tactics.

Coordination also allows for the pooling of resources, intelligence, and diplomatic efforts, making sanctions more potent. Moreover, it presents a unified front to the target, emphasizing the global consensus against mass atrocities. This cohesion can weaken the resolve of targets, as they face a united international community determined to prevent their actions.

Policymakers should prioritize efforts to garner international support and coordination when contemplating targeted sanctions. Building coalitions and alliances around sanctions policies enhances their potential to prevent mass atrocities effectively.

Clear Communication about the Sanctions Policy: Effective communication of the sanctions policy and its objectives emerged as a crucial success factor. The participants stressed the importance of communication to convey the purpose and consequences to both the target and the broader international community.

Clarity in communication serves several purposes:

Deterrence: When targets have a clear understanding of the sanctions' potential impact on their interests, they are more likely to perceive them as credible deterrents. Uncertainty about the sanctions' implications can diminish their effectiveness.

International Consensus: Transparent communication fosters international consensus by ensuring that all stakeholders are on the same page. It reduces the likelihood of misunderstandings or misinterpretations.

Legitimacy: Clear communication enhances the legitimacy of the sanctions policy, both domestically and internationally. It allows policymakers to articulate the moral, legal, and humanitarian justifications for the sanctions, garnering support from various quarters.

Compliance: Targets comprehend the specific actions required to lift the sanctions. Clear communication of the criteria for sanctions removal provides targets with an achievable pathway toward compliance.

Policymakers should prioritize effective communication strategies to ensure that the purpose and consequences of targeted sanctions are unmistakably conveyed to the target and the global audience. This transparency enhances the sanctions' credibility and potential for success in preventing mass atrocities.

2.5 Summary and Conclusion

Sanctions push for behavioral changes among their targets as the threat of sanctions dissuades actors from pursuing certain policies. However, over the past two decades, sanctions have undergone significant transformations, prompting an examination of whether the advent of targeted sanctions has disrupted the conventional deterrence/sanctions nexus. Sanctions, whether comprehensive or targeted, share common attributes. They both involve imposing costs on specific policy actions, necessitate an engagement, and carry the potential for broader societal impacts. The framework of deterrence represents an evolution from previous approaches, extending beyond

addressing security-related matters like terrorism. Instead, it encompasses a range of lower-risk crises that are more effectively comprehended through governance.

The dimension of national power, comprising economic, military, and psychological form, exists in a state of interdependence, with each dimension significantly influencing and augmenting the others. Economic power constitutes the foundational pillar upon which military might is constructed; the acquisition of military power is crucial for a nation to assert itself effectively in the realm of international relations. Psychological power attains substantive effectiveness when incorporated with economic and military power representing an indispensable and influential facet of national power. A comprehensive evaluation of a nation's power profile necessitates a holistic assessment encompassing all three related and mutually reinforcing dimensions of national power.

Chapter two examined the role of sanctions in defining inter-state relations. The key aspects that defined these relations included military aspects, economic, political, and social factors. In chapter three, the focus is on the specific nature of sanctions, its types, and the purpose of imposing sanctions on countries.

CHAPTER 3

NATURE OF U.S SANCTIONS ON SUDAN

3.0 Introduction

Chapter two examined the interplay between sanctions and inter-state relations. The focus was on how sanctions affect engagement and collaboration among countries especially based on economic, social, political and military aspects. Chapter three expands on the background of how sanctions influence inter-state relations and examines the nature of US sanctions against Sudan. This chapter explores the types of sanctions and the key elements that have defined the imposition of sanctions. It examines the history of U.S. sanctions on Sudan, from their initial imposition in 1997 as well as a discussion of the key elements that have shaped the imposition of U.S. sanctions on Sudan. Diplomatic relations between the US and Sudan have been strained. The lack of goodwill to advance the interests of international community including the US by Sudan especially on matters of peace and security have derailed sustainable diplomatic engagement between the two countries.

3.1 History of International Sanctions

International sanctions have deep historical roots as punitive measures against those deemed guilty or wrongdoers.⁸⁹ For instance, in ancient Greece, economic leverage was employed as a strategy, such as Pericles' imposition of trade restrictions on Megara, which played a role in igniting the Peloponnesian War.⁹⁰ However, sanctions are not always successful and can

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰ Early, B., & Peksen, D. (2019). Searching in the shadows: The impact of economic sanctions on informal economies. *Political Research Quarterly*, 72(4), 821-834.

sometimes negatively affect innocent civilians, create economic difficulties, and impede political reform. The United Nations began using sanctions as a post-Cold War measure, enforcing them on countries like Serbia and Iraq in the 1990s. By the 2000s, the UN expanded its sanctions to include nations such as Zimbabwe, Burma, and North Korea. The United States has employed sanctions since the 1950s, notably with the embargo on Cuba due to its communist government.⁹¹

Initially used during World War I blockades and further developed through colonial policies and inter-war confrontations with fascism, sanctions have evolved into a significant alternative to warfare.⁹² This evolution has brought about new challenges, as the impact of economic sanctions can resemble warfare, with severe consequences. Economic sanctions can disrupt international trade, leading to economic strain, political conflicts, and institutional instability. However, the vulnerability of economic relations has been exposed due to disruptions from sanctions, political conflicts, and weak institutional frameworks. Sanctions has shifted from broad measures against entire regimes to more precise and targeted approaches, including travel bans and asset freezes aimed at specific individuals or entities.

3.2 Types of Sanctions

International sanctions are powerful foreign policy tools that enforce foreign goals, protect human rights, and safeguard sustainable peace and security. Sanctions incorporate diplomatic to economic and military measures. The different forms of sanctions include:

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹² Bogdanova I. (2022). *Unilateral sanctions in international law and the enforcement of human rights: the impact of the principle of common concern of humankind*. Lieden: Brill Nijhoff.

3.2.1 Economic Sanctions

Economic sanctions aim to influence or punish the targeted party by various means, such as halting certain trade activities, imposing tariffs, or implementing embargoes.⁹³ Trade sanctions can be unilateral, imposed by a single country, or multilateral, enforced by a coalition of countries. Financial sanctions are used to pressure countries to alter their behavior, such as ending nuclear programs or ceasing support for terrorism. For example, the U.S. has employed financial sanctions to disrupt terrorist activities by limiting their access to international financial systems and services. Such measures include asset freezes, bans on financial services for designated terrorists, and restrictions on transactions involving their funds or property.

In principle, economic sanctions restrict the import and export of products and technology. Export bans have been effected on different products that have an influence on international peace and security.⁹⁴ For instance, export bans are imposed on defense material, firearms and ammunitions, products in the nuclear industry, dual-use goods, and oil and gas industry. Import bans are normally imposed on items that earn income to the targeted individuals or entities for funding its projects and activities.⁹⁵ These items vary based on the industry the targeted group has invested in. The goal is to curtail their income hence render their activities weaker and surrender to international set of standards.

The most common sanctions includes restrictions of defense materials and weapons.⁹⁶ The export of weapons mandates export authorization and when restrictions are provided then the flow of weapons is curtailed. Authorization is not provided for export of weapons by manufacturing

⁹³ Morgan, T.C., Bapat, N. and Kobayashi, Y. (2014), "*Threat and imposition of economic sanctions 1945–2005: updating the TIES dataset*", Conflict Management and Peace Science, Vol. 31 No. 5, pp. 541-558.

⁹⁴ Taylor, Brandon (2011) *Sanctions as grand strategy* London: Routledge.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

countries when a country is subject to arms embargo. This is effected unless ground for exemption is provided for the export in question based on UN resolution or Security Council decision.⁹⁷ This means that export of weapons may be exceptionally permitted to crisis management forces.

International sanctions can also involve imposition of restriction on commercial export of weapons and ammunitions that are intended for use by civilians.⁹⁸ Commercial import, export, and transit of weapons for civilian use mandates authorization. In the case of sanctions, such authorization is not provided hence restricts movement of firearms in and out of the targeted country. Limitations on export of dual-use goods is also affected by sanctions. Dual-use goods are items used by civilians and military.

International sanctions also target particular entities and individuals regarded responsible for the actions against the sanctions. The assets held overseas by designated entities and individuals are frozen and commercial activities curtailed. Business entities are also warned against dealing with subsidiaries of designated individuals or entities. The intention is to cut any link with individuals or states and force them to align with international standards and agreements.

3.2.2 Political Sanctions

Political sanctions is a mode of punishment that aims at limiting the targeted nations access to the international community. Diplomatic sanctions are intended to indicate and affirm disapproval and exert pressure on targeted country or individuals to change their actions. Political sanctions represent a set of punitive measures within the realm of international relations. These measures are strategically deployed by states or international bodies to show disapproval and pressure a target country to change its behavior. By limiting a target nation's access to the international community or severing diplomatic ties, political sanctions aim to ensure compliance

⁹⁷ Giumelli, F. (2011). *Coercing, Constraining, Signaling. Explaining UN and EU sanctions*. Colchester: ECPR Press.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

with international norms.⁹⁹ The diplomatic measures define the interplay of diplomacy and international politics, reflecting the diverse approaches taken to address global peace and security.

Political isolation are potent tools in the realm of international relations, employed to address and rectify undesirable behavior of target countries. Diplomatic isolation, characterized by restricting a nation's access to international forums and organizations, serves as a robust form of censure.¹⁰⁰ It signals disapproval on a global scale, compelling the target country to reassess its actions. Sanctions pressure nations into compliance with accepted norms and expectations. It exemplifies the multifaceted nature of diplomacy, where communication may be supplemented by actions that wield substantial geopolitical consequences.

Suspension of political and diplomatic relations takes the punitive measure a step further by completely limiting diplomatic ties. This move signifies not only disapproval but also the imperative for the target country to rectify its conduct. Suspension of diplomatic relations underscores the international community's intolerance of contraventions. Its efficacy is rooted in the diplomatic isolation. A country suffers significantly due to the isolation as it navigates through international affairs without formal channels of communication.

Expulsion of diplomats is the most direct indicator of diplomatic censure.¹⁰¹ It symbolizes the severance of diplomatic relations. This course of action conveys disapproval and serves as a preventive measure against further transgressions. It limits the target nation's ability to maintain diplomatic presence and conduct diplomatic activities. Consequently, the expulsion of diplomats is a powerful instrument in deterring human rights violations and terrorism, as it disrupts the

⁹⁹ Morgan, T.C., Bapat, N. and Kobayashi, Y. (2014), "*Threat and imposition of economic sanctions 1945–2005: updating the TIES dataset*", *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Vol. 31 No. 5, pp. 541-558.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

networks that may underpin such activities. Generally, the punitive diplomatic measures collectively define the complex and multifaceted landscape of political strategies employed to maintain international order and promote adherence to global norms and values.

3.2.3 Military Sanctions

Military sanctions are a multifaceted tool employed in international relations to penalize and constrain a specific nation's military capabilities.¹⁰² The primary objectives of military sanctions are deterrence or coercion, aiming to dissuade the target from pursuing specific military actions or to compel it to modify its security-related behavior.¹⁰³ Military sanctions encompass a wide range of actions, such as arms embargoes, no-fly zones, and limitations on military training and cooperation.

Arms embargoes constitute a crucial tool in international relations to prevent the proliferation of arms and maintain regional stability. These measures are typically imposed by international organizations or individual nations to prevent the transfer of weapons to a specific country, especially when that country is engaged in aggressive actions or seeks to bolster its military capabilities. Arms embargoes serve a dual purpose: they hinder the target country's capacity to wage war and signal international disapproval of its actions. However, their effectiveness is contingent upon strict enforcement and cooperation among participating states. When executed effectively, arms embargoes can contribute to conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts.

¹⁰² Afesorgbor, S. K. (2021). Sanctioned to starve? The impact of economic sanctions on food security in targeted states. *Research Handbook on Economic Sanctions*, 438.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

No-fly zones represent another facet of military sanctions, often implemented to protect civilian populations from air attacks or prevent a target country from conducting military operations. These zones can be enforced by international bodies or individual nations acting together. The establishment of no-fly zones has evolved into a prominent strategy for international intervention, manifesting as both a humanitarian and political tool. While no-fly zones can save lives and deter military aggression, their imposition also raises questions about sovereignty, the potential for unintended escalation, and the mandate's legitimacy. Consequently, their application necessitates careful planning, international consensus, and compliance.

Military interventions represent the most extreme form of military sanctions, involving the use of force to stop a target country's aggression or establish peace.¹⁰⁴ Such interventions encompass various modalities, from ground troops and air strikes to naval blockades, and are usually considered a last resort when other forms of sanctions have failed. Military interventions entail complex ethical, legal, and strategic considerations. They require a robust justification grounded in international law, a clear exit strategy, and a plan for post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction. Consequently, the decision to engage in military intervention is approached with caution, ensuring that it is proportionate, necessary, and consistent.

3.3 The Evolution of Sanctions

The catalyst for the evolution of sanctions was the Lancet assessment, which laid bare the dire humanitarian consequences of conventional sanctions policies. In response, a practical discourse ensued with the focus on reconceptualizing sanctions into more 'smart' and targeted instruments. These 'smart' sanctions aimed to retain their efficacy in compelling policy change while minimizing collateral harm to civilian populations. This transformation of sanctions practice

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

was at the center of international processes: the Bonn-Berlin, Interlaken, and Stockholm discussions.¹⁰⁵ These initiatives facilitated exchange of ideas on how sanctions could be developed to realize the intended objectives, exerting pressure on responsible state actors while sparing the innocent.

Traditionally, the international system has been state-centric, acknowledging only states as legitimate actors. This perspective is evident in foundational documents like the UN Charter, which endows states with the authority to deliberate in bodies such as the UNSC. This transformative shift in international legal norms and practices precipitated a consequential evolution in the realm of sanctions, prompting the emergence of 'targeted' sanctions designed to address states, non-states and individuals under specific circumstances. This paradigm shift reflected the international community's recognition of the need for more precise tools in addressing multifaceted global challenges, transcending the conventional state-centric approach to international sanctions.

3.4 The Purpose of International Sanctions

International sanctions restrictions also focus on transportation, communication, and diplomatic restrictions. The state of group of entities are suspended from engaging in international relations based on violations of laid down international standards. The broad reasons that trigger international sanctions include security problems, diplomatic disputes, international terrorism, violations of human rights, and weapons of mass destruction.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Bapat, Navin A, and T. Clifton Morgan. (2009). "Multilateral Versus Unilateral Sanctions Reconsidered: A Test Using New Data." *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (4): 1075–1094.

¹⁰⁶ Lacy, D., & Niou, E. M. (2004). A theory of economic sanctions and issue linkage: The roles of preferences, information, and threats. *The journal of politics*, 66(1), 25-42.

International sanctions are designed to implement foreign policy objectives by influencing the behavior and policies of states.¹⁰⁷ They are crafted to minimize undue harm to civilian populations, recognizing that often only a limited number of state officials are responsible for actions that endanger global stability. Consequently, sanctions are usually directed at specific individuals and entities involved in such threats. This targeted approach has been shown to be effective in addressing the root causes of objectionable behavior while reducing adverse effects on ordinary citizens.

Sanctions regimes represent a complex and multifaceted tool of international relations. Firstly, they are designed to prevent the escalation of conflicts. Imposing economic and diplomatic pressure on targeted states or actors compel them to change their behavior. This preventive aspect seeks to deter aggressive actions and encourage diplomacy and negotiation as preferred methods of conflict resolution. By creating economic and political costs for negative behavior, sanctions can act as a deterrent, potentially averting the outbreak of violent conflicts.

Secondly, sanctions serve as a mechanism to curtail nuclear proliferation. Historically, sanctions have been used to dissuade states from pursuing nuclear weapons programs by imposing strict economic restrictions and limitations on technology transfers. The intent here is to inhibit the development and acquisition of nuclear weapons, which can have far-reaching regional and global security implications. Sanctions are employed to reinforce international non-proliferation norms and discourage states from taking steps towards nuclear armament, thus contributing to global stability and security.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Thirdly, sanctions are utilized to counter terrorism and address human-rights violations.¹⁰⁸ They are employed as a tool to pressure governments or non-state actors to cease activities associated with terrorism. Sanctions restrict the flow of financial resources to designated entities or individuals. By targeting those responsible for terrorism or human rights violations, sanctions aim to promote compliance with international norms and standards, enhance security, and safeguard fundamental human rights, reflecting a commitment to upholding global values and principles.¹⁰⁹

Individuals or organizations engaging in illegal activities can be subjected to international sanctions, representing a vital mechanism in the perspective of global governance and international law.¹¹⁰ Money laundering, as one such illegal activity, often involves the illicit transfer of funds to conceal their origins. Sanctions targeting money launderers typically involve asset freezes and restrictions on financial transactions. By imposing these measures, the international community seeks to disrupt the flow of illicit funds, curb financial crimes, and maintain the integrity of the global financial system.

Drug trafficking is a transnational criminal activity that can result in international sanctions. Such sanctions are often directed at drug cartels and their associates, aiming to restrict their access to global financial networks and resources. By doing so, these measures aim to disrupt the operations of drug traffickers, reduce the flow of narcotics, and mitigate the associated social and security threats posed by the drug trade. Human-rights violations represent another critical area where international sanctions come into play. These sanctions target individuals, entities, or

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Bogdanova I. (2022). *Unilateral sanctions in international law and the enforcement of human rights: the impact of the principle of common concern of humankind*. Lieden: Brill Nijhoff.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

governments responsible for grave human rights abuses, such as torture, extrajudicial killings, or genocide. Sanctions hold perpetrators accountable and pressuring them to cease human rights violations. They also serve as a powerful tool in signaling international condemnation of such actions.

Arms proliferation and the violation of international treaties are interconnected issues that often lead to international sanctions. Arms proliferation sanctions aim to restrict the trade in conventional weapons to regions or actors of concern, preventing the escalation of conflicts and enhancing global security.¹¹¹ Violations of international treaties, particularly those related to nuclear non-proliferation or disarmament, can result in sanctions as well. These measures underscore the international community's commitment to upholding treaty obligations.

3.5 The Nexus between Deterrence and Sanctions

Deterrence is a strategy used by states to prevent adversaries from undertaking specific actions by demonstrating that the costs or repercussions would exceed any potential benefits. Deterrence depends on the threat of punishment or negative outcomes to dissuade actors from engaging in undesirable behaviors. The imposition of sanctions is often justified within the deterrence framework, applicable in two distinct ways.¹¹² Sanctions are defined as a deterrent against the recurrence of undesirable behaviors, such as the escalation of conflicts. This is grounded in deterrence theory, positing that the specter of sanctions should convince states from pursuing courses of action that may trigger negative repercussions.

¹¹¹ Malik, M., & Malik, M. (2015). The efficacy of United States sanctions on the Republic of Sudan. *Journal of Georgetown University*, 2015(1), 7

¹¹² Ibid.

The link between sanctions and deterrence is defined by punishment and compliance, preventing undesirable actions, and shaping perceptions.¹¹³ Sanctions serve as both a means of punishing a state for its undesirable actions and as a way to induce compliance. The adverse consequences is meant to deter the target state from continuing its objectionable behavior and encourage it to change its course. Sanctions are often used as a deterrent against specific actions or behaviors that are considered undesirable.

Sanctions shape the perceptions and expectations of other international actors.¹¹⁴ It sends a signal that certain actions will be met with punitive measures, potentially dissuading other states from pursuing similar courses of action. This psychological aspect of deterrence is important in maintaining international order and stability. States engaged in potentially contentious activities must assess the risks and benefits of their actions. Sanctions increase the perceived risks associated with certain actions, which can lead to more cautious decision-making by states. If the target believes that the costs of its actions, including the sanctions imposed, outweigh the benefits, it may be deterred from proceeding with its plans.

International sanctions are predominantly perceived as a strategic tool defined within the domain of foreign policy. The context of limiting trade for the attainment of political objectives has persisted since the period of the Westphalian system in 1648.¹¹⁵ The nation-states assumed central roles as primary actors in the international arena. These sanctions are typically employed with the overarching aim of coercion, specifically aimed at effecting a transformative shift in the

¹¹³ Biglaiser G., Lektzian David. (2011). The Effect of Sanctions on US Foreign Direct Investment. *International Organization* 65 (3): 531–51.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Borzyskowski Inken von, Portela C. (2016). Piling on: The Rise of Sanctions Cooperation between Regional Organizations, the United States, and the EU, vol. 70. *Berlin: DEU. Arbeitspapier.*

behavior of states that have already deviated from an accepted norm or course of action. In essence, the Peace of Westphalia, inked in 1648, stands as a pivotal moment in history, marking the conclusion of the 38 years Wars and the establishment of the foundational framework for contemporary international relations. It is within the context of this treaty that the fundamental principles of state sovereignty, inter-state mediation, and diplomatic discourse originate from and significantly influencing the modern international relations.

The perception of sanctions has evolved over the years progressively assuming a role explicitly aimed at shaping the future expectations and, by extension, the conduct of nation-states. This transformative shift became evident during the post-World War I negotiations when President Wilson articulated sanctions as a coercive instrument.¹¹⁶ Comprehensive trade embargoes triggered through sanctions are a deterrent poised to deter and, consequently, prevent hostile actions by any given state. This conceptualization underscores the concept of collective security mechanisms centered on sanctions within the League of Nations.

The foundational principle of deterrence lies in the deployment of sanctions to mitigate specific behaviors, premised on the assertion that certain actions are costly to states and therefore consider aligning with certain behaviors to prevent sanctions.¹¹⁷ The application of sanctions as instruments of foreign policy continues to be redefined by interrelations among countries and regions.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Malik, M., & Malik, M. (2015). The efficacy of United States sanctions on the Republic of Sudan. *Journal of Georgetown University*, 2015(1), 7

3.6 Targeting of Sanctions

Targeted sanctions are a set of coercive measures imposed upon individuals and non-state entities, with the potential extension to specific economic sectors.¹¹⁸ Targeted sanctions are implemented in diverse forms, with some involving the enhancement of previous state-centric restrictions. Restrictions extend to dual-use goods which encompass items with both civilian and military applications. This category encompasses technologies like satellites and telecommunications equipment, as well as materials such as metal alloys with potential applications in nuclear programs.

Weapons sanctions represent a distinct subset within the broader category of trade sanctions, as targeted sanctions extend their reach beyond military equipment to encompass non-military goods for individuals and groups. These measures are strategically designed to either limit economic stability or curtail operational capabilities for these entities.¹¹⁹ These sanctions fall into the category of potentially highly invasive measures, akin to the European Union's sanctions on Iranian oil exports or the United Nations' embargo on diamonds originating from Liberia and Sierra Leone.¹²⁰ Travel bans and asset freezes represent the predominant forms of individual sanctions. These measures exert a direct influence on personal liberties. Sanctions can be contingent on an individual's official role, such as when they hold a government position, or on their actions.

3.7 Targeted Sanctions and Deterrence

Sanctions exhibit continuity in the way sanctions interface with deterrence, a paradigm shift reveals at least three pivotal changes. Firstly, the targets of these sanctions now encompass individuals, whose cost-benefit calculations diverge from those of states, forming the foundation

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Bessler M, Garfield R, Hugh G.Mc. (2004). Sanction Assessment Handbook: Assessing the Humanitarian Implications of Sanctions. *United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and Inter-Agency Standing Committee*.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

of conventional deterrence theory. Secondly, whereas deterrence traditionally hinges on the possibility of grave consequences.

Targeted sanctions are a punitive response to undesirable behaviors. Consequently, inherent similarities persist in the manner in which sanctions contribute to deterrence. Predominantly, sanctions are designed to impose a cost on specific actions. The sanctions targets in a manner that deters them from pursuing certain policies or behaviors. This dynamic is observable across both time and geographic contexts.¹²¹ A similar principle extends to conflicts, as exemplified by the government of South Sudan, which articulated concerns regarding the potential imposition of a United Nations arms embargo. These concerns naturally influenced President Kiir's decision-making processes.

The imposition of sanctions extends beyond the immediate goal of deterring the direct targets. It serves as a deterrent to future instances of similar misconduct by other potential targets. In essence, the dynamics of sanctions between senders and targets are observed by a broader audience of prospective targets.¹²² Likewise, actors contemplating the initiation of conflicts often opt to refrain from hostilities to avert the adverse consequences associated with sanctions.

In addition, it is essential to recognize that sanctions exert a wide-ranging impact. Sanctions are directed at pivotal sectors, as seen in the instance of oil-related sanctions imposed on Iran. Consequently, the ramifications of sanctions are keenly felt throughout states. For instance, while sanctions on Syria may not encompass the majority of trade activities, the complex circumstances render it exceedingly risky for companies to engage in export and import operations, prompting them to de-risk by relinquishing any commercial involvement with the country.

¹²¹ Eriksson, M. (2016). *Targeting peace: Understanding UN and EU targeted sanctions*. Routledge.

¹²² Ibid.

Targeted sanctions introduce three key dimensions.¹²³ Firstly, states differ significantly from targeting individuals or entities. Citizens of a country often anticipate that their state will endure longer than their individual lifetimes. Furthermore, the well-being of individuals does not align with the well-being of a country. However, there have been instances where sanctions inadvertently benefited the very individuals they were intended to target while inflicting severe hardships on broader societies, exemplified by the case of Iraq in the 1990s.

Secondly, whereas comprehensive sanctions were originally conceived to inflict harm upon targets to deter similar behavior by others, targeted sanctions are designed to minimize their impact.¹²⁴ This distinction does not render targeted sanctions ineffective, but it does underscore a fundamental difference from the classical deterrence approach. It is important to acknowledge that states lack inherent human rights, whereas individuals possess such rights.

In the realm of international sanctions, targeted measures have been strategically crafted to mitigate humanitarian repercussions on both primary and secondary subjects. This approach acknowledges the limitation of the broader impact of sanctions while upholding the imperative of safeguarding the minimal well-being of the designated targets. The formulation of sanctions regimes routinely incorporates exemptions and exceptions, encompassing vital provisions for humanitarian support.¹²⁵ The doctrine of deterrence is primarily concerned with the broader societal ramifications, with less emphasis on the direct consequences faced by individuals in the implementation of sanctions. This principle remains pertinent within the context of deterrence literature.

¹²³ Gangi, A., & Ahmed, M. H. (2015). The impact of international relations on inflow of foreign direct investment: A case study of Sudan. *Editorial board* 46.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Le, T.H. and Bach, N.T. (2022), "Global sanctions, foreign direct investment, and global linkages: evidence from global data", *The Journal of International Trade and Economic Development*, Vol. 31 No. 7, pp. 1-28.

The application of targeted sanctions introduces a dynamic related to moral hazard, potentially amplifying the very behaviors they seek to discourage. Comprehensive sanctions have faced criticism for their propensity to trigger a negative effect, whereby populations subjected to sanctions tend to align with their own government to resist external pressure. Targeted sanctions, in their application, may yield outcomes contrary to those anticipated by applicable deterrence strategy. This advances the discussion on the interplay between deterrence and sanctions. It posits that the dynamics of international deterrence are increasingly mirroring the mechanisms of criminal deterrence within domestic contexts.

The escalating deployment of targeted sanctions might diminish their capacity to substantiate an effective deterrence strategy, or potentially relegate deterrence to a low-intensity doctrine.¹²⁶ This contention is supported by empirical evidence, with instances of targeted sanctions being circumvented, even within the highly regulated sphere of the European Union. Notably, the imposition of sanctions on the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT) in 2012 spurred discussions regarding the establishment of alternative payment platforms for international transactions.¹²⁷ However, the proliferation of sanctions may have engendered a distinct sanctions-deterrence paradigm more akin to a tool of domestic criminal politics than a pillar of international security and politics.

¹²⁶ Lacy, D., & Niou, E. M. (2004). A theory of economic sanctions and issue linkage: The roles of preferences, information, and threats. *The journal of politics*, 66(1), 25-42.

¹²⁷ McDowell, D. (2021). Financial sanctions and political risk in the international currency system. *Review of International Political Economy*, 28(3), 635-661.

3.8 Targeted Measures: Travel Bans, Asset Freezes, and Arms Embargoes

Arms embargoes are a form of targeted sanctions designed to limit access to weapons and military equipment. The primary objective of arms embargoes is to diminish violent conflicts by restricting the availability of arms. They serve the purpose of identifying and stigmatizing individuals or groups that breach international norms. The illegal trade in small arms is often highly profitable, and these profits tend to soar during arms embargoes. The profits often benefit the very individuals or groups that the embargo intends to harm, as they become financially incentivized to prolong conflicts.

The researcher engaged experienced practitioners in discussing the efficacy of targeted sanctions. The core concept of targeted sanctions was to impose financial and reputational penalties on individuals or entities involved in atrocities or to curtail their access to resources that enable such crimes. The objective was to diminish violence, potentially averting it altogether. This method involves pinpointing and penalizing specific individuals, corporations, or groups, thereby avoiding the unintended adverse consequences of broader sanctions imposed on entire nations. However, policymakers must delve deeper than recognizing the potential benefits of targeted sanctions; they must grapple with the circumstances and strategies that can maximize their effectiveness in preventing mass atrocities.

The research incorporated open-ended inquiries designed to gain a deeper understanding of how policymakers at all levels of government can take meaningful actions to prevent mass atrocity crimes and safeguard civilian populations facing severe threats of systematic violence directed against particular groups. The rationale behind conducting these interviews rested on the premise that seasoned practitioners possess valuable insights into the optimal use of targeted

sanctions. While numerous ideas exist regarding the most effective utilization of targeted sanctions, none, to our knowledge, are exclusively focused on their application for mass atrocity prevention. Moreover, none are rooted in the collective perspectives of a group of seasoned practitioners.

The participants in the study had, on average, a 10-year experience working on sanctions policy within the realm of international diplomacy. Collectively, their insights and expertise contributed significantly to the research.

Main Findings

Themes Identified

From the extensive interviews conducted, the researcher retrieved themes that provide valuable insights into the application of targeted sanctions as tools for preventing mass atrocities. These themes incorporate both the potential of targeted sanctions and the complex, multifaceted nature of mass atrocity crises.

Targeted Sanctions as Prevention Mechanisms: Our research underscores the multifaceted role of targeted sanctions in the prevention of mass atrocities. The participants consistently revealed that these measures possess the capacity to contribute significantly to the prevention of mass atrocities. However, it is vital to recognize that this prevention is not solely reliant on sanctions but rather encompasses a broader spectrum of strategies and diplomatic efforts. The key mechanisms through which targeted sanctions can help avert mass atrocities include:

Deterrence: Targeted sanctions can act as a deterrent by signaling to potential perpetrators of mass atrocities that there will be severe consequences for their actions. The prospect of personal and financial costs can dissuade individuals and entities from engaging in such acts.

Disruption of Atrocity Networks: By freezing assets and restricting the financial capabilities of individuals and entities associated with mass atrocities, targeted sanctions can disrupt the networks that facilitate these crimes.¹²⁸ This disruption can impede the planning and execution of mass atrocities.

International Isolation: Sanctions can isolate perpetrators on the international stage, undermining their legitimacy and support. This isolation can hinder their ability to carry out mass atrocities effectively.

Limiting Resource Access: Targeted sanctions can restrict access to resources, such as finances and weapons, that are instrumental in carrying out mass atrocities. This limitation can impede the logistics and execution of such crimes.

The Uniqueness of Each Mass Atrocity Crisis: A key finding from the participants is the realization that every mass atrocity crisis bears unique contexts and challenges. The complexity of these crises demands a nuanced and context-specific assessment of the situation. Sanctions practitioners should tailor their strategies to the particularities of each crisis, taking into account factors such as the nature of the atrocities, the key actors involved, and the geopolitical context. This customization allows for a more effective and targeted use of sanctions as a preventive measure.

Addressing Unintended Negative Consequences: While targeted sanctions hold promise as preventive tools, they also carry the potential for unintended negative consequences. Practitioners and policymakers must be acutely aware of these adverse effects and take proactive measures to mitigate them. The interviews underscored the importance of conducting thorough impact

¹²⁸ Ibid.

assessments to anticipate and address any unintended harm that sanctions may cause. Some of the unintended negative consequences associated with targeted sanctions include:

Humanitarian Impact: Sanctions can inadvertently harm vulnerable populations by disrupting the delivery of humanitarian aid and essential services.¹²⁹ Careful consideration must be given to safeguarding the well-being of civilians in conflict zones.

Economic Implications: Targeted sanctions may impact the economy of the targeted state, potentially leading to job losses and increased poverty.¹³⁰ Mitigating these economic repercussions is essential to prevent humanitarian suffering.

Geopolitical Repercussions: Sanctions can strain diplomatic relations and geopolitical dynamics. Policymakers should be attuned to the broader geopolitical consequences and aim to minimize unintended conflicts.

Multifaceted Considerations Informing Policy Decisions: Sanctions aim at preventing mass atrocities is just one factor among many that policymakers must consider when formulating strategies and decisions. While sanctions can play a vital role, they should be seen as part of a broader toolkit for addressing mass atrocity crises. Policymakers must weigh various considerations, including the diplomatic landscape, geopolitical interests, humanitarian concerns, and the potential for unintended consequences. These multifaceted factors inform the development and implementation of policies aimed at preventing mass atrocities.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Mirkina, I. (2018), "*FDI and sanctions: an empirical analysis of short-and long-run effects*", *European Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 54, pp. 198-225.

The insights from the interviews shed light on the promising role of targeted sanctions in preventing mass atrocities. However, it is imperative to approach each crisis individually, addressing its unique challenges. Moreover, sanctions practitioners and policymakers must proactively manage unintended negative consequences while recognizing that the effectiveness of sanctions is just one piece of the larger policy puzzle. These findings provide valuable guidance for policymakers as they navigate the complex terrain of mass atrocity prevention and intervention.

3.9 Dimensions of Power in International Sanctions

International actors increasingly utilize sanctions as a tool in managing international relations, viewing them as a method of power politics and economic control.¹³¹ In political contexts, soft power emphasizes the ability to attract and persuade rather than coerce. It involves influencing others' preferences through appeal and attraction. Hard power, in contrast, involves direct commands and coercion. When applied through sanctions, it forces the targeted state to comply with specific rules and regulations, with consequences for non-compliance affecting the culpable individuals or entities. The first dimension of power through sanctions focuses on influencing decision-making. Targeted states, perceived as rational actors, weigh the benefits of their actions against the imposed costs. When sanctions make the costs outweigh the benefits, they are expected to lead to behavioral changes in line with the objectives of the sanctioning parties. The broader perspective on power reveals that international sanctions can reshape decision-making processes, ultimately achieving desired outcomes by influencing the rational calculations of the targeted state.

The second dimension of power focuses on shaming the party's responsible for the behavior leading to the sanctions. The dimension pushes towards isolating them from those

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

associating with them. The end goal is to have the sanctions compel them to change based on the influence of social relationships by the sanctions. The relevancy of social relationships is immense especially within the families of decision makers, elite group within the state, and relationships among countries. The social perspective of sanctions in this case moves the targeted parties.¹³²

However, the rationalistic dimension of sociology places more importance in sense of belonging especially to a group. Sanctions aimed at directly affecting social relationships.¹³³ In this case, personal sanctions against those culpable of making rational decisions are often meant to isolate them and put pressure on their peers and families but at the same time spare the elite who object to the targeted decision or policy. Targeted sanctions are highly selective with the purpose of splitting the political elite.¹³⁴ This gives the political elite with a chance to reflect on their personal contribution towards the targeted policy or decision and take personal responsibility. Sanctions may fail to realize the ultimate goal in case the decision makers opt isolation and defiance.

International sanctions that focus on exploiting social relationships mandate adequate knowledge of the targeted persons, entities, and countries. There is need for consistency between those effecting the sanctions and the target. The consistency should also be reflected in social interactions where the message passed and form of interaction is the same. For instance, when the communiques and speeches align with the message of sanctions then the desired effect will likely be realized. These sanctions will likely be credited if they come from international actors who are deemed important by those influencing the decision maker.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ McDowell, D. (2021). Financial sanctions and political risk in the international currency system. *Review of International Political Economy*, 28(3), 635-661.

¹³⁴ Pape, Robert A. (2007) Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work. *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 90-136.

The power of sanctions in most cases is dependent on the consistency of sanctions and alignment with interaction. When mixed messages are portrayed between sanctions and interactions then the desired change is not realized. The message relayed together with the interaction and mode of relation among inter states should be consistent in order to compel decision makers and generally the state change towards the desired behavior.

The power of sanctions is bestowed on the capacity to strengthen norms and rules of future appropriate behavior.¹³⁵ For instance, the sanctions on Iran and North Korea for nuclear proliferation concerns sent the message to the two states as well as to other states considering such similar actions. Consistency in sanctions provide the reflection that the intended messages will be passed and received and that future proliferation will be prevented. The consistency should be reflected in policies towards the target as well as application of sanctions to counter specific behavior. Selective application of sanctions does not result to development of international norms and values.¹³⁶

Humanitarian organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have consistently expressed reservations regarding the worth and ethics of sanctions, primarily due to their unintended repercussions on individuals who bear no responsibility for the targeted policies.¹³⁷ A major case exemplifying the humanitarian ramifications of sanctions unfolds in the period from 1991 to 2003 when Iraq was subjected to sanctions that resulted to substantial adverse consequences.¹³⁸ However, even in instances where sanctions are tailored to penalize decision-makers, collateral effects tend to happen. This practice has become somewhat reflexive among

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Oechslin, M. (2014). Targeting autocrats: Economic sanctions and regime change. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 36, 24-40.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

international actors in response to crises, as illustrated by the 2014 Ukraine conflict, wherein the discourse surrounding Western strategies vis-à-vis Russia prominently revolves around the imposition of sanctions. Simultaneously, the Russian government has leveraged its control over gas supplies to Ukraine as a geopolitical lever.¹³⁹

The implementation of sanctions define international power politics transcending their function. In the multifaceted domain of power dynamics within social relationships, power assumes various dimensions. Firstly, the exertion of power through direct influence over the decision-making processes of those whose resistance requires suppression; secondly, the exercise of indirect power by shaping the very foundations of decision-making itself; and thirdly, ideological power, depicting the capacity to develop the norms governing acceptable conduct.¹⁴⁰

Conventional inquiries into the dimensions of sanctions have predominantly fixed on power, which pertains to their capacity to influence decision-making processes.¹⁴¹ This conventional perspective asserts that the entities subjected to sanctions are rational actors who weigh the pros and cons of their actions. In this paradigm, sanctions wield the potential to induce desired changes in behavior by imposing costs that outweigh benefits. Consequently, it is assumed that effective sanctions can compel compliance. However, adopting a broader view of the dynamics of power reveals additional justifications for implementation of sanctions.

Beyond their role in shaping decision-making by modifying the cost-benefit calculus, sanctions can wield influence through the second dimension of power: the capacity to mold the very context within which decisions are made. The underlying view is that sanctions change the

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Erickson, J. L. (2020). Punishing the violators? Arms embargoes and economic sanctions as tools of norm enforcement. *Review of international studies*, 46(1), 96-120.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

behavior of the targeted parties not by altering the rational calculus of costs and benefits but by exerting a changing influence on the network of social relationships. These social relationships operate on various levels and within inter-state relations.

The perspective on sanctions from the lens of social perspective represents a shift from individual cost-benefit calculations and moves toward constructivist paradigms concerning the description of proper conduct, defined by norms and ideas. It aligns itself with conventional sociological and psychological theories emphasizing the significance of group affiliation, whether it pertains to a collective of individuals or a coalition of states. Within this context, certain categories of targeted sanctions have emerged as a response to the inadequacies and adverse consequences associated with comprehensive economic sanctions during the 1990s. These sanctions specifically aim to change behavior.

3.10 Power and Consequences

The western liberal states have consistently expanded the sanctions universe based on the sanction regimes. Sanctions fit within the liberal perspective of world order where the emphasis is on relationships and not anarchy. Relationships for the basic link between states where the engagement is based on mutual understanding. In cases of crisis, sanctions are often part of the solution. The issue has been on whether sanctions fulfill the intended purpose. International sanctions produce material harm as indirect parties become entangled in the restrictions. However, the broader perspective of sanctions differentiates where material harm is intended and where it is not. The implication of sanctions on civilians should be minimized in order to ensure strong ethical standard is maintained. Sanctions should thus trigger positive impact especially in ensuring troublemakers abide by the set international norms.

Sanctions aim at addressing international law breakers and fostering the establishment and reinforcement of international norms.¹⁴² The effectiveness of sanctions must be reframed not merely as a binary "do they work or not" question but rather as an inquiry into whether the chosen form of sanctions align with the overarching strategies devised to attain specific outcomes. Sanctions harmonize particularly well with a liberal worldview of the global order, which emphasizes the centrality of relationships, in contrast to the notion of anarchy, as the principal linkage between sovereign states. In addition, these supplementary perspectives shed light on why sanctions have evolved into almost automatic responses to crises, as they have become increasingly interlinked with the processes of norm-building and norm-maintenance in international relations. Notably, this concept has been largely steered by Western actors. Nonetheless, adopting balanced sanctions underscores the imperative of preserving a robust ethical standard that seeks to minimize harm to individuals who bear no responsibility for the policies targeted by sanctions.

3.11 The Relations between U.S and Sudan

The relations between the U.S and Sudan has been long entangled in diplomatic feuds for decades and this has continued to influence the relations between the two countries. Sudan's internal conflicts over the years triggered instability in governance and this was significant in influencing the country's relations internationally and especially with the U.S. In 1983, civil war broke out in Sudan that pitched the government forces and insurgent groups¹⁴³ The 1983 civil war dented on Sudan's foreign relations. The insurgents opposed governments focus on imposing Islamic law in the entire country. This triggered instability in the country as the division created

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ National Journal, 10 December 1988, 3130; Congressional Quarterly Weekly, 13 May 1989, 1132–35.

separate groups thus affecting governance and other socioeconomic issues. The SPLA comprised of mostly non-Muslims from the south who opposed governments programs to impose Sharia Law across the country.

The negative effect of the instability coupled with poor governance resulted to Sudan not being able to offset its international debt obligations. This resulted to the U.S freezing its military aid and economic disbursement to Sudan in 1988 over failure to make \$12 million debt payments to the U.S. In December 1988, the U.S military and economic aid support towards Sudan were frozen due to the failure by Sudan to make payments to its debts by over one year of \$12 million.¹⁴⁴ Later in 1989, Congress passed the nonbinding resolution that mandated the government to provide an avenue for humanitarian aid.¹⁴⁵ The provision for U.S foreign assistance was thus pegged on the commitment of foreign countries to align with security and democratic values. The US administration in March 1989 requested Sudan to make payments totaling \$42 million for the financial year 1990.

“The relations between the U.S and Sudan have been entangled in diplomatic challenges with Sudan bearing the heaviest brunt of the conflict”¹⁴⁶

However, Sudan failed to align with the set standards pushing President George Bush suspended the Generalized System of Preference (GSP) program citing that Sudan failed to protect workers rights. The GSP program promotes economic opportunities in developing countries and Sudan was part of the designated beneficiaries before it was revoked in 1989 for lack of good governance in protecting workers’ rights.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Congressional Quarterly Weekly, 13 May 1989, 1135.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Sudan Embassy Attache. 2/02/2023.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

The U.S placed Sudan on the list of countries within the State Department designated to support international terrorism in 1993. The U.S prohibited provision on non-humanitarian economic support, restricted dual-use arms sales and exports, and required the U.S representatives in international organizations to have their vote against loans requested by Sudan. The move affected Sudan's diplomacy with the outside world and lacked the necessary international financial backing to support its economy. This entangled Sudan in global security metrics as the U.S later withdrew its diplomats in Sudan citing security lapses.

President William Jefferson Clinton in November 1997, in an effort to prevent stricter and less flexible actions from Congress, enforces extensive sanctions on Sudan through an executive order.¹⁴⁸ Later, the United States introduced its first comprehensive sanctions against Sudan through Executive Order 13067, issued by President Bill Clinton.¹⁴⁹ This order involved freezing government assets and stopping transactions. The primary goals of these sanctions were to pressure the Sudanese government to cut its links with terrorist organizations and to address the ongoing civil war, which had persisted since 1983. Additionally, the sanctions aimed to address concerns over Sudan's support for terrorism, human rights violations, and its lack of recognition of the self-determination rights of the southern Sudanese people.

“The key elements that have continued to be the U.S basis for sanctions in Sudan include terrorism, and democracy. Sudan's rating on terrorism, human rights and democracy have been low and this continues to affect its relations with the international community.”¹⁵⁰

In 2006, the US issued an order that extended the existing sanctions, imposed additional sanctions on Sudanese government officials and prohibited transactions with certain Sudan-based companies.

¹⁴⁸ New York Times, 5 November 1997, A7; US Information Service, 4 November 1997.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Sudan Embassy Official, 15.02.2023

In 2007, President Bush issued Executive Order 13412, which further tightened the sanctions against Sudan.¹⁵¹ This order prohibited any transactions with the government of Sudan, as well as Sudanese companies and individuals. It also imposed a ban on exports of Sudanese oil and petroleum products, and prohibited any transactions with Sudanese banks. In September 2009, a legislation granting permission for referendum regarding the potential independence of southern Sudan and the preference of Abyei residents to align with either the northern or southern region is passed.¹⁵² In 2010, specific limitations on licensing rules within the agricultural industry and restrictions on the availability of train spare parts were lifted.¹⁵³

In 2011, the United States implemented further sanctions against.¹⁵⁴ These measures included a complete ban on transactions with Sudan and its government, as well as prohibitions on both exporting goods and services to Sudan and importing goods from the country. Additionally, the sanctions extended to forbidding any investments in Sudan and restricting financial transactions involving the Sudanese government.

The United States later in 2017 repealed some of its economic sanctions on Sudan, citing the country's improved record on human rights and counterterrorism. However, certain restrictions remain in place including prohibition on U.S. persons engaging in certain financial transactions with the Sudanese government, and a ban on the importation of certain goods from Sudan.

“The relations between the U.S and Sudan softened from 2017. Some of the economic sanctions levelled against Sudan were eased and this provided a platform for engagement between the two countries and economic recovery for Sudan.”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ CRS 2011, 7.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Interview at Sudan Embassy in Kenya. 15.02.2023

3.13 Conclusion

The changing nature of U.S. sanctions on Sudan implies that sanction as a foreign policy tool has had a profound and evolving impact on the local population. Initially driven by concerns over terrorism, human rights abuses, and regional conflicts, U.S. sanctions imposed significant economic and diplomatic pressures on Sudan. These pressures lead to rising poverty, unemployment, and diminished access to essential services. However, as the political landscape in Sudan shifted over the years, and the government showed signs of cooperation on key issues, U.S. policy gradually evolved. This evolution marked a shift from punitive measures to a more nuanced approach that recognized and encouraged Sudan's progress. However, the consequences of sanctions have been dire, as their effects on the local population. The sanctions exemplify the adaptability of foreign policy tools in response to evolving circumstances.

Chapter three examined the background of relations between Sudan and the US, type and purpose of international sanctions. Further, the chapter discussed the US sanctions on Sudan with focus on the dimensions of power and consequences. Chapter four covers the factors that triggered the US to impose sanctions on Sudan and the effect on diplomacy among the two countries.

CHAPTER 4

FACTORS THAT TRIGGERED US SANCTIONS ON SUDAN

4.1 Introduction

Chapter four examined the reasons for U.S. sanctions on Sudan highlight the multifaceted nature of international relations, where geopolitics, security concerns, and human rights considerations intersect and shape foreign policy decisions. The changing nature of Sudan relations with US have been triggered by different factors that have been shaped by US foreign policy. The US has been safeguarding its national interest through advancing its foreign policy in Sudan. Sudan's actions against US national interests led to sanctions. The sanctions have been shaped by a complex interplay of key factors that reflect the nation's foreign policy priorities and international concerns. They continue to evolve as a response to a changing political landscape, global security considerations, and human rights violations. One of the pivotal factors driving the imposition of sanctions was Sudan's involvement in supporting international terrorism.

In addition, human rights abuses and authoritarian governance in Sudan played a significant role in justifying sanctions. Omar al-Bashirs regime was characterized by a history of brutal suppression of political dissent. The Darfur conflict, which erupted in the early 2000s, was another key factor that propelled the imposition of sanctions on Sudan. This crisis was marked by allegations of ethnic cleansing and widespread atrocities, drawing international attention and condemnation.

4.2 Human Rights Abuses

Human rights abuse was among the main reasons for US imposition of sanctions against Sudan. There were widespread human rights violations in Sudan which prompted the US to develop a raft of sanctions aimed at pressuring the Sudan government to act on human rights

violations. Bashir's regime.¹⁵⁶ His regime focused on cracking down on supporters. The different factions in the country meant that Bashir governed with a heavy hand where dissenting views were curtailed, imprisoned and at times killed.¹⁵⁷

Sudan's human rights record continued to be dire, with severe violations committed by both the government and insurgent groups.¹⁵⁸ Government forces were implicated in unlawful killings, enforced disappearances, forced labor, and enslavement. Additionally, government security forces frequently engaged in harassment, arbitrary arrests, and detention, and were known to use torture, and assaulted individuals who opposed or were suspected of opposing the Government, often without facing consequences. Prison conditions were harsh, and the judicial system was largely subservient to the Government, failing to ensure proper due process and allowing military forces to conduct summary trials and punishments.¹⁵⁹

Reports of unlawful or politically motivated killings were widespread in areas controlled by insurgents, and access to these regions by external observers was severely limited. In their offensives against insurgent groups, government forces were also responsible for civilian casualties.¹⁶⁰ Law enforcement authorities employed excessive force when dealing with protesters, and it is believed that insurgent forces likewise engaged in political or other extrajudicial killings. Civilians also lost their lives during rebel attacks on government forces, and the availability of information on such extrajudicial and politically motivated killings was constrained due to security concerns and lack of access.

¹⁵⁶ Center for Strategic and International Studies. (2004). To Guarantee the Peace: An Action Strategy for a Post-Conflict Sudan Supplement I: Addressing U.S. Sanctions Against Sudan.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Reliefweb. (1997) *Sudan Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1996* Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/sudan-country-report-human-rights-practices-1996>

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

Moreover, authorities in Juba resorted to beatings and torture to extract confessions from individuals alleged to have organized anti-government protests. On numerous occasions, the government detained individuals and coerced them into making confessions of involvement in anti-government activities. While abuses committed by other prison wardens could be scrutinized by the courts of law, the security forces operated with impunity. Lashings were routinely handed down, primarily to offenders.

Conditions within government-run prisons remained dire. Most of these facilities were constructed prior to Sudan's independence in 1956, and they suffered from neglect, lacking basic amenities like toilets and showers. Healthcare services were rudimentary, and food provisions were inadequate. Minors were frequently held alongside adults. Prison officials arbitrarily denied family visitations, and the absence of independent Sudanese human rights organizations hindered efforts to investigate human rights violations in the country.

There were allegations that certain individuals were subjected to indefinite detention. Arbitrary arrests, detentions, or forced exile were rampant in Sudan, with the authorities persistently detaining political opponents of the Government throughout the year. Citizens were also denied fair public trials, as the judiciary lacked independence and was predominantly subservient to the Government. The Government regularly violated the privacy of its citizens, frequently conducting nighttime searches without the necessary warrants, with a particular focus on individuals suspected of political offenses. It demolished the homes of numerous squatters without adhering to due process. Freedom of movement was curtailed as lists of political figures and other citizens prohibited from traveling abroad were maintained by the authorities. Due to tensions with Egypt, many travel requests to that country were denied. Individuals failing to produce an identity card at checkpoints faced the risk of arrest.

The human rights violations led to isolation of Sudan by the international community. There was pressure to consider democracy and stop human rights violations. When such mandates were ignored by Sudan, it led the U.S to develop and enact sanctions against Sudan. The sanctions were meant to pressure the government to change its stance on human rights violations. The situation was difficult especially when it was difficult for NGOs and humanitarian organizations were not accorded the necessary support from the government.

4.3 Civil War and Genocide

The civil war resulted to major destructions, killings and injuries.¹⁶¹ There lacked a stable government that would be able to restore order and democracy in the country. Instead, the government engaged in offensive against dissenting factions and this resulted to widespread civil war. The offensive against its own citizens was aggressive resulting to genocide. The acts by the government towards its citizens were condemned resulting to America imposing sanctions on Sudan over the civil war and genocide in Darfur area. Conflict also erupted in Southern Kordofan, a northern state with significant oil reserves. Fighting broke out in early June between southern-aligned forces and the Sudanese army, escalating as the army launched a violent campaign against what it saw as a rebellion. This conflict caused numerous civilian casualties and widespread displacement.

Post-secession, the government employed harsh tactics, including airstrikes and advanced weaponry, to suppress resistance. Although Bashir promised to defeat the rebels by 2015, the army struggled due to limited resources and strong local support for the rebels.¹⁶² Fuel and subsidy reductions led to anti-government protests, starting with student-led demonstrations in Khartoum

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

in June 2012 and escalating to nationwide unrest in September 2013. The government's response was severe, involving arrests and casualties, and efforts to suppress media coverage of the protests. In October 2014, despite previously planning to step down, Bashir was nominated for the 2015 elections. Later in 2014, the ICC suspended its investigation into Bashir due to the UN Security Council's inaction.

The civil war and genocide in Sudan pushed the international community including the US to isolate Sudan. The war led to death of millions of Sudanese nationals as well as other nationals and displacements of other millions of people. The isolation by the US was meant to pressure the warring factions including the government to consider peace deals and stop the infighting. The war has been ongoing for decades and this has affected Sudan's engagement and involvement with the international community.

4.4. Terrorism and Lack of Cooperation in Counter-terrorism Efforts

Terrorism is a key issue that affected the engagement between US and Sudan. In 1993, the U.S had placed Sudan on the list of countries that supported international terrorism. This was after a series of events that showed Sudan support to terrorist activities. One of the direct cases was the bombing of U.S embassy in Kenya where the U.S retaliated by bombing a pharmaceutical factory in Sudan which was believed to be engaged with Osama bin laden and developing chemical weapons. Sudan was also cited to be uncooperative on counter-terrorism. The country lacked the goodwill to support global counterterrorism efforts. This triggered the U.S to adopt different measures and sanctions against countries supporting terrorism including Sudan.

“Sudan have long been accused of harboring terrorist organizations and providing a safe space for them to train and plan their terror activities. This has significantly contributed to the U.S imposition of sanctions over Sudan.”¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Interview with NGO Official. 26.02.2023

Terrorism has been a persistent issue in Sudan since the recent war, but the Sudanese government remains committed to combating terrorism within its borders. Sudan has made significant strides in addressing terrorism on its territory. The country's association with terrorism is not a recent development, as it has been listed as a state sponsor of terrorism 1993. Diplomatic sanctions by the United Nations have been imposed on Sudan since 1996.¹⁶⁴ Sudan's geographical location, bordering Egypt, Libya, and six African nations, including Ethiopia with its sizable impoverished Muslim population, positions it strategically for the potential export of its Islamic revolution. Terrorism gained prominence in Sudan as Osama Bin Laden and his associates, who established training camps and set up a network of businesses and finances. Numerous terrorist groups have established multiple training camps within Sudan. Given its status as the third-largest African country, Sudan has often been chosen as a suitable location for concealing terrorist training centers. Further south, along the banks of the Blue Nile in Akhil al-Awliya, more than 500 Palestinians, Syrians, and Jordanians received training.¹⁶⁵

Sudan was added to the SST list in August 1993, largely due to its support for various terrorist groups. While the harboring of Osama bin Laden from 1991 to 1996 is often cited as a key reason, at the time, bin Laden was not as widely recognized for his later high-profile activities. Sudan also served as a transit point and safe haven for extremist groups backed by Iran, and its anti-U.S. rhetoric, especially following the Gulf War, further strained relations.

Terrorism is a core reasons for imposition of sanctions by the US against Sudan. Sudan have long been entangled in terrorism issues with the country harboring terrorist organizations especially for training. The involvement of Sudan in support of terrorism pushed the US to

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

implement a raft of sanctions against Sudan with the aim of pushing the government to support fight against terrorism.

4.5 Human Trafficking and Exploitation

Human trafficking has been widespread in Sudan over decades and this has continued to influence its relations with the U.S. Sudan is regarded as the main transit avenue for refugees and migrants from Africa trying to enter Europe.¹⁶⁶ Migrant smuggling has been intense as allegation of sexual exploitation especially on refugees is intense in government-run camps.

Employers exploit children who are then exposed to threats, sexual and physical abuse. The working conditions of children employees has been hazardous and at the same time limit access to health services and education. Criminal groups in Sudan as well as government operatives have been exploiting Sudanese girls and women who are then involved in sex trafficking. The concerns have been that government officials have been sexually exploiting refugees in Sudan. The restriction of refugees to move freely in the country meant that some refugees utilized smugglers and this further increased the risk of exploitation. The U.S in response imposed sanctions on Sudan for high record of human trafficking.

The situation is exacerbated by the presence of over 3 million IDPs and 1 million refugees in Sudan due to ongoing regional instability and conflict. Reports indicate that armed groups have forcibly recruited Ethiopian refugees from camps in Eastern Sudan. There are concerns about the potential sexual exploitation of refugees.¹⁶⁷ The porous borders has led some to turn to smugglers, increasing their risk of exploitation. Allegations have also surfaced that corrupt officials in the

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

Rapid Support Forces (RSF), who serve as border guards, have directly engaged in human trafficking.

Traffickers force women into domestic labor in Khartoum and other cities, while organized crime groups coerce some into commercial sex through debt manipulation and other tactics. East African trafficking victims often turn to smugglers to escape conflict and poverty, only to find themselves forced into labor or sex trafficking. Allegations also exist that Sudanese migrants are exploited through forced labor in Egypt, and those traveling through the Sinai to Israel face risks of exploitation.

The U.S. primarily emphasized on internal trafficking within Sudan, with a particular focus on the coerced recruitment of children into rebel armies.¹⁶⁸ These early reports also highlighted the concerning practice of certain NGOs and religious groups paying ransoms to secure the release of abducted individuals.¹⁶⁹ These grave violations were attributed to various armed factions involved in the Darfur conflict.¹⁷⁰ However, the government has demonstrated an overall increase in efforts. These efforts encompassed heightened investigations, prosecutions, and convictions, as well as the identification of child trafficking victims within militia groups.¹⁷¹ The government has also provided training to raise awareness on trafficking.

Cases of human trafficking and exploitation have been rampant in Sudan and this has led to lawlessness. There has been lacking law and order in the country and this has affected delivery

¹⁶⁸ US DOS 2007, 78.

¹⁶⁹ HRW 1999; 2002.

¹⁷⁰ HRW 2002; Darfur Consortium 2008; US DOS 2008, 232; 2014, 358.

¹⁷¹ US Department of State. (2023) *2023 Trafficking in Persons Report: Sudan* Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-trafficking-in-persons-report/sudan/#:~:text=Criminal%20groups%20exploit%20Sudanese%20women,increased%20vulnerability%20to%20human%20trafficking>

of justice as well as good governance. Exploitation has been evident especially on child labor as children have been forced to work in different industries as well as recruited by different forces especially rebel troops. Human trafficking and exploitation led to the US imposing sanctions on Sudan with the aim of pressuring the government to act against such cases.

4.6 Discrimination and Abuses Based on Race, Religion, Gender, Language, or Social Status

Abuses based on religion, gender, race and language was widespread in Sudan and triggered international condemnation. Religious freedom and persecution was increasingly reported in Sudan and this influenced significantly diplomatic relations between the U.S and Sudan. Sudan's constitution guarantees its citizens freedom of worship and establishment of places of worship.

“Lack of religious freedom and rights has been cited as a key impediment to advancing democratic values and freedom of Sudanese. The U.S have been advocating for freedom of worship in Sudan.”¹⁷²

The key areas of concern by the international community on abuses against religious outfits included lack of freedom of worship, apostasy, and detention and harassment. Freedom of worship has been a challenge in Sudan. For instance church leaders cited religious harassment on the state-endorsed destruction of churches eliciting international condemnation. Apostasy is another issue affecting religious freedom in Sudan. The U.S has been recommending for the abolition of apostasy law but with Sudanese government not heeding to the call, the U.S has been using sanctions to address freedom of worship. Detention and harassment of church leaders has also been witnessed especially leaders criticizing the government's destruction of churches and lack of freedom of worship. The U.S government continue to cite abuses against religious minorities as reasons for imposing sanctions in Sudan.

¹⁷² Interview with NGO Official. 27.02.2023

Discrimination and abuses based on religion, gender, and language has been dire in Sudan. The country has not been able to uphold the principle of equality and this has resulted to harassment among women and minority groups. Harassment against religion has been advanced as the majority Muslim community push for enactment of Sharia Law and other religious principles. Discrimination against women and children has been witnessed with FGM and child labor being rampant in Sudan. The US exerted pressure on Sudan's government through sanctions as a response to intense discrimination and harassment.

4.7 Restrictions on Humanitarian Activities

Sudan's NGO Act restricts and controls NGO activities resulting to excessive government control over the scope of NGOs.¹⁷³ Sudan's Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC) approves all funding as the Minister of Humanitarian Affairs approves foreign funding. This has resulted to interference in activities of NGOs and donors by the government making humanitarian initiatives unworkable in Sudan. Legal restrictions have been advanced by the executive to stifle the work of charitable organizations. However, there has been reports that special privileges are granted to charitable organizations aligned to the ruling Islamic government. The law allows immunities and privileges to Islamic organizations including non-Muslim humanitarian organizations. Restrictions on humanitarian activities have been cited as some of the reasons for imposing sanctions.

The UN and other humanitarian organizations acknowledge that ensuring consistent and sustained humanitarian access in Sudan's conflict zones remains a significant challenge. Government and de facto authorities in non-government-controlled regions have not always been

¹⁷³ Ibid.

receptive to humanitarian assistance, creating difficulties in facilitating such access.¹⁷⁴ Several factors contribute to these access challenges, including security concerns stemming from active hostilities and attacks against humanitarian personnel and facilities. Bureaucratic restrictions and interference from various actors involved in the conflict have also played a role. In certain instances, the denial of humanitarian access has been a deliberate tactic employed by conflict parties to harm civilian populations. The obstruction of humanitarian access varies significantly, indicating that national authorities hold differing interpretations of the principles associated with humanitarian access and, by extension, the protection of civilians.

While states are within their rights to require visas and impose restrictions on the entry and movement of relief personnel, supplies, and equipment, these limitations can significantly impede humanitarian operations. Bureaucratic hurdles include the need for humanitarian organizations or projects to navigate registration and approval procedures, as well as travel permit regulations. For example, the Sudanese government declined to grant travel permits for areas controlled by non-state armed groups.¹⁷⁵ Authorities also refused or delayed customs clearance for essential humanitarian supplies. Movement within states faced additional constraints due to physical and bureaucratic obstacles to humanitarian access and aid delivery, including the presence of checkpoints that severely hindered or delayed movement. At times, restrictions on the movement of affected populations further limited their ability to access humanitarian assistance.

Humanitarian endeavors in Sudan have frequently encountered disruptions and instances of diversion due to the interference of state and non-state entities pursuing agendas unrelated to

¹⁷⁴ UN, 2015.

¹⁷⁵ Blanchard, L. P. (2019). Sudan: Pressure Mounts on the Government. In *Congressional Research Service, United States Congress* (Vol. 1).

humanitarian goals.¹⁷⁶ Humanitarian organizations operating in Sudan have regularly faced harassment and been subjected to demands for fees, which, on occasion, have led to the closure of their offices or their expulsion from the country.

In addition to these bureaucratic impediments to humanitarian access, the security situation in Sudan has posed significant limitations. Ongoing conflicts have made it challenging to sustain humanitarian activities. It has been crucial for humanitarian actors to establish and maintain dialogue with all relevant stakeholders, explain their humanitarian mission, gain acceptance for their objectives, and negotiate acceptable terms for implementing their operations. However, even when negotiations have resulted in agreements to permit humanitarian aid, such agreements have been known to break down following renewed hostilities, as has occurred in Darfur.

Another constraint on humanitarian access in Sudan pertains to violence against humanitarian personnel, including instances of kidnapping and fatal attacks. Attacks on humanitarian workers, convoys, as well as the pilfering of supplies and assets, have posed significant threats to humanitarian efforts in Sudan. These incidents have involved state security forces, non-state armed groups, and criminal organizations. When negotiations are unfeasible or fail to reduce these attacks, humanitarian assistance is often scaled down or withdrawn.

The involvement of political or military actors in relief operations, or their support thereof, can compromise both the actual and perceived neutrality and impartiality of humanitarian efforts.¹⁷⁷ This, in turn, presents challenges when seeking humanitarian access from governments or de facto authorities. For example, in Sudan, regional and international initiatives aimed at facilitating discussions on humanitarian access occasionally linked humanitarian objectives to

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

political and security goals.¹⁷⁸ Consequently, if either party was unwilling to engage in political or security discussions at a specific juncture, progress on humanitarian access was also impeded.

Restrictions of humanitarian assistance in Sudan was rampant and this hindered vulnerable people from accessing the necessary aid needed. The support for disadvantaged people in the society was limited as scores of people were ravaged in hunger, lack of access to basic needs including water and shelter. The US exerted pressure on Sudan's government through sanctions with the aim of ensuring humanitarian organizations and NGOs could be able to provide the necessary aid to the vulnerable populations.

4.8 Diplomatic Link between U.S and Sudan in wake of Sanctions

National security interest has been the core of diplomatic relations. In the 1990s, Sudanese government posed increasingly critical national security threat to America. The timeline following the regimes tenure focused America's attention on the lethal civil war, sporadic humanitarian crisis triggered by famine, drought, and man-made disasters, and the human rights abuses including religious intolerance, enslavement of southern members by northern Muslims, and outlawing opposition parties. The main objective of U.S administration during the Clinton and Bush tenure was to contain regional insurgencies and terrorism emanating from Sudan.

The NIF revolution meant that Sudan became a safe haven for global terrorism with the radical Islamic philosophy being advanced in the country. The country was the base of Islamic revolution and maintained closer link with radical Islamic individuals and groups. The U.S therefore maintained a closer eye on Sudan as it posed serious security threat internationally. In

¹⁷⁸ UN, 2012.

the 1990s, terror organizations began to be developed with Muslim radicals as terrorist organizations arrived in Sudan for training centers and camps.¹⁷⁹ Sudan became a key center of terror activities eliciting the international community to reconsider its engagement with the country.

Bilateral relations between Sudan and the U.S deteriorated drastically with security related concerns at the center. The Department of State affirmed that Sudan served as the center for international terrorist groups which included al-Qaeda. Sudan also aided radical and terrorist groups transiting through the country and those operating in other countries including Iran.

The trends of support for terrorist activities by Sudanese government solidified U.S foreign policy towards Sudan as it centered on isolating Sudan and pressuring it to change. The foreign policy also seeks to contain the threat posed by Sudan's activities on U.S interests, neighboring states, and people of Sudan. The 2000s saw the U.S administration initiate a review of the U.S-Sudan policy with key issues cited including: regional stability and international terrorism, humanitarian crisis in Sudan and need to access vulnerable populations, egregious and pervasive human rights abuses, lack of democratic processes and freedom, impact of oil on the civil war, enslavement of southerners, religious intolerance and persecution, bombardment of civilians, and lack of bilateral engagement between U.S and Sudan.¹⁸⁰

The U.S-Sudan relations have therefore been apprehensive with national security being the core element that defines the relations. Through the 1990s to 2000s, the diplomatic relations between the two countries have been tense with the U.S resulting to imposing different sanctions and measures to pressure Sudanese government towards international interests of human rights,

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Schiff, A. (2017). Beyond push and pull: The Sudan peace process as a case study. *International Negotiation*, 22(1), 33-61.

security and peace, and democratic values.¹⁸¹ The US imposed targeted sanctions on Sudan including embargo on oil exports, and a freeze on financial assets held by the government; Comprehensive economic sanctions on Sudan including an export/import ban, a freeze on assets held by the government, and a ban on trade with the Sudanese central bank; and humanitarian exemptions which allow for humanitarian exemptions to the sanctions, allowing for the sale of food, medicine, and other humanitarian aid.

4.9 US Assistance to Sudan

The US is among the largest contributor to international humanitarian relief efforts, the United States has remained committed to aiding vulnerable groups in Sudan. This includes those affected by displacement and conflict, individuals residing in IDP camps, local communities hosting IDPs, and those who have returned after being displaced. The United States has also been actively supporting Sudan in its journey towards building an inclusive, transparent, and democratic society, enhancing the resilience of vulnerable populations to various challenges, and fostering equitable economic growth.

U.S development aid is aimed at supporting Sudan's initiatives to bridge the gap between its central and peripheral regions, implement policies and economic reforms that promise a brighter future for the Sudanese people, with special emphasis on women and youth, and ensure accountability for crimes against Sudanese citizens. The U.S. government has consistently focused on channeling development assistance into programs that empower women, youth, and marginalized communities, helping them to play a pivotal role in establishing democratic

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*

foundations in Sudan and accessing new economic opportunities.¹⁸² In reaction to the military takeover, the United States initially paused and then reallocated foreign aid to prevent it from supporting the Sudanese government. Humanitarian aid and support for civil society organizations, refugees, and vulnerable populations have continued without disruption.

4.10 Assessing Sudan's Track towards Lifting of Sanctions

Sudan's opponents both within and beyond its borders hold the view that the primary driving force behind the United States' imposition of sanctions and repealing those sanctions was based on their collaborative efforts in counter-terrorism. Notably, U.S. intelligence agencies played a prominent role in advocating for a shift in policy. Khartoum has expressed a strong desire to demonstrate its commitment as an ally in the fight against ISIS and affiliated extremist groups, although the actual value of its contributions remains a subject of ongoing debate.

The most contentious aspect of the sanctions revolves around humanitarian access. Sudan is required to take measures to improve humanitarian access across the country. Personnel who have a history of hindering humanitarian efforts may not effectively implement new regulations or collaborate constructively with humanitarian organizations. As of now, there has not been sufficient progress made towards significant improvements in access to humanitarian aid. There is also a sense of mistrust that lingers among the government, rebel factions, and humanitarian officials. Khartoum leveled accusations against humanitarian organizations, alleging that they were providing food and resources to rebel groups. Humanitarian organizations, on the other hand, harbor deep-seated distrust due to years of ongoing conflicts with the government, even for the simplest humanitarian activities. Given this complex backdrop, especially in comparison to other

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

aspects, there has not been enough time for significant thorough evaluation of Khartoum's performance.

4.11 Conclusion

The sanctions on Sudan since 1997, aimed at pressuring the Sudanese government to improve its record on citizens' rights and freedom. The sanctions significantly affected Sudan's diplomatic relations with the US and international community and their engagement in global spheres was limited. The tense relations between the two countries led to deterioration of Sudan's image in the international community as US pressure limited Sudan's engagement especially in trade with other countries in the West.

The imposition of sanctions by the US against Sudan was due to human rights abuses, civil war and genocide, Sudan's support to terrorism organizations and activities, human trafficking and exploitation, restrictions of humanitarian activities, and discrimination and abuses. The government as well as opposition groups including insurgents engaged in human rights abuses. The government forces in their mandate to maintain law and order engaged in indiscriminate abuses especially against dissenting views. The government cracked down on the opposition and jailed them without following the due process. The law enforcement agencies meted violence against citizens and this affected Sudan's human rights rating globally. The long civil war and genocide in Sudan prompted the US to impose targeted sanctions in order to push the leaders to cease the infighting. There was also widespread discrimination in the country based on religion, language, and gender and this also affected the country's human rights agenda. Human trafficking and exploitation were also widespread in Sudan and this affected law and order. Sudan was also seen as a safe haven for terrorist groups and organizations and this significantly influenced

imposition of sanctions by the US. The government did not cooperate in fight against terrorism and this led to stricter sanctions by the US.

Chapter four examined the key factors that triggered the US to impose sanctions on Sudan over the years. Human rights abuses, civil war and genocide, terrorism and discrimination and abuses were some of the key factors that pushed the US to impose sanctions on Sudan. Chapter five covers the impact of the sanctions especially on the socioeconomic and political spheres.

CHAPTER 5

IMPACT OF US SANCTIONS ON SUNDAN'S LOCAL POPULATION

5.0 Introduction

Chapter five examines the key areas impacted by US sanctions on Sudan. The focus is on the link between the US sanctions and changes in socioeconomic and political spheres. The chapter assesses the key areas that were affected by US sanctions on Sudan. U.S. sanctions on Sudan have profoundly impacted the country's economy and society. Initially imposed in 1997, the sanctions have targeted crucial sectors in the country including trade, financial and oil.¹⁸³ A major concern for the Sudanese government has been the effect on oil investments, given that the government relies heavily on oil revenue to finance its budget.¹⁸⁴ The subsequent effect is exacerbating poverty and unemployment.

5.1 Economic Effects of Sanctions

Economic sanctions have immediate and significant impacts on people's livelihoods, primarily through restricted access to essential goods and services. Sanctions trigger economic consequences with the severity varying based on the cases.¹⁸⁵ The GDP and GNP are key determinants of the effects of sanctions on the economy.¹⁸⁶ However, the cumulative effect of

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Patey, L. A. (2009). Against the Asian tide: The Sudan divestment campaign. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 47(4), 551-573.

¹⁸⁵ Allen S.H, Cilizoglu M, Lektzian D, Su Yi-Hao. (2020). The Consequences of Economic Sanctions. *International Studies Perspectives* 21 (4): 438–77.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

disrupted trade engagements triggers varied economic effects. Comprehensive U.S. sanctions on Sudan led to a notable decline in Sudan's GDP and had a devastating impact on its economy.¹⁸⁷

Increased cooperation among the parties imposing multilateral sanctions has dire economic consequences. Sanctions tend to reduce financial flows between the countries imposing sanctions and the target countries. Furthermore, they may result in limited access to international financing, as exemplified by Sudan's experience with "institutional illiquidity," restricted access to capital markets, increased reliance on capitation from the state. The local market is also detached from the international market.¹⁸⁸ This reduced access to financing in different sectors.¹⁸⁹ The severity of outcomes can be influenced by the specific sectors targeted by sanctions. In Sudan, for instance, sanctions have led to higher volatility in stock indices due to increased country risks related to sanctions. Unexpected sanctions have contributed to greater currency volatility. Sanctions in Sudan have not only affected the sanctioned sectors but have also had repercussions on non-sanctioned sectors.

Sanction senders impose economic costs on themselves as they restrict their own economic transactions, which can be considered necessary to signal their commitment to their demands.¹⁹⁰ However, earlier studies assumed that these costs, especially in the case of unilateral sanctions by large economies like the United States, would likely be short-term and relatively small, with the capacity for adjustments.¹⁹¹ Sanction costs can vary even within the same sanctioning state, with private actors often bearing the brunt of these costs. For instance, U.S. sanctions against Sudan

¹⁸⁷ AfesorgborSK., MahadevanR. (2016). TheImpact of EconomicSanctions on IncomeInequality of TargetStates. *WorldDevelopment* 83: 1–11.

¹⁸⁸ Cranmer, S. J.,Heinrich, T.,&Desmarais, B. A. (2014). Reciprocityand the structuraldeterminants ofthe international sanctionsnetwork. *SocialNetworks*, 36, 5-22.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰Schiff, A. (2017). Beyond push and pull: The Sudan peace process as a case study. *International Negotiation*, 22(1), 33-61.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

have resulted in a decline in the agricultural sector.¹⁹² Sudan has witnessed "evasive economic activity" resulting from U.S. sanctions. The consideration of secondary sanctions may offer insights in defining sanction costs for both host and sender. The neighboring countries of the targets may experience higher costs due to U.S. sanctions, stemming from reduced imports and exports, expenses related to adjusting to new trade platforms and disrupted transportation costs. Trade partners of targeted countries witness a decline in their trade revenues when sanctions lead to a reduction in the target's economic activity. In contrast, rivals of the targets may even benefit from sanctions, as seen when oil-exporting nations experienced increased demand during sanctions against Iraq. For instance, sender allies often support sanctioning efforts (at least initially), and secondary sanctions have led to sustained EU backing for U.S. sanctions on Iran.

Economic sanctions can also have broader systemic consequences. The effects could spill over, reducing the effectiveness of international markets. Although no major disruption directly caused by sanctions has occurred to date, sanctions could potentially create divisions within the global financial infrastructure and undermine market efficiency.¹⁹³ Sanctions affecting major exporters or importers can influence global goods flow and prices. For instance, sanctions on Iraq led to a 2 to 3 percent increase in oil prices. Research indicates that sanctions are likely to inflict greater damage on economically interconnected third-party states.

5.2 Social Effects of Sanctions

Sanctions trigger social disruptions of targeted countries. Sanctions can bolster targeted regimes because incumbents may respond by reducing the provision of "public goods" and

¹⁹² Allen S.H, Cilizoglu M, Lektzian D, Su Yi-Hao. (2020). The Consequences of Economic Sanctions. *International Studies Perspectives* 21 (4): 438–77.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

weakening potential challengers.¹⁹⁴ Simultaneously, a declining economy in the targeted state can weaken civil society, as well as the "middle and lower classes," as witnessed in the case of Sudan. While comprehensive sanctions are known to have a negative impact on democratic freedoms, "democratic sanctions" have been associated with an "increase in democratic platforms" in the targeted countries.¹⁹⁵

Sanctions may not achieve the goal of democracy and human rights especially if the costs of compliance with human rights standards or ending oppression are higher for targeted regimes than enduring the sanctions. The mere threat of sanctions from the United States could lead to a decrease in democratic systems in Sudan. Even when the United States imposes targeted sanctions, it may result in a deterioration of human rights or hinder improvements in the human rights situation. The level of repression tends to rise particularly in personalist regimes facing severe budgetary constraints. The adverse effects of sanctions tend to be less severe under humanitarian sanctions. An analysis of sanctions against Sudan reveals that sanctions have gender-specific consequences. They place an additional burden on women who already bear the responsibilities of housekeeping and childcare, especially during times of crisis when income opportunities are limited. Wealth decreases due to economic constraints necessitated by sanctions.

*“The space for women in Sudan’s society has been affected due to lack of proper structures and checks and balances from the international community on their rights. The sanctions led to Sudan’s government curtailing the rights of citizens with women bearing the heavy brunt”*¹⁹⁶

Sanctions, particularly when implemented on a multilateral scale and with broad-reaching consequences, can erode media openness in the targeted countries. This erosion occurs as the

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Interview by Diplomat. 18/03/2023

governments of these nations attempt to suppress media outlets critical of their policies, often resorting to censorship and other restrictive measures. Additionally, within the context of a struggling economy aggravated by sanctions, media organizations may find themselves facing dwindling financial resources. Consequently, the combination of reduced funding and increased government efforts to stifle domestic dissent can lead to a significant deterioration of civil freedoms.

Multilateral and comprehensive sanctions create a hostile environment for independent media by limiting their financial resources and subjecting them to government pressure. With fewer available resources, non-governmental actors, including media organizations, face significant challenges in maintaining their operations and providing unbiased reporting.¹⁹⁷ At the same time, governments in sanctioned countries often intensify their efforts to quell domestic dissent and control the narrative. This may involve censoring critical voices, cracking down on independent journalism, and imposing stricter regulations on media outlets. As a result, media outlets operating under such conditions may self-censor to avoid government reprisals, resulting in a decline in journalistic integrity and objective reporting.¹⁹⁸

In Sudan, the overall effect has been a shrinking space for free expression, open dialogue, and the free flow of information within the society. The deterioration in media openness further compounds the impact of sanctions on civil freedoms, as citizens may find it increasingly challenging to access accurate and diverse sources of information. Therefore, while sanctions are

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Schiff, A. (2017). Beyond push and pull: The Sudan peace process as a case study. *International Negotiation*, 22(1), 33-61.

often intended to pressure governments into changing their behavior, they can inadvertently contribute to the erosion of essential civil liberties.

“Sudan’s media have been under censor from the government and information being sieved based on governments interests. The media has not been independent and this has significantly affected access to accurate and credible information”¹⁹⁹

Sanctions can potentially lead to violations of human rights when humanitarian efforts fail to alleviate the suffering inflicted by these measures. Moreover, they may infringe upon an individual's human rights by subjecting them to sanctions without fair hearing and judgment. Targeted states may experience a rise in international terrorism events, as terrorist groups can potentially strengthen when the states opposing them become subject to sanctions.²⁰⁰ Conversely, these same groups may weaken when states that provide them with sanctuaries face sanctions.

“Sudan’s sanctions imposed by the US were as a response to reports suggesting the Sudan was offering safe haven for terrorist groups. The imposition of sanctions may have led to further intense terrorist activities in Sudan especially with weakened governance due to the underlying effects of sanctions including economic breakdown.”²⁰¹

Similar to the targeted states, certain factions within the sanctioning countries may derive benefits from sanctions, leading to broader political consequences for the sanctioning party. When taking into account political scandals, crises, or wars, there is a distinction in public responses to unilateral and multilateral sanctions. These factors ultimately shape citizens' attitudes toward their own governments, either fostering support or engendering dissent.

Sanctions have the potential to worsen relations between the sanctioning parties and the targets, even if the sanctions were initially intended to foster cooperation.²⁰² If a state that threatens

¹⁹⁹ Interview by NGO Consultant. 15/03/2023

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Interview by UN Consultant in Sudan. 4/04/2023

²⁰² Ibid.

sanctions fails to follow through with the imposition, its international image may be tarnished. Additionally, both successful and unsuccessful sanctions efforts may, at times, alienate even the allies of the sanctioning party. The alignment of third-party states with either the sanctioning party or the target state is influenced by various factors. These observations underscore the interconnected nature of political effects, involving not only the targets and sanctioning parties but also third-party states. The efficacy of sanctions in enhancing human rights in third-party states is contingent on the perceived costs associated with compliance.²⁰³

5.3 Humanitarian Effects of Sanctions

The effects of sanctions predominantly revolve around economic and political consequences, the countries subjected to the most severe sanctions may also endure humanitarian hardships. Sudan, faced with deteriorating economic conditions and dwindling public services, witnessed a decline in sanitation standards, a crumbling transportation infrastructure, dilapidated schools, and an upsurge in disease spread and mortality rates. The country grappled with reduced access to food and medicines. Even essential medications, not subject to sanctions, became scarcer due to elevated prices and logistical challenges.²⁰⁴

Sanctions limit governments spending in healthcare, particularly in situations of armed conflicts, as exemplified in Sudan. Sanctions tend to diminish a target nation's revenue, resulting in reduced social spending and a decrease in investments in disaster prevention measures. Life expectancy in targeted countries tends to decrease under sanctions.²⁰⁵ Regional disparities can also

²⁰³ Schiff, A. (2017). Beyond push and pull: The Sudan peace process as a case study. *International Negotiation*, 22(1), 33-61.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Taylor, Brandon (2011) *Sanctions as grand strategy* London: Routledge.

be exacerbated by sanctions.²⁰⁶ Trade sanctions have been linked to decreased household incomes. Notably, sanctions targeting goods produced with child labor have not consistently achieved their intended outcomes.

5.4 Socioeconomic Effects of U.S sanctions over Sudan

The social effects of U.S sanctions over Sudan have been significant and far-reaching. Sanctions have had a major impact on the Sudanese economy and on the daily lives of Sudanese citizens. Sudan has natural and human resources that make the country rich. The oil-rich country has the potential to emerge as an economic powerhouse in the region. However, socioeconomic developments in the country since independence have fallen below expectations with the country listed among poor countries. Sudan's estimated GDP per capita is \$751 against Sub-Saharan Africa GDP per capita of \$1,645 according to 2021 data.²⁰⁷ Sudan's human development index was 0.51 points in 2020 against the global average of 0.721 points.²⁰⁸ The human development index is an important indicator of the total socioeconomic conditions of the country and its residents.

One of the major effects of the sanctions has been on the economy. The sanctions have resulted in a trade embargo, restrictions on financial transactions, and a ban on U.S. exports to Sudan.²⁰⁹ This has resulted to decreased foreign investments and general economic growth. Shortage of basic commodities is also experienced mostly affecting vulnerable populations including women and children. According to the participants the sanctions led to shortages of food,

²⁰⁶ Van Bergeijk, P. A., & Siddiquee, M. S. (2017). Biased sanctions? Methodological change in economic sanctions reconsidered and its implications. *International Interactions*, 43(5), 879-893.

²⁰⁷ World Bank. (2022) *GDP per capita (current US\$) – Sudan* Retrieved at <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?locations=SD>

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

medicine, and other essentials. This has also made these goods more expensive, making them out of reach for many Sudanese citizens.

The sanctions have impacted the education system, as they have led to a decrease in funding for schools and a shortage of educational materials.²¹⁰ Human rights and freedoms in Sudan have also been indirect effects of sanctions. Access to information by Sudanese citizens has been difficult due to a decrease in funding for media outlets and a restriction on internet access. The civil society organizations have been affected by the sanctions as they have made it more difficult for these organizations to operate and access funding.

“The education sector in Sudan has been significantly affected as resources have not been sufficient to support learning. There has been limited number of schools with children being forced to walk long distances to access schools. Lack of adequate teachers has also led to deterioration of education sector with sanctions limiting external support and funding”²¹¹

Sanctions have led to a shortage of capital and generally negative impact on Sudan's economy and have made it difficult for the country to achieve sustained economic growth. The 1990s economic reforms in Sudan in agriculture and oil production resulted to an annual GDP growth rate of \$468.35.²¹² However, households' survey with social and asset ownership indicators showed that the growth was unequally distributed. The external debt burden limit leveled against Sudan limited the country's relation with global trade partners. The US implemented the isolation policy against Sudan focused on secluding the country's participation in international matters as a way of pressuring the government towards reforms especially in the area of global security and fight against terrorism.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Interview with IGAD Official. 19.02.2023

²¹² Ibid.

In the 2000s, Sudan experienced economic growth decline due to limited access to foreign financing and investment and heavy debt. The country was not able to finance its development goals resulting to increased poverty levels among its citizens. Restrictions in access to external financing coupled with high inflation, civil war and drained resources in later 1900s forced the Sudanese government to balance its budget. This meant that fewer resources were allocated in different sectors including education and health and this directly affected the citizens. The resultant effect is increase in illiteracy levels which was also a key factor in contributing to high levels of poverty in the country. The civil war in Sudan and cuts in investments in education sector by the US resulted to huge number of children lacking basic education and this subsequently influenced lack of skilled workforce to drive development agenda in the country.

“Lack of resources is one of the key impediments to realization of learning and academic outcomes in the education sector. Non-governmental organizations have been supporting education in Sudan but the sanctions derail optimal support from non-governmental partners.”²¹³

Access and coverage of local basic services in Sudan has been extremely low due to reduced investment. There were significant disparities in geographical distribution of medical facilities. Many peripheral areas in Sudan lacked health systems and in some cases with such facilities they were not functional.²¹⁴ There were indications of regional imbalances of distribution of health facilities. This created a gap in the health industry thus paving way for growth of private sector. Poor people continue to lack access to health services and resort to traditional healers as those in higher economic status seek treatment in private facilities. Limited access to medical

²¹³ Interview with NGO Official. 24.02.2023

²¹⁴ Hamid, S. A. M. (2012). *The ramifications of economic sanctions on health service system: a comparative study of Sudan health service system before and after economic sanctions* Høgskolen i Oslo og Akershus. Fakultet for samfunnsfag.

services and shortages in equipment and medicine characterize developing countries. The challenges in Sudan's different sectors were further compounded by sanctions.

“The health industry in Sudan has been worst affected with lack of infrastructure, qualified medical personnel, and health capacity. Non-governmental organizations have been supporting the health sector for decades with the sanctions further limiting external support even for the NGOs on the ground.”²¹⁵

Economic sanctions have affected humanitarian activities in Sudan.²¹⁶ The lack of adequate investment by government in development activities and health triggered increased need for humanitarian aid. International humanitarian agencies increased their support in Sudan due to the deteriorating livelihoods of most people.

The key priorities of Sudan government have been on security and defense. The rise of insurgents has necessitated the government to spend significantly on its security systems. The expenditures on security have been six times the allocations for education and health combined. This has meant that such services of education and health have been left to humanitarian agencies and NGOs. However, the government has not been providing conducive environment for NGOs to provide the necessary aid.

The forced departure of humanitarian organizations by the Sudanese government affected aid delivery and created huge gap in life-saving operations. The humanitarian programs implemented could only meet a small percentage of priority needs. Execution of humanitarian programs faced severe challenges due to poor local capacity, access limitations, climate and landmines, and administrative and logistical constrains. Even with humanitarian exceptions advanced by the U.S, the Sudanese government responded to sanctions by not allowing adequate

²¹⁵ Interview with NGO Official. 21.02.2023

²¹⁶ U.S. Department of State. (2012) Bureau of African Affairs, Background Note: Sudan. Bureau of Public Affairs The Office of Website Management. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5424.htm#>

humanitarian activities in the country. This resulted to long suffering of civilians and even death for vulnerable populations.

In 2019, University of California assessed the impact of the US financial sector sanctions imposed during 2017-2018 on Venezuela's impoverished and vulnerable communities.²¹⁷ Their study focused on examining the changes in poverty percentages before and after the enforcement of these financial sanctions. The findings indicated a notable surge in extreme poverty in specific regions, primarily attributable to the restricted access to fundamental necessities like food, medicine, fuel, and other essential commodities due to the sanctions. This research also unveiled that these economic sanctions led to a substantial and alarming increase in inflation rates, exacerbating the preexisting poverty challenges across Venezuela. Notably, the high inflation rate resulting from these sanctions had enduring consequences, reaching an unprecedented pinnacle in December 2018 when Venezuela recorded its highest-ever inflation rate at a staggering 2.5 million percent.²¹⁸

Sudan is one of the countries that is heavily reliant on oil, with oil constituting nearly all of its exports and contributing to approximately 70 percent of its gross domestic product, as reported by the World Bank.²¹⁹ The development of Sudan's oil sector has predominantly been spearheaded by foreign companies. The initial investment into Sudan's oil industry was made by the U.S. oil giant Chevron, which commenced extensive onshore exploration activities in 1974. Chevron's efforts led to the mapping of the Muglad and Melut basins, where significant oil reserves were discovered.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

The withdrawal of US companies from engaging in oil trade and investment with Sudan dealt a significant blow to Sudan's optimization of its oil exploration. The sanctions pushed US companies which had invested significantly in the oil industry in Sudan and their withdrawal was a setback to Sudan's economy. The civil war and lack of FDI meant that the government had to rely heavily on donors especially in supporting government programs.²²⁰ The oil industry was a positive indication for the country to be on the pathway towards economic development. The lack of international support in oil trade in Sudan due to sanctions has led to the country to limited oil trade.

Sudan has not been able to develop the oil industry to sustainable progress especially in terms of transparency of operations and management of revenues. Mismanagement and limited engagement in the international market due to sanctions has led to the government heavy reliance on oil proceeds and this has intensified exchange rate depreciation and cycle of inflation which has damaged the outlook in the oil sector. The US imposed sanctions on the oil industry in Sudan as it cited the states support to terrorism and related activities through revenues from the oil sector.

The primary objective of sanctions was also to prevent the revenue generated from oil from financing the ongoing civil war within the country. U.S. officials believed that by restricting the capacity of businesses and organizations to provide funds to the Sudanese government, they could exert pressure on the government to resolve the conflict afflicting the nation.²²¹ These sanctions had the effect of impeding foreign investment in Sudan's oil and gas ventures, thereby preventing the country from utilizing its substantial natural resources, which include 3.5 billion barrels of confirmed oil reserves, for the benefit of its population. Consequently, these sanctions

²²⁰ Gangi, Y. A., & Ahmed, M. H. (2015). The impact of international relations on inflow of foreign direct investment: A case study of Sudan. *Editorial board*, 46.

²²¹ Ibid.

are needlessly complicating Sudan's ability to utilize its oil and gas reserves to stimulate economic growth, generate employment opportunities, foster business development, enhance capabilities, and, notably, establish gas-to-power initiatives that could alleviate the country's widespread energy poverty.²²²

Consequently, the landscape for oil and gas exploration in Sudan has become significantly more difficult. When an entity, whether it be a company, government, organization, or individual, intends to export or re-export specific items, such as oil, from an entity listed on the sanctions list, they are required to obtain a special license from the U.S. government. Non-compliance with these stipulations could lead to potential criminal or civil legal actions, denial of export privileges, and even inclusion on the Entity List itself. The major activities within Sudan's oil and gas sector has been severely restricted. Investments in oil and gas projects have dwindled, and the sanctions have dampened push for engagement in the country's pivotal industry.

Sudan's current level of oil production falls significantly short of meeting the government's fiscal requirements or facilitating the much-needed economic growth. To fully exploit its oil and gas reserves, Sudan necessitates greater investment and activity. The U.S. sanctions also serve as a hindrance to the optimal extraction of natural gas within Sudan, which could be a valuable resource in addressing energy poverty. These sanctions have impeded Sudan's economic expansion, resulting in challenges for the government in generating employment opportunities and creating a conducive environment for business ventures to support its burgeoning population.

The US Department of Commerce remains committed to discouraging investors from involvement in exploration and production activities in Sudan. Nevertheless, there are

²²² *Ibid.*

governments and companies untroubled by the U.S. Entity List, actively engaging with Sudan's government within the oil industry. Despite U.S. economic sanctions imposed on Sudan in response to allegations of war crimes, they had limited impact on preventing China from exploiting Sudan's oil resources. Presently, China National Petroleum stands as a prominent participant in the Dar Petroleum Operating Company, a consortium of oil firms that continues oil production operations in Sudan, even after being placed on the U.S. Entity List.²²³

Sudan's energy sector has encountered persistent challenges in gaining momentum. With the vast majority of Sudan's territory remaining unexplored and significant opportunities for further exploration in existing production areas, the government recognizes the potential assets it can offer to oil and gas companies. However, the sanctions imposed by the U.S. obstruct the inflow of sufficient investment into this sector. The country's prospects appear dim without the establishment of long-term stability, effective governance, and transparency. If the U.S. were to lift its sanctions, it could pave the way for optimal oil and gas production, which in turn could stimulate growth, create economic prospects, and contribute to poverty alleviation in Sudan.

5.5 Sanctions and Healthcare

U.S. sanctions on Sudan have profoundly disrupted the country's healthcare sector, creating severe barriers to accessing essential medical supplies and equipment. Healthcare is a basic right with the government being responsible for ensuring citizens have the right access to quality medical services.²²⁴ The sanctions limit the importation of advanced diagnostic tools,

²²³ Luke Anthony Patey, (2007) "State Rules: Oil Companies and Armed Conflict in Sudan" *Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 5, 2007, pp 997–1016.

²²⁴ Germani F, März JW, Clarinval C, Biller-Andorno N. (2022). Economic sanctions, healthcare and the right to health. *BMJ Glob Health*. (7):e009486. doi: 10.1136/bmjgh-2022-009486. PMID: 35896183; PMCID: PMC9328087.

pharmaceuticals, and basic medical necessities.²²⁵ As a result, hospitals and clinics face critical shortages, forcing them to operate with outdated or insufficient resources. This scarcity inflates costs and imposes logistical challenges, straining an already tight healthcare budget and reducing the availability of affordable care for the Sudanese population.

The pharmaceutical sector in Sudan is particularly vulnerable under these sanctions. Local production cannot meet the country's demands, and importing drugs is complicated by financial and logistical restrictions.²²⁶ Consequently, there are frequent shortages of essential medications, and the quality of locally produced drugs often suffers due to a lack of modern manufacturing equipment. This situation leads to the use of substandard medicines, which undermines patient care and exacerbates public health challenges.

Healthcare infrastructure in Sudan also suffers from the impact of these sanctions. Financial constraints and restrictions on international transactions hamper the development and maintenance of medical facilities.²²⁷ Hospitals and clinics struggle to procure necessary equipment and perform routine maintenance, leading to deteriorating conditions. Moreover, sanctions limit opportunities for healthcare professionals to receive training and engage in capacity-building initiatives, impeding the adoption of modern medical practices and further isolating Sudan from global advancements in healthcare.

²²⁵ Garfield, R. (1999). *The impact of economic sanctions on health and well-being*. Overseas Development Institute.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Germani, F., März, J. W., Clarinval, C., & Biller-Andorno, N. (2022). Economic sanctions, healthcare and the right to health. *BMJ Global Health*, 7(7), e009486.

Financial isolation caused by sanctions has broader implications for Sudan's healthcare system.²²⁸ Restrictions on banking and financial transactions complicate the payment for imported goods and international aid, affecting all sectors, including healthcare. The government's ability to invest in healthcare infrastructure and services is significantly reduced, as financial resources are constrained. This isolation not only limits access to critical medical supplies but also hampers international aid efforts, which are crucial for addressing public health crises and improving overall health outcomes.

The cumulative effects of U.S. sanctions have led to deteriorating health outcomes in Sudan, with increased infant and maternal mortality rates and a rise in preventable diseases. Public health crises, such as malaria and cholera outbreaks, are exacerbated by the limited availability of medications and medical supplies. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) face operational challenges due to sanctions, including difficulties in transferring funds and importing supplies, which restrict their ability to provide essential health services.²²⁹ To mitigate these impacts, a balanced approach that considers both political objectives and humanitarian needs is essential, potentially through more targeted and flexible sanctions regimes and strengthening local pharmaceutical production capabilities.

5.6 Political Implications of U.S Policy towards Sudan

The U.S. policy towards Sudan, marked by comprehensive sanctions and diplomatic pressures, has significant political implications both domestically within Sudan and internationally. The primary aim of these policies has been to address issues such as human rights

²²⁸ Sajadi, H. S., & Majdzadeh, R. (2022). Health system to response to economic sanctions: global evidence and lesson learned from Iran. *Globalization and Health*, 18(1), 107.

²²⁹ Pintor, M. P., Suhrcke, M., & Hamelmann, C. (2023). The impact of economic sanctions on health and health systems in low-income and middle-income countries: a systematic review and narrative synthesis. *BMJ Global Health*, 8(2), e010968.

abuses, support for terrorism, and the suppression of democratic processes.²³⁰ By exerting economic pressure, the U.S. hoped to incentivize political reforms and the cessation of objectionable activities. However, the immediate political fallout in Sudan has often been increased internal instability, as the government struggles to cope with economic hardships exacerbated by these sanctions. The pressure has at times led to a crackdown on dissent, as authorities attempt to maintain control amid growing public dissatisfaction fueled by economic decline.

Internationally, U.S. sanctions on Sudan have had a ripple effect, influencing the geopolitical landscape in the region. Countries with economic and political interests in Sudan, such as China and Russia, have sometimes filled the void left by Western disengagement, leading to a shift in alliances and influence. These nations have often provided economic and military support to Sudan, counteracting the impact of Western sanctions and complicating U.S. efforts to isolate the Sudanese regime. This realignment not only affects Sudan's foreign relations but also impacts regional stability, as competing interests vie for influence in a strategically important area.

The sanctions have also had profound effects on Sudan's internal political dynamics. By weakening the central government economically, sanctions have sometimes empowered opposition groups and regional factions, leading to fragmented political landscapes.²³¹ While this fragmentation can create opportunities for democratic movements, it can also result in increased violence and instability as different groups vie for power. In some cases, the sanctions have unintentionally strengthened hardline elements within the government who argue against making concessions under foreign pressure, thus prolonging conflicts and hindering political reforms.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*

Furthermore, the U.S. policy towards Sudan has had significant humanitarian consequences that carry political weight. Sanctions aimed at the government often end up impacting the general population, leading to widespread suffering and hardship. This can foster anti-American sentiment among ordinary Sudanese citizens, complicating diplomatic efforts and reducing the leverage the U.S. has in negotiating with the government. Humanitarian exceptions in the sanctions regime are often insufficient to address the needs of the population, exacerbating public health crises and economic hardships, which in turn fuel further political unrest.

Despite the challenges, there have been instances where U.S. policy has contributed to positive political changes in Sudan. The transitional government in Sudan has made significant strides towards democratic reforms, including engaging with international communities and working towards removing Sudan from the U.S. list of state sponsors of terrorism. However, the path to stable governance remains fraught with challenges, as the country navigates the complex legacy of sanctions, internal divisions, and the need for comprehensive political and economic reforms. The U.S. continues to face the delicate task of balancing pressure with support to foster lasting peace and democracy in Sudan.

5.7 Key Impact Areas of US Sanctions on Sudan

The U.S. sanctions on Sudan have had far-reaching implications across various sectors, deeply affecting the nation's economy, social spheres, trade, and political dynamics. The sanctions were effected to addressing concerns over violations in human rights, and terrorism, these sanctions have restricted access to international markets, foreign investments, and technology. As a result, Sudan's economy faced significant challenges, hindering growth and development. However, limitations on healthcare and humanitarian aid deliveries have affected the well-being of the civilian population. Foreign investment has been deterred, limiting the inflow of capital

necessary for economic development. Access to technology and services has been restricted, impacting sectors such as telecommunications and information technology. Sanctions also have indirect consequences on agriculture and food security, healthcare and humanitarian aid, political dynamics, and the well-being of the civilian population.²³²

5.7.1 Trade

U.S. sanctions adversely affected trade and economy of Sudan. Sudan's financial isolation is one of the most notable consequences of the sanctions.²³³ The country's banks have faced severe restrictions in conducting international transactions and accessing global financial markets. Correspondent banking relationships with international institutions were cut off, limiting Sudan's ability to facilitate trade and investment. U.S. sanctions have deterred foreign investors from engaging with Sudan. The risk of legal repercussions and association with a sanctioned nation have discouraged potential investors, leading to a decline in foreign direct investment (FDI). The lack of FDI has hindered the development of critical sectors and job creation in the country.

“The sanctions triggered reduction in establishment of industries and this significantly affected availability of jobs both unskilled and skilled job opportunities. FDI was limited as the international community lacked confidence in Sudan's government”²³⁴

The sanctions have had adverse effects on Sudan's ability to export goods and services to other countries. Key export sectors, such as oil, were significantly impacted, leading to decreased revenue for the government and reduced foreign exchange earnings.²³⁵ Additionally, the restrictions on imports have limited Sudan's access to essential goods and technologies from the global market. The economic isolation caused by sanctions contributed to currency depreciation in Sudan. The devaluation of the Sudanese pound increased import costs, leading to inflationary

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Interview with Embassy Official. 26.03.2023

²³⁵ Ibid.

pressures on essential commodities. Rising inflation eroded the purchasing power of the Sudanese people, affecting their overall standard of living. U.S. sanctions strained the country's trade relations with other nations. Many countries were reluctant to engage in significant trade partnerships with a nation facing U.S. sanctions, fearing potential legal repercussions or reputational risks. This reduced Sudanese businesses' export opportunities and access to international markets. Sudan has grappled with economic instability for an extended period.

Negotiations by the food industry successfully secured an exemption for gum arabic, shielding products like Coca-Cola from the sanctions.²³⁶ Despite these measures, youth unemployment remained persistently high, far surpassing the adult unemployment rate. With oil revenue loss attributed to the sanctions, Sudan experienced a deceleration in economic growth, soaring inflation. The decision by the US to terminate aid, financing, and debt relief to Sudan failed to penalize the military government while exacerbating the suffering of citizens grappling with a crumbling economy. Following the sanctions, Sudan encountered substantial challenges in its political, economic, and social landscape. The country's international trade was severely curtailed, foreign investments in critical sectors like agriculture and oil dwindled, and its economic footprint dwindled significantly.

Nevertheless, the existing sanctions framework has proven ineffective in targeting the Sudanese military and political elite responsible for the ongoing crisis in Sudan. The Sudanese economy has continued to contract, with negative growth rates, placing additional strain on its population of 46.6 million.²³⁷ In addition, these sanctions have led to a decline in living standards. Household budgets throughout Sudan, including those of most internally displaced persons (IDPs),

²³⁶ *ibid.*

²³⁷ *ibid.*

have been stretched as prices for essential foodstuffs like wheat, millet, and sorghum have surged. The combination of limited food accessibility, decreased purchasing power, and a lack of alternative livelihood opportunities. The primary needs include food, healthcare, livelihood support, and access to educational services. Shortages of fuel and foreign currency have also hampered humanitarian operations. Sudan's economic fragility persists with the sanctions. The repercussions of these sanctions included hindrances in financing imports and repatriating export earnings, resulting in reduced trade and foreign investments.²³⁸ Shortages of imported goods, encompassing food and energy, contributed to increased inflation and food prices.

5.7.2 Oil Production and Trade

Sudan's economy, primarily reliant on the oil sector, has grappled with intricate and non-transparent financial flows, governance weaknesses, and substantial subsidies.²³⁹ Beyond the issue of depleting reserves, the oil sector encounters significant challenges that could potentially be mitigated through investment. However, foreign investors have refrained from engaging in Sudan's oil sector due to U.S. sanctions, pervasive conflict, and human rights concerns.²⁴⁰ The international isolation has stunted the development of its oil industry, limiting its capacity to expand production and modernize infrastructure. Consequently, Sudan's oil output has remained below potential levels, depriving the country of a crucial source of revenue essential for economic stability and development. The restrictions on financial transactions have made it difficult for Sudan to attract foreign investment, which is vital for the oil sector.²⁴¹ International companies are wary of doing

²³⁸ World Bank. 2013. Interim Strategy Note (FY2014-2015) for the Republic of Sudan. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group, World Bank.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Aluoch, R. B. (2015). The paradox of sanctions Regime in Sudan. *Insight on Africa*, 7(1), 71-83.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

business with Sudan due to the risk of secondary sanctions and the complexities of navigating the sanctioned environment. This has resulted in a lack of capital and expertise needed for exploration, production, and refining activities. The reduced investment has not only affected the quantity of oil produced but also the quality of infrastructure, leading to inefficiencies and higher production costs, which further diminish the profitability and attractiveness of Sudan's oil industry.

Additionally, sanctions have impeded Sudan's ability to export oil, a key source of foreign exchange. The inability to access major markets has forced Sudan to rely on a limited number of buyers, often at lower prices due to the lack of competition. This has reduced the overall revenue from oil exports, exacerbating the country's economic challenges. Moreover, the logistical difficulties of exporting oil under sanctions, such as insurance and shipping restrictions, have further increased costs and reduced margins. The resultant decline in foreign currency reserves has impaired Sudan's ability to import necessary goods, creating a negative feedback loop of economic hardship.

Sanctions have also had a profound effect on the technological advancement of Sudan's oil sector. Modern oil production requires state-of-the-art technology for exploration, drilling, and refining, much of which comes from Western countries. With these sources cut off due to sanctions, Sudan has struggled to maintain and upgrade its oil production capabilities.²⁴² This technological lag has resulted in lower efficiency and productivity, making it difficult for Sudan to compete in the global oil market. The lack of access to spare parts and advanced machinery has led to frequent downtimes and operational challenges, further crippling the industry.

²⁴² Ibid.

In response to these challenges, Sudan has sought to develop alternative partnerships, particularly with countries like China and Russia, which are less influenced by U.S. sanctions.²⁴³ These countries have provided some investment and technical assistance, helping to sustain Sudan's oil production to an extent. However, these partnerships often come with their own sets of challenges, including less favorable terms and the potential for increased debt. While these alliances have provided some relief, they are not a complete substitute for the broad-based international cooperation and investment that Sudan's oil sector needs to thrive. Consequently, the impact of U.S. sanctions continues to be a significant barrier to the full development of Sudan's oil industry and its overall economic recovery.

5.7.3 Technology and Services

Sudan faced challenges in accessing certain technologies and services due to sanctions. This limitation impacted various sectors, including telecommunications, information technology, and infrastructure development. The implications of sanctions on Sudan's access to technology and services has been profound, affecting the country's economic development, infrastructure, and overall well-being. These sanctions, imposed for various reasons, including concerns about terrorism, human rights abuses, and regional conflicts, have significantly restricted Sudan's ability to modernize its economy and access critical services.²⁴⁴

The technological sector in Sudan has suffered greatly due to the restrictions on technology transfer and access to modern innovations. Limited capacity in advanced technologies and the inability to keep pace with global advancements have resulted in technological stagnation. As a consequence, Sudan has struggled to compete internationally, hindering its potential for growth and economic diversification. The telecommunications sector has been adversely affected, as the

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

restrictions on technology imports have hindered the development and expansion of Sudan's telecommunications infrastructure.²⁴⁵ This has led to challenges in upgrading networks and providing reliable internet connectivity, limiting the country's ability to meet the increasing demands of its population for better communication services.

“The country lags behind in technological adoption and penetration and a significant part of the country lacks access to technological systems. This makes it difficult for non-governmental organizations on the ground from coordinating and effectively implementing humanitarian and development projects”²⁴⁶

The information technology (IT) sector and e-commerce in Sudan have faced considerable setbacks due to the limitations on access to software, hardware, and IT services. This has hindered the growth of local IT companies and startups, and e-commerce platforms have been unable to access essential tools and resources to compete effectively in the global market. The lack of a vibrant IT industry has further hindered Sudan's ability to harness technology for economic growth and innovation.

The energy and infrastructure sectors in Sudan have been impacted by the limited modern technology.²⁴⁷ The country has faced challenges in modernizing its energy infrastructure, investing in renewable energy sources, and improving energy efficiency. These restrictions have hindered Sudan's efforts to develop a sustainable and resilient energy sector, limiting its ability to support industrial development. In the healthcare sector, the impact of U.S. sanctions has been indirectly felt through restrictions on financial transactions and technology transfers. While humanitarian aid was generally exempt from sanctions, the limitations on financial transactions and technology

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Interview with NGO Official. 27.03.2023

²⁴⁷ Taylor, Brandon (2011) *Sanctions as grand strategy* London: Routledge.

access have made it challenging for healthcare facilities to procure advanced medical equipment and essential medicines.²⁴⁸ This has adversely affected the quality of healthcare services available to the Sudanese population, especially for those in underserved and remote areas.

The educational institutions and research organizations in Sudan have also faced challenges in accessing the latest academic resources, research tools, and technologies due to the sanctions. Limited access to international collaborations and resources has hindered the growth of research and development initiatives in the country. Limited technology and expertise has resulted in a shortage of skilled professionals and has led to a brain drain, as talented individuals seek opportunities abroad.

Limited advanced telecommunications infrastructure and internet connectivity in remote regions has hindered digital inclusion and access to educational and economic opportunities in Sudan.²⁴⁹ As a result, rural communities have been further marginalized in the country's technological and economic development. In the financial services sector, the restrictions on financial transactions have hindered Sudan's ability to develop modern financial services and digital payment systems. The country has faced challenges in adopting e-payment platforms and digital banking services, hindering the growth of a formal financial ecosystem. This has limited the efficiency of financial transactions and hindered efforts to improve financial inclusion.

The cybersecurity and data protection of Sudan have also been compromised due to limited modern cybersecurity services. The absence of robust data protection mechanisms has made Sudan vulnerable to cyber threats and attacks, endangering the security and privacy of individuals and businesses. With limited access to foreign investment and financial resources, the country has

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

struggled to fund research and development initiatives that could drive technological advancements. Additionally, the brain drain caused by the lack of opportunities and access to modern technology has further hindered Sudan's ability to build and retain a pool of local talent capable of driving technological advancements.

“The NGOs have been vital in supporting skills training development. This has helped equip communities with skills that support them in harnessing job opportunities especially in the informal sector”²⁵⁰

The lack of access to international training programs and skill development opportunities has limited the country's capacity to adopt new technologies and develop technical expertise. As a result, Sudanese businesses and individuals have resorted to informal channels to access technology and services, which may be unreliable and expose them to potential legal risks. While humanitarian aid is generally exempt from sanctions, the indirect impact on the economy and access to technology can still affect vulnerable groups in Sudan. These groups may face challenges in accessing essential services and technology-dependent opportunities, further exacerbating socio-economic disparities in the country.

Following the imposition of sanctions, accessing various digital services became incredibly challenging in Sudan. Specifically, individuals faced difficulties in downloading apps from Google Play and updating their software. The use of credit cards was heavily restricted, thereby preventing online transactions for activities such as ordering books, computers, or purchasing music. Sudanese diaspora attempted to send financial aid to their families back home, transferring money from the US to Sudan was extremely difficult. These US sanctions impacted Sudan by blocking essential technological tools necessary to transfer money. Diaspora citizens encountered obstacles when trying to transact.

²⁵⁰ Interview with NGO Consultant. 19.03.2023

“The sanctions in Sudan derailed my graduation as finishing the project was an obstacle. I had the project of building a mobile application as part of pursuing my degree in software engineering. The application would facilitate users to locate offices, restaurants, and businesses within their proximity. Developing the app required downloads from paid platform. Restrictions of Mastercard or Visa meant that one could not be able to download the app and therefore making research impossible”²⁵¹

The limitations in accessing technological platforms, including HTML, underscore the profound repercussions of US sanctions on Sudan's technological and communication landscape, impeding the nation's progress significantly. The restrictions inadvertently facilitate repressive regimes in their efforts to control information access within their borders. The challenges faced by young professionals and students in pursuing knowledge and affiliating with institutions. The students faced challenges in accessing research materials due to the blocking of numerous websites in compliance with US directives, which also extended to financial transactions related to Sudan. The use of credit cards was off-limits for any transactions associated with Sudan. The US sanctions also impacted the international recognition of Sudanese certifications. Essential computing certifications needed for career advancement and credibility were unavailable within Sudan, as Google did not permit the reception of their certifications in the country.

5.7.4 Agriculture and Food Security

The agricultural sector is a vital component of Sudan's economy contributing significantly to the country's GDP. However, U.S. sanctions have hampered the sector's growth and potential.²⁵² One of the key impacts has been on access to agricultural inputs, including fertilizers, pesticides, and machinery. The restrictions on trade and financial transactions have made it challenging for Sudanese farmers to procure essential inputs needed to boost crop yields and improve agricultural

²⁵¹ Interview by a University Professor. 1/03/2023

²⁵² Ibid.

productivity. As a result, farmers have faced difficulties in maintaining and expanding their agricultural operations, leading to stagnation in production levels.²⁵³

Access to modern agricultural technologies has been limited due to the sanctions.²⁵⁴ Technologies such as improved seeds, efficient irrigation systems, and advanced farming practices play a crucial role in enhancing crop yields and resilience against climate variability. However, the restrictions on technology transfer and investment in the agricultural sector have hindered the adoption of new technologies in Sudan.²⁵⁵ This has further hindered the sector's ability to cope with challenges such as droughts, pests, and diseases, which can impact food production. The impact of U.S. sanctions on Sudan's agricultural exports has also been significant. The country has historically been a major exporter of agricultural products, such as sorghum, millet, and sesame. However, the restrictions on trade and financial transactions have limited Sudan's access to international markets, leading to reduced export opportunities.

“Food security has been mostly affected by lack of adoption of modern farming practices which has been limited by sanctions. This has resulted to low production”²⁵⁶

U.S. sanctions have indirectly affected food security in Sudan.²⁵⁷ The limitations on technology, inputs, and access to international markets have contributed to food production shortfalls. As a result, Sudan has faced challenges in producing adequate food supplies. The sanctions also impacted food processing and storage infrastructure. Limited access to modern technologies and equipment has made it difficult for Sudan to develop efficient food processing

²⁵³ Siddig, K., & Mohammed, Z. (2017). *Lifting two-decades-long economic sanctions on the Sudan: Future pathways of agricultural development in a normalized economy* (No. 10562). EcoMod.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Interview with NGO. Official. 19.03.2023

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

facilities, which are essential in ensuring food quality. The lack of proper storage facilities has also led to food wastage, further exacerbating food insecurity in the country.

U.S. sanctions have impacted the availability and affordability of agricultural credit in Sudan. The restrictions on financial transactions have limited farmers' access to credit and loans, making it challenging for them to invest in their agricultural operations and purchase essential inputs. This lack of credit availability has hindered the sector's growth and modernization. Another critical aspect of the impact of sanctions on Sudan's agriculture and food security is the disruption of humanitarian aid and assistance. While humanitarian aid is generally exempt from sanctions, the limitations on financial transactions and trade limited aid organizations to operate effectively in the country. This has hindered their ability to provide timely and sufficient assistance to vulnerable populations during times of crisis, such as droughts, floods, and conflicts.

The negative impact of U.S. sanctions on Sudan's agriculture and food security has been exacerbated by other domestic challenges, including conflicts and environmental factors. Conflicts in certain regions of Sudan have disrupted agricultural activities and displaced farmers, leading to further food insecurity.²⁵⁸ Moreover, climate change-related events, such as droughts and floods, have become more frequent and severe in the region, posing additional challenges to food production and stability.

The imposition of US sanctions on Sudan had a detrimental effect on food security. Millions of people in Sudan were reliant on food aid to meet their nutritional needs. This situation was exacerbated by a combination of factors including soaring prices of essential food items, a shortage of fuel supplies, and a decrease in the purchasing power of the population. As a result, a

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

larger number of households found themselves depending on food assistance compared to previous years. The adverse impact of these conditions was especially pronounced in central and eastern semi-mechanized regions, with civilians in these areas bearing the brunt of the crisis.

Humanitarian aid played a crucial role in preventing even worse outcomes. The most severely affected regions included Khartoum.²⁵⁹ These vulnerable populations were already grappling with heightened levels of food insecurity due to ongoing insecurity and restricted access. Unfortunately, the situation was poised to worsen further as Sudan faced increased isolation from the international community. In the aftermath of the sanctions, food prices outpaced wage increases, placing the livelihoods of millions in jeopardy. Additionally, the scarcity of hard currency left farmers unable to pay their labor forces, leading to a decrease in agricultural activities. To cope with these challenges, many rural Sudanese began seeking employment outside the agricultural sectors.

Sudan experienced high rates of malnutrition, with millions of children suffering from acute or severe malnourishment. The situation was exacerbated by limited access to healthcare, clean water, and affordable food for the most vulnerable segments of the population. Urban residents, who relied on market purchases for their food, faced shortages and were severely affected by the economic crisis.²⁶⁰ A significant number of refugees remained undocumented, rendering them vulnerable as they fell outside the protection schemes of the United Nations and faced challenges accessing affordable food due to soaring prices.

Trade restrictions on imports and exports created obstacles in the transportation of food, causing difficulties for both consumers and producers, ultimately leading to a decline in farmers'

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

incomes and detrimental effects on the sector. Sudan has been grappling with persistent inflation in its economy and has been working on implementing measures to rein it in through the establishment of disciplined monetary and fiscal policies.²⁶¹ Fiscal policies are aimed at enhancing family's capacity to realize nutritional requirements. Over the past few decades, Sudan has experienced notably high levels of inflation, primarily attributable to economic uncertainties that were further exacerbated by US sanctions.

The sanctions that impose strict limitations on any meaningful rehabilitation efforts or engagement with the government have had adverse consequences for the potential reconstruction of Sudan's agricultural sector. These sanctions have also placed significant restrictions on the development of technical expertise, ultimately eroding the capacity of key technical institutions responsible for safeguarding and advancing the country's food security in the long term. Securing funding for capacity-building initiatives targeting government personnel involved in agricultural engineering and research has been a challenging task, particularly given the significant brain drain experienced within the sector.

The US sanctions on Sudan have had a detrimental impact on technical agricultural institutions by constraining their capacity-building efforts. This, in turn, has hindered these institutions from effectively providing essential resources like seeds, fodder, and fuel to farmers, thereby negatively affecting the productivity of the agricultural sector.²⁶² The sanctions have resulted to increase in food costs that have had a negative impact on agricultural productivity. These cost escalations are primarily linked to rising expenses in areas such as energy, transportation, and agricultural inputs. Prices for crucial agricultural inputs like seeds, fertilizers,

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² *Ibid.*

pesticides, and livestock vaccinations have all surged, resulting in higher production costs for consumers. Sanctions have worsened the condition of Sudan's livestock and veterinary sectors, impeding their recovery. These sanctions have imposed restrictions on the importation of essential materials and equipment crucial for reviving the livestock industry, which has suffered from significant infrastructure damage and a decrease in livestock population.²⁶³ Specific limitations were imposed on imports especially farm inputs.

The implementation of economic sanctions and their repercussions on the countries they target are well-defined within diplomatic circles. Expanding our focus to understand the effects of economic sanctions, hereafter referred to as sanctions, on food security becomes particularly pertinent given the ongoing global efforts to combat hunger and famine.²⁶⁴ The issue of food insecurity remains a significant global concern, as underscored by the Sustainable Development Goal. Recent anecdotal evidence suggests a potential reversal in the long-standing decline in food security indicators in many developing nations. For instance, a report by FAO indicates that approximately 815 million people suffered from undernourishment, with over 100 million facing severe food insecurity in 2016.²⁶⁵ This trend highlights a worsening situation of acute food insecurity.

From a political-economic perspective, the imposition of sanctions can negatively impact food security in sanctioned countries through various channels. Sanctions can undermine food security in several ways. Firstly, the central government in a sanctioned state may withhold essential resources, thereby reducing the productivity of private-sector actors, including farmers.

²⁶³ Lopez, G. A., & Cortright, D. (2018). Economic sanctions in contemporary global relations. In *Economic Sanctions* (pp. 3-16). Routledge.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP, and WHO. (2017). *The state of food security and nutrition in the world 2017. Building resilience for peace and food security*. Food and Agricultural Organization.

Secondly, governments may deliberately centralize the distribution of essential goods, such as food, using access to these resources as a means of control or punishment against dissenting voices.

Linking sanctions to food insecurity in target countries is not far-fetched, as any externally induced crisis has the potential to manifest in various forms—lower income levels, higher unemployment rates, reduced investments in education, and consequently, decreased consumption and deteriorating nutritional outcomes in sanctioned nations.²⁶⁶ However, establishing a causal relationship between sanctions and food insecurity requires a more rigorous econometric approach, as any anecdotal associations may not provide sufficient grounds for causation.

Sanctions can impact food security differently by affecting trade, the adoption of technology, food aid, and agricultural development assistance.²⁶⁷ Regarding trade, sanctions can directly impede the flow of agricultural products and food into targeted states, as sanctions involve the application of various restrictive measures, including financial and trade restrictions. Economic sanctions are often associated with an increased demand for trade protection. These sanctions tend to benefit special interest groups, particularly import-competing producers, leading to a heightened demand for protectionist policies that can regulate both the flow of final goods and the factors of production.

The transfer of agricultural technology could face adverse consequences, as trade in agricultural inputs and the dissemination of new agricultural ideas and innovations may be impeded. For instance, it is widely acknowledged that the transfer of the green revolution to Asia played a significant role in reducing hunger across the continent. Food aid has also been recognized as a pivotal factor in alleviating undernourishment. Nutrition-sensitive aid, including emergency

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

food assistance, significantly reduces hunger. Specifically, a 10% increase in per capita food aid can lead to an average reduction in hunger of 1.3%.²⁶⁸ In the context of sanctions, one commonly employed measure is the reduction of foreign assistance, encompassing both cash and food aid, by the sender states to the targeted nations. An illustrative example of the impact of sanctions on food security is the cancellation of a substantial US grain shipment to Pakistan and India due to US sanctions.

Beyond directly exacerbating food insecurity in the sanctioned state, the circumstances created by sanctions can also hinder efficient food distribution. Through these various channels, sanctions can directly affect the ability of targeted countries to address food security.²⁶⁹ Another mechanism through which sanctions can impact food security is by undermining political institutions in the targeted countries. Political institutions and the governance of a country play crucial roles in determining food security. Political instability can lead to food insecurity through multiple avenues. Firstly, it may diminish the ability of the impoverished population to generate income in non-agricultural sectors, thereby reducing their purchasing power. Secondly, political instability may elevate the risk premium, resulting in a higher rate of return for investments, which, in turn, reduces overall investment in both the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors.

Insufficient investment in the agricultural sector has been identified by the FAO as the primary cause of the highest prevalence and most profound depth of hunger in sub-Saharan Africa.²⁷⁰ Furthermore, political instability can create an environment that increases the costs associated with food distribution.²⁷¹ The analysis of the impact of sanctions represents the first

²⁶⁸ FSIN. (2018). *Global report on food crises 2018*. Food Security Information Network.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ FAO. (2015). *The state of agricultural commodity markets trade and food security: Achieving a better balance between national priorities and the collective good*. Food and Agricultural Organization.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

empirical investigation into how sanctions affect food security in targeted states. Food security is a multifaceted concept, and different indicators of food security may yield contrasting results. Nevertheless, sanctions do have an impact on food availability, access, and stability in targeted countries.

Food insecurity in Sudan was exacerbated by sanctions and political crisis. The key was as described by participants that would affect food insecurity includes:

5.7.5 Border Restrictions

The imposition of sanctions in Sudan had a domino effect on various aspects of the country's food supply chain. One of the primary channels through which sanctions have impacted food security is by triggering trade and border closures. These closures have had a crippling effect on the supply of vital food commodities, particularly imported cereals such as rice, maize, and vegetable oil. With the flow of these essential items disrupted, their scarcity on the market has driven prices to alarming levels.

The repercussions of these trade restrictions have not been confined solely to imported cereals; rather, they have rippled through the entire food market. As the prices of staples like rice and maize have soared, consumers have been forced to seek alternative options to meet their dietary needs. This shift in demand towards locally produced cereals like millet and sorghum, which were once considered secondary choices, has had a profound impact on these commodities as well. The heightened demand for millet and sorghum, driven by their relative affordability compared to the scarce imported cereals, has triggered an increase in their prices as well. This shift in demand dynamics has underscored the interconnectedness of food commodities within the

Sudanese market, demonstrating that disruptions in one sector can have far-reaching consequences throughout the entire food ecosystem.

In addition, the inflationary pressures exerted by the scarcity of imported cereals have caused a ripple effect on the prices of other food items and basic necessities. The rising cost of food staples has left many households struggling to afford an adequate and nutritious diet, pushing them further into food insecurity. The implications of this crisis are profound, as food insecurity can lead to a host of health issues, malnutrition, and social unrest. Border closures also impeded the importation of essential food supplies and specialized products necessary for the treatment and prevention of malnutrition. This has a direct impact on the nutritional well-being of vulnerable populations, including children and pregnant or lactating women, who rely on these interventions for their survival and health.

The suspension of donor funding disrupts the financial stability of humanitarian organizations, hindering their capacity to respond effectively to the pressing needs of the population. Without adequate funding, organizations like WFP face significant obstacles in procuring food and medical supplies, conducting nutritional programs, and maintaining the critical infrastructure required for food distribution and malnutrition treatment centers. In the context of food security, the interplay between sanctions, border closures, and reduced donor funding creates a perfect storm. It threatens to deepen food insecurity crisis, potentially leading to severe malnutrition, famine, and heightened vulnerability among the most marginalized and disadvantaged communities.

5.7.6 Reduced Remittance Inflows

Financial sanctions have emerged as a significant driver of the deepening food insecurity crisis in Sudan.²⁷² These sanctions have a direct and adverse impact on remittance inflows, which play a pivotal role in sustaining the livelihoods of countless Sudanese households. The importance of remittances cannot be overstated, especially for impoverished families struggling to make ends meet. Remittances represent a lifeline, providing much-needed financial support to individuals and families in Sudan, enabling them to purchase essential food items, access healthcare, and cover other basic needs.

However, the imposition of financial sanctions has disrupted the flow of remittances into the country, severely curtailing the financial lifeline that many Sudanese families depend on. This has far-reaching consequences, as the reduction in remittance inflows directly translates into increased economic vulnerability for those who rely on this vital source of income. As a result, poor households, already grappling with the harsh realities of food insecurity, find themselves even more precariously positioned.

The repercussions of reduced remittance inflows ripple throughout Sudan's society and economy. Families that once had a degree of financial stability now face heightened uncertainty, with their ability to secure food and essential services hanging in the balance. As remittances dwindle, the burden of food procurement and other necessities becomes increasingly unmanageable for these households. This vulnerability extends to other facets of life, including healthcare and education, which are also negatively impacted by the diminishing flow of funds from abroad. The effects of reduced remittances are not confined to individual households alone. They reverberate through the broader economy, exerting downward pressure on consumer

²⁷² Ibid

spending and demand for goods and services. This, in turn, can result in economic contraction, reduced employment opportunities, and a heightened risk of poverty for many Sudanese citizens.

The intersection of economic sanctions and the prolonged political crisis has intensified the already dire issue of food insecurity in Sudan. The financial sanctions, in particular, have disrupted the crucial flow of remittances, plunging impoverished households into even greater economic turmoil. The consequences of reduced remittance inflows extend beyond individual families, affecting the entire economy and compounding the challenges faced by the nation. Addressing this complex problem necessitates not only reconsidering sanctions but also devising strategies to mitigate the impact on remittances and support vulnerable households as they grapple with the profound consequences of food insecurity.

5.7.7 Downscaling and Departure of Foreign Organizations

The potential departure or downscaling of international military forces, embassies, and foreign companies has a direct effect on food security in Sudan. The impact of their potential withdrawal or reduction in operations is far-reaching, affecting not only the employees directly linked to these entities but also creating a domino effect that disrupts numerous auxiliary sectors. For instance, hospitality and tourism workers, who rely heavily on international visitors, are likely to experience significant job losses as the number of tourists dwindles amidst the crisis. Similarly, domestic workers and security guards, often employed by expatriates or foreign companies, face the risk of unemployment as these entities downsize or depart. These job losses further exacerbate the already precarious economic situation for many Sudanese citizens, pushing them closer to the brink of food insecurity.

The longer-term consequences of trade restrictions loom ominously over Sudan's economic landscape. As sanctions and trade barriers persist, they are projected to impede the country's GDP

growth. This deceleration in economic growth has a profound and cascading impact on the nation's well-being. One of the most significant repercussions is the anticipated increase in poverty levels. With diminished economic opportunities, rising unemployment, and restricted access to international markets, a larger portion of the population is likely to be pushed into poverty. This, in turn, intensifies the prevalence of food insecurity as individuals and families struggle to secure the resources necessary for their sustenance.

Economic growth and food security are interrelated, as a robust economy contributes to increased incomes and improved access to food. Conversely, a stagnant or contracting economy, as anticipated under the weight of sanctions and political turmoil, places a heavier burden on vulnerable populations. These individuals and communities find themselves trapped in a cycle of deprivation, with limited resources and dwindling prospects for improvement.

Based on these multifaceted challenges, addressing food insecurity in Sudan requires a comprehensive and concerted effort. It demands immediate attention to mitigate the impending job losses stemming from the potential departure of international entities and the longer-term focus on revitalizing the nation's economy. Policymakers, international organizations, and stakeholders must collaborate to develop strategies that alleviate the immediate economic hardships faced by Sudanese citizens while charting a path toward sustainable economic growth.

5.7.8 Banking Sector

The freezing of banking activities, which is a direct consequence of the sanctions imposed on Sudan. The freezing of assets and transactions in the banking sector has disrupted the normal flow of finances in the country.²⁷³ This financial challenge has had a ripple effect on various aspects of Sudan's governance and economy, notably its government budget. The government of

²⁷³ Ibid.

Sudan heavily relies on its budget to finance a wide range of critical functions, including the payment of civil servant salaries. With banking operations hampered by sanctions, the government's revenue streams have been severely affected. This, in turn, poses a significant threat to the government's ability to fulfill its financial obligations, particularly in the form of salaries for civil servants.

The impact of reduced salaries for civil servants extends far beyond the individual employees. It has the potential to plunge numerous households into financial distress, as many families depend on these incomes for their sustenance. As a result, the economic hardships faced by civil servants can exacerbate the already precarious food security situation for a considerable portion of the population. The freeze on banking activities and the suspension of foreign assistance have serious consequences for the government's humanitarian response capacity. Sudan has been grappling with ongoing lean season food distributions, which are essential to provide crucial sustenance to vulnerable populations during periods of food scarcity. These distributions play a vital role in averting severe food crises, especially in regions susceptible to hunger and malnutrition.

In addition to food distributions, animal feed and cereals have also been subsidized by the government. These subsidies are instrumental in stabilizing food prices and ensuring that essential commodities remain affordable to the majority of the population. However, the funding required for these subsidies is under threat due to the financial constraints induced by sanctions and the suspension of foreign assistance. The collective impact of these challenges is profound, as it jeopardizes the government's ability to provide immediate relief to those in need and maintain food security programs. It also hampers the nation's capacity to address the pressing issue of hunger.

Addressing the food insecurity crisis in Sudan necessitates a multi-faceted approach that takes into account not only the immediate humanitarian needs but also the broader economic and political challenges facing the nation. The situation calls for coordinated efforts from the international community, non-governmental organizations, and Sudanese authorities to ensure that essential resources are allocated efficiently to support food security initiatives, safeguard civil servant salaries, and mitigate the hardships faced by vulnerable populations. It is only through collaborative and sustained efforts that Sudan can hope to overcome the devastating impact of food insecurity exacerbated by sanctions and political turmoil.

5.7.9 Humanitarian Support

The implication of U.S. sanctions on Sudan's access to humanitarian and human aid has been a complex and sensitive issue, with implications for vulnerable populations and humanitarian organizations operating in the country. These sanctions, imposed for various reasons, including concerns about terrorism, human rights abuses, and regional conflicts, have affected the delivery of aid and assistance to those in need. While humanitarian aid is generally exempt from sanctions, the limitations on financial transactions have made it difficult for aid organizations to operate effectively in Sudan. This has hindered their ability to procure essential supplies, transport aid materials, and pay for necessary services, creating logistical hurdles that can impede the timely and effective delivery of humanitarian assistance.

The restrictions on financial transactions have also affected the availability of aid resources in Sudan.²⁷⁴ With limited access to international funding channels, humanitarian organizations have faced challenges in mobilizing sufficient resources to address the needs of vulnerable

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

populations. As a result, aid programs may be underfunded or face delays in implementation, leaving vulnerable communities without crucial support during critical times of crisis.

“The role of NGOs in humanitarian support faced different obstacles key among them sourcing for donors to support the country’s humanitarian need. In addition, the limited access to international markets due to sanctions made it difficult for the communities to cater for their basic needs and reduce reliance on humanitarian aid as economically they were impoverished.”²⁷⁵

The restrictions on access to certain goods and services have also impacted the effectiveness of humanitarian aid operations in Sudan.²⁷⁶ Aid organizations often rely on advanced technology for communication, data management, and coordination. The limited technological systems have hindered the efficiency of aid operations and data collection, potentially affecting the quality and reach of aid delivery.²⁷⁷ The sanctions have indirectly affected the civilian population's access to basic necessities and essential services. While humanitarian aid is generally exempt, the broader impact of sanctions on the Sudanese economy can lead to sharp increase in prices for essential goods, such as food, medicines, and fuel. This can disproportionately affect vulnerable populations who are already struggling to meet their basic needs.

The sanctions have also contributed to humanitarian challenges in conflict-affected regions of Sudan. Armed conflicts in certain areas have displaced populations and disrupted aid operations, making it difficult for humanitarian organizations to access those in need. The restrictions on travel and security concerns have further complicated efforts to reach vulnerable communities and provide life-saving assistance. In addition to the challenges faced by humanitarian organizations, the sanctions have had implications for human rights in Sudan. Although the sanctions target

²⁷⁵ Interview by NGO Official. 4/04/2023

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Lopez, G. A., & Cortright, D. (2018). Economic sanctions in contemporary global relations. In *Economic Sanctions* (pp. 3-16). Routledge.

specific individuals and entities, they can have wider impacts on the human rights situation in the country. The economic pressures resulting from the sanctions may exacerbate poverty and social inequalities, potentially affecting access to education, healthcare, and other essential services for vulnerable populations.

“There has been a scarce availability of correspondent banks accessible to humanitarian actors in Sudan, and this situation has been marked by constant fluctuations. As a consequence, humanitarian organizations have often found themselves abruptly losing access to financial services without warning.”²⁷⁸

Despite these challenges, there have been efforts to mitigate the impact of U.S. sanctions on humanitarian aid in Sudan. Exemptions for humanitarian assistance have allowed some aid organizations to continue their operations.²⁷⁹ International cooperation and partnerships have also played a role in facilitating aid delivery in the country. By working with other nations and organizations, humanitarian agencies have been able to access resources and expertise to support their efforts in Sudan. Dialogue between the U.S. government and humanitarian organizations has been essential in addressing some of the practical challenges arising from the sanctions. By engaging in discussions and providing clarifications on the implementation of sanctions, there have been efforts to ensure that humanitarian assistance can be delivered effectively and efficiently.

Sanctions regimes have the potential to impact humanitarian efforts in both direct and indirect ways, encompassing seven distinct categories of challenges encountered by humanitarian actors operating in countries subject to such regimes. These challenges include issues related to the listing of humanitarian organizations, complications associated with exemption procedures,

²⁷⁸ Interview by NGO Personnel. 9/03/2023

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

de-risking, limitations on importing goods, restrictive clauses within donor agreements, the risk of fines and prosecution, and the chilling effect.²⁸⁰

In multi-donor environments, this situation can result in a intricate network of limitations, mandatory verifications, and reporting obligations, including provisions that may compete with or even contradict each other. Certain clauses, such as those mandating organizations to screen beneficiaries before providing them with assistance, also pose a challenge to the organizations' capacity to adhere to the humanitarian principles of neutrality and impartiality.²⁸¹ There is a heightened risk for humanitarian actors to face fines or legal prosecution for breaching sanctions.

Sanctions have a multifaceted impact, influencing not only food production but also the accessibility of essential commodities due to price fluctuations. This has left millions of Sudanese in need of food aid. The role and scope of humanitarian organizations has increased significantly over the years in Sudan. The increasing number of sanctions imposed on Sudan has contributed to the depreciation of its currency in recent years making imports especially of basic food commodities expensive. Humanitarian organizations encounter obstacles when attempting to transfer funds into Sudan, primarily due to the broad US and EU financial sanctions targeting individuals and entities supporting the Sudanese regime, including banks.

Financial de-risking leads to the hindrance of bank transfers, obstructing humanitarian organizations from promptly settling bills and invoices. Consequently, this results in accumulating debts, jeopardizing security, and preventing NGOs from fulfilling the humanitarian commitments established with authorities. For instance, one medical NGO had to cease its operations as its local staff went unpaid due to the extensive bank scrutiny preceding fund transfers.

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*

²⁸¹ *ibid.*

Financial institutions exhibit reluctance even in transferring funds to other countries for humanitarian organizations to utilize in Sudan, fearing potential violations of US sanctions. Consequently, humanitarian actors are increasingly resorting to informal banking channels like hawala or resorting to cash transactions. This practice, however, makes transaction audits challenging, raising concerns among donors and constraining organizations' fundraising capabilities.

5.7.11 Education Sector

Sanctions impose hidden obstacles to research in these nations by restricting access to essential resources and hampering their effective utilization.²⁸² The indiscriminate impact of sanctions on domestic infrastructures, including the education sector, has been detrimental. However, as our world grows more interconnected and interdependent, it becomes evident how sanctions can exert a widespread influence on the education sector. Contemporary academic research and education heavily rely on a global network of collaborators, online information sources, equipment and reagent suppliers, as well as international travel.²⁸³

“Higher education was one of the most affected areas of education. This was because higher education requires collaboration with external stakeholders especially in research and information gathering. This limitation blocked Sudanese students in higher learning levels from matching with the international standards.”²⁸⁴

Furthermore, as national entities increasingly encourage research, development, and innovation, the boundaries between research and commercial endeavors, public and private initiatives, and education and innovation have become increasingly blurred. This blurring is exemplified by the model of university-industry-government relationships, which incentivizes

²⁸² Santisteban, A. V. (2005). Sanctions, war, occupation, and the de-development of education. *International Review of Education*, 51, 59–71. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11159-005-0587-8>.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Interview by NGO Personnel. 6/04/2023

academic institutions to extend beyond their traditional roles of preserving cultural memory, providing education, and conducting research to contribute directly to wealth creation.

In addition, international institutions such as the European Union, the World Bank, and the United Nations are also embracing concepts of knowledge-based growth and development that reshape the knowledge, production, and regulatory aspects of society into new configurations. The integration of modern academia into the national and international economic landscape naturally raises concerns regarding the imposition of sanctions. These concerns go beyond recognizing restrictions on the importation of equipment or financial resources from abroad. In fact, modern sanctions not only regulate physical trade but also extend their control to online activities. Consequently, the same sanctions that hinder academics from acquiring laboratory equipment may also be responsible for restricting their access to online data, particularly when the data hosting company is situated in a nation subject to sanctions.²⁸⁵

In addition, certain academic publishers in the United States have been documented as rejecting submissions from Sudanese authors due to the potential threats of fines of up to \$1 million and imprisonment sentences of up to 10 years as imposed by the U.S. Treasury.²⁸⁶ Even though legal action prompted a revision of these regulations, the ambiguity surrounding the existing policies has still prompted some publishers to hesitate when considering papers from authors in countries subject to sanctions. Consequently, the impact of sanctions extends beyond their intended targets, affecting all aspects of the academic sphere.

By having barriers in multiple facets of academic endeavor, sanctions can be observed as exerting influence over the selection of research topics, the dissemination of research findings, and

²⁸⁵ *ibid.*

²⁸⁶ *ibid.*

the methods used in educating students. Given that many nations enduring long-term sanctions possess relatively small and fragile academic communities with limited investments in STEM fields, the repercussions of these sanctions can be profoundly detrimental. Academic communities operating under sanctions suffer adverse consequences due to the constraints placed on academic pursuits.

“The sanctions limited movement to and from Sudan by stakeholders in the education sector. Sudanese nationals were limited in their pursuit of education abroad due to the sanctions. Access to visa abroad was difficult as the US sent red alerts to the international community thus limiting Sudanese students from accessing education opportunities abroad.”²⁸⁷

The sanctions imposed on Sudan, which have had far-reaching effects on various aspects of Sudanese life and infrastructure, have also cast a significant shadow over education at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels.²⁸⁸ This education system had been experiencing unprecedented improvements prior to the sanctions. Consequently, the repercussions have inevitably extended to research capabilities and post-conflict research and reconstruction efforts.

In Sudan, the U.S. sanctions have had detrimental effects on scholarly and scientific activities across multiple dimensions.²⁸⁹ These include the restriction of international collaborations, limitations on travel opportunities for conferences and workshops, and hindered international partnerships, all of which have inevitably resulted in a reduced scientific output.²⁹⁰ Some researchers have encountered difficulties when attempting to publish in international journals, and these challenges stem from political considerations rather than scientific merit. In some instances, confusion has arisen regarding the authors' affiliations with the government. Scientists have also faced issues related to payment for society subscriptions and event

²⁸⁷ Interview by NGO Personnel. 4/04/2023

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Lopez, G. A., & Cortright, D. (2018). Economic sanctions in contemporary global relations. In *Economic Sanctions* (pp. 3-16). Routledge.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

registrations. Although there is some evidence of increased scientific output since the relaxation of sanctions, this may be partially attributed to investments in Sudan's own scientific journals.²⁹¹

Sudanese students have been severely affected by constraints on travel, international collaborations, access to resources, and the inability to publish. They have also endured notable psychological distress stemming from their isolation. The post-sanction recovery in Sudan was driven by the transition into a free-market global economy. In Sudan's case, external support played a crucial role, especially because academics had largely missed out on the digital information revolution and had suffered the consequences of hyperinflation and brain drain. The growth of national publishing outlets and government incentives for publication outputs have partially contributed to the improvement in research output.

“The limitations brought about by lack of support by the US and international community due to the sanctions derailed economic growth and development. The country's human resource capacity to support different areas of the economy reduced significantly. This affected the country's level of expertise to participate in development of Sudan.”²⁹²

The comprehensive sanctions imposed on Sudan had a far-reaching impact on various aspects of academic and educational activities. These encompassed eligibility for grants, the procurement of research equipment and ICT hardware/software, the importation of reagents and chemicals, and academic travel.²⁹³ Furthermore, these sanctions led to the isolation of Sudanese academics, dissuading outside organizations from engaging in collaborations or publishing articles with them. The barriers created challenges for Sudanese academics due to the slow pace at which commercial, academic, or national organizations updated their educational standards. The domestic universities in the country have keenly felt the effects of U.S. sanctions, which, in

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Interview by Education Consultant. 21/02/2023

²⁹³ Ibid.

addition to impeding research and knowledge generation, have prompted educated individuals to emigrate from the country.

African nations subjected to sanctions face profound challenges in their academic and higher education sectors.²⁹⁴ These sanctions impede African economic integration by curtailing academic cooperation and obstructing the mobility of higher education and professional labor among the three major regional economic blocs: the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, and the East African Community. Additionally, these sanctions hinder the realization of Africa's higher education harmonization strategy, which is an integral component of the African Continental Free Trade Area.²⁹⁵

“The government's investment in education was significantly affected as more resources were directed towards addressing other pertinent pressing issues such as food security. With government's investment dwindling as well as limited support from the international community including the US, the quality of education was negatively affected.”²⁹⁶

The repercussions of sanctions on academia and their enduring effects on the establishment of sustainable and resilient academic systems are substantial. It is crucial for African universities to play a pivotal role in voicing these concerns during international meetings, networks, and forums. Through collaborative efforts, these institutions can also gather empirical evidence regarding the on-ground impacts on academic institutions within these countries. Expanding the body of evidence concerning the consequences of sanctions is essential for formulating appropriate policies and fostering a broader discourse on post-conflict development.

To mitigate the adverse impact of sanctions on academic and educational research in Sudan, the United States and the international community should not only lift broad restrictions

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Interview by Education Consultant. 14/03/2023

on the export of non-lethal goods and services to Sudan but also refrain from limiting internet access to educational and scientific knowledge and research publications. In the wake of sanctions, institutions of higher learning should continue to receive funding in the form of development assistance. In addition to advocating against sanctions affecting education and research at universities, the Sudanese government should inform its citizens about the sanctions' impact on their well-being and professional activities, offering guidance on ways to mitigate the negative consequences.

“Lack of local investment and international support in the education sector also resulted to dilapidated infrastructure in schools. This reduced the number of opportunities available for students therefore impeding the country's competitiveness in the international circles.”²⁹⁷

Sudanese academics can harness the power of technology and social media to enhance connectivity and collaboration among their researchers both locally and internationally.²⁹⁸ In addition, despite facing U.S. sanctions, the Sudanese government could explore academic and scientific cooperation with countries such as Russia, Latin America, as well as regions in the Middle East and Asia, including India, China, Japan, Turkey, and South Korea.²⁹⁹ These nations are actively seeking to establish partnerships with African universities as part of a broader strategy of higher education diplomacy or 'soft power,' aimed at building regional alliances and collaborations that benefit Africa while serving their own cultural and economic agendas. Sanctions, which represent various forms of economic and political restrictions, must be designed with precision and clear guidelines to ensure that they do not inadvertently harm individuals and developmental organizations such as universities and research centers.

²⁹⁷ Interview by NGO Personnel. 22/02/2023

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

The education industry is one of the adversely affected sectors in Sudan. The imposition of sanctions on Sudan has resulted in economic constraints, leading to reduced government spending on education. With limited financial resources, the government continues to struggle to allocate sufficient funds to support schools, teachers, and educational infrastructure. As a consequence, schools face inadequate resources, outdated textbooks, and poorly maintained facilities, hindering the quality of education.

“The education sector was significantly affected owing to limited interaction and engagement with scholars and researchers in different disciplines. Education collaboration became difficult as sanctions limited movement and impeded sharing of information among scholars.”³⁰⁰

Sanctions exacerbate Sudan's economic woes, prompting many qualified professionals, including educators, to seek better opportunities abroad.³⁰¹ The brain drain further intensifies the shortage of qualified teachers within the country. As experienced teachers leave the country, the education system suffers from lack of expertise, impacting the quality of instruction and overall academic achievement. Sudan's sanctions have also affected access to educational resources, particularly in remote and marginalized regions. The sanctions hinder the import of essential learning materials and technology, limiting students' ability to access a well-rounded education. In addition, internet restrictions and limitations on international collaborations hamper educational advancements, leaving students disconnected from global academic developments.

“Sudan's education sector was supported by international donors especially in provision of expensive education equipment and materials that would prove difficult for the government to procure. The volatile situation locally coupled with lack of international support meant students used outdated or low-quality learning materials and equipment.”³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Interview by Education Consultant. 26/02/2023

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Interview by NGO Personnel. 3/03/2023

Sanctions have impeded Sudan's ability to invest in maintenance and development of educational infrastructure.³⁰³ Many schools, especially in rural areas, experienced inadequate facilities, making it challenging to create a conducive learning environment. Dilapidated buildings and lack of basic amenities affects students' motivation and hinder their overall learning experience. The combination of economic hardship and deteriorating educational infrastructure resulted in declining enrollment rates.³⁰⁴ Families facing financial struggles were unable to afford educational expenses, leading to increased drop-out rates. Parents' concerns about the status of security and the lack of prospects for their children's future further contributed to the decline in school enrollment.

“Sudan's sanctions also affected gender equality in education as girls, in particular, faced significant barriers to accessing education due to cultural and economic factors. The economic strain exacerbated these challenges, leading to an increase in child labor and early marriages, as families prioritized immediate financial needs over their daughters' education.”³⁰⁵

Academic research and innovation suffer as a result of Sudan's sanctions. Restricted access to international journals, conferences, and collaborative opportunities hampers the ability of researchers and academics to stay up-to-date with the latest developments in their fields.³⁰⁶ Consequently, scientific progress and technological advancements within the country continue to be limited. Sudan's higher education institutions has also been affected by the sanctions. The lack of funding and limited access to international collaborations weakened the quality of tertiary education. As a result, universities faced challenges in attracting and retaining talented faculty, and their capacity to offer diverse academic programs diminished.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Interview, NGO Consultant 23.03.2023

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

5.7.12 Health Sector

The sanctions in Sudan highlight an adverse consequence on healthcare access, medical infrastructure, disease control, and public health outcomes.³⁰⁷ One of the most significant impacts of sanctions on Sudan's health sector is the limited access to essential medical supplies. Sanctions often restrict the import of medicines, medical equipment, and other critical healthcare materials.³⁰⁸ As a result, healthcare facilities and providers faced shortages of vital medications, diagnostic tools, and lifesaving equipment, making it challenging to deliver adequate medical care to the population.

“The human resource in Sudan's healthcare system was also affected by the US sanctions. The country faced limitations in accessing resources to train its citizens to support health capacity. Sudan's health sector lacked adequate personnel to provide the necessary health services to the citizens.”³⁰⁹

Sanctions contribute to strain on Sudan's healthcare infrastructure.³¹⁰ Insufficient financial resources hamper the government's ability to invest in building and maintaining healthcare facilities, resulting in inadequate medical centers, hospitals, and clinics. The deterioration of healthcare infrastructure further limited the capacity to provide quality healthcare services to a growing population. The economic hardships caused by sanctions prompt many skilled healthcare professionals to seek better opportunities abroad, leading to a significant brain drain. This migration of medical talent weak the local healthcare workforce, leaving a shortage of doctors, nurses, and other healthcare personnel. The remaining healthcare professionals face increased workloads, affecting the quality of care provided.

Health infrastructure was affected by the US sanctions in access to health equipment. The US health system through different organizations such as US Aid, CDC, and NGOs play a key role in supporting health industry in Africa. Limited support from US government and other key

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Interview by NGO Personnel. 3/02/2023

³¹⁰ Ibid.

*health organizations towards Sudan in the course of sanctions led to lack of access to essential equipment in the health industry.*³¹¹

Sanctions have hindered Sudan's ability to respond effectively to disease outbreaks and public health emergencies.³¹² The lack of access to international collaborations, medical research, and specialized training limits the country's preparedness and response capabilities. This has been particularly evident during outbreaks of infectious diseases such as cholera, malaria, and viral infections, which increase challenges in containment and control. Economic sanctions contribute to reduced government spending on the health sector. As the country faced financial constraints, healthcare budgets were cut, leading to a decline in public health services and initiatives. Programs aim at disease prevention, maternal and child health, and health education suffered, affecting the overall well-being of the population.

*“Health infrastructure is another core area that was affected by the sanctions. As a developing country, Sudan heavily relies on the US and international community for support in health infrastructure. This was curtailed by the sanctions as the government lacked adequate funding to build and maintain hospitals.”*³¹³

Sanctions have disproportionately affected vulnerable populations in Sudan, including children, pregnant women, and the elderly. Limited access to healthcare services and medications has had severe consequences on their health and well-being. Malnutrition and preventable diseases surged among these groups, further exacerbating their already dire situation. Sudan's sanctions have also triggered obstacles for humanitarian organizations providing essential medical aid to the country. Restricted financial transactions and import controls impeded the timely delivery of medical assistance during times of crisis. Humanitarian agencies faced challenges in accessing affected regions and providing much-needed medical support to vulnerable communities.

³¹¹ Interview by NGO Consultant. 3/03/2023

³¹² WHO. (2016) *Health System Profile; Sudan*. Regional Health System Observatory World Health Organization.

³¹³ Interview by NGO Consultant. 7/03/2023

“The sanctions triggered reduction in investment in health sector. The industry heavily relies on external support especially in research and development of evidence-based practice in health interventions including prevention, treatment and general well-being of citizens.”³¹⁴

The scarcity of medicines had a particularly severe impact on women, children, and the elderly, as these demographic groups typically have the highest healthcare requirements.³¹⁵ Pregnant women, individuals with chronic illnesses, and those with disabilities faced heightened risks, as they encountered difficulties in obtaining essential medications. Access to prenatal care and emergency obstetric services remained challenging, and the economic crisis triggered by sanctions further strained Sudan's already underfunded healthcare system. Certain medications saw substantial price hikes, exceeding 300 percent in some cases, and a broader range of medicines became entirely unavailable in Sudan.

“Humanitarian organizations have played a key role in supporting governments efforts towards providing healthcare to the population. However, the sanctions hindered efficient access to donor funds as the country’s rating in the international community and donors was negative”³¹⁶

Specifically, there were shortages of anti-seizure drugs, life-saving immunoglobulin, and medications required for non-communicable diseases (NCDs). Pharmaceutical companies struggled to import medicines due to the impact of US sanctions, inflation rates, and the liquidity crisis. Many hospitals across Sudan were lacking fundamental medical supplies such as bandages, oxygen masks, and cotton. The persistent fuel shortage had a severe impact on healthcare operations, and patients encountered difficulties in accessing emergency care since cash payments were often the sole accepted method, and obtaining cash itself was a challenge.³¹⁷ Urban healthcare

³¹⁴ Interview by NGO Personnel. 21/02/2023

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Interview by NGO Official. 26/03/2023

³¹⁷ Ibid.

centers also faced shortages of essential equipment, which hindered the provision of healthcare services.

“The US sanctions also resulted to increased costs in access to healthcare. The limited support by the US and international community in Sudan's healthcare industry created a gap in investment in the sector resulting to increased costs of healthcare.”³¹⁸

There was rise in communicable diseases primarily attributed to shortages of essential medications and laboratory reagents needed for the regular monitoring and treatment of individuals with chronic diseases. In contrast, mortality rates in other age groups declined. Additionally, the deterioration in nutrition and housing conditions in Sudan has been linked to a rising incidence of tuberculosis.

5.8 Political Dynamics

The impact of U.S. sanctions on Sudan's political dynamics has been complex and multifaceted, shaping the country's governance, foreign relations, and domestic policies. These sanctions, imposed for various reasons, including concerns about terrorism, human rights abuses, and regional conflicts, have had significant implications for Sudan's political landscape. The key consequences of U.S. sanctions on Sudan's political dynamics has been the use of sanctions as a tool of diplomatic pressure. The imposition of sanctions has been leveraged by the U.S. government to signal displeasure with certain policies or actions taken by the Sudanese government.

The threat or implementation of sanctions can influence the decision-making process within the Sudanese government, prompting them to take specific actions to alleviate the sanctions and improve relations with the international community. This dynamic can lead to changes in government policies or actions, both in response to the sanctions and in anticipation of potential

³¹⁸ Interview by NGO Personnel. 8/03/2023

future sanctions. The imposition of U.S. sanctions has impacted Sudan's foreign relations and international spheres.³¹⁹ Being subject to sanctions can isolate Sudan on the global stage, affecting its ability to engage in diplomatic relations and participate in regional and international forums. The limited access to international financial markets and trade partnerships due to sanctions can further constrain Sudan's economic and political engagement with other nations.

The sanctions have also had implications for Sudan's political stability and governance. The economic pressures resulting from the sanctions can exacerbate internal tensions and contribute to socio-economic challenges, potentially affecting public trust in the government. The lack of access to international financial markets and investment can hinder economic growth and job creation, leading to public dissatisfaction with the government's ability to address economic hardships.

The imposition of U.S. sanctions has shaped the political discourse in Sudan.³²⁰ The sanctions can become a focal point in political debates, with different political actors using them to advance their agendas. Some may criticize the government for actions that led to the imposition of sanctions, while others may advocate for specific policies to address the sanctions' impact. The use of sanctions as a diplomatic tool can also influence the political environment for human rights and civil liberties in Sudan. In an effort to alleviate sanctions, the government may take measures to address human rights concerns and improve governance. However, these measures may be seen as superficial or lacking genuine commitment to human rights principles, leading to questions about the government's sincerity in addressing human rights issues.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

The political implications of sanctions can create challenges for democratization and human rights reforms in Sudan.³²¹ While the sanctions may have been intended to address human rights abuses and encourage governance improvements, they can inadvertently lead to further authoritarianism or limit space for political dissent. The Sudanese government may adopt measures to consolidate power and control, potentially leading to human rights violations and restrictions on political freedoms.

The sanctions have impacted on Sudan's domestic policies and resource allocation. The limitations on financial transactions and access to international resources can restrict the government's capacity to implement development programs. The impact of U.S. sanctions on Sudan's political dynamics has also been influenced by regional and international actors' responses to the sanctions. Other countries and international organizations may adjust their diplomatic relations with Sudan in response to the sanctions, potentially isolating or supporting the country based on their own interests and perceptions.

The impact of sanctions is extensive and varies. Sanctions can serve multiple purposes, such as coercing a government to alter its policies, penalizing it for certain actions, or encouraging it to make concessions. They act as a signal of international disapproval, aiming to align a government's actions with global norms and agreements. As a result, sanctions can diminish public support for the targeted government and, in some cases, lead to regime change. Economic sanctions often escalate political unrest and violence and can curtail civil rights, as governments implement population control measures to maintain power.³²²

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² *Ibid.*

The political effects of U.S sanctions over Sudan have been significant and multifaceted. The sanctions have had a major impact on the country's government and political landscape. One of the major political effects of the sanctions has been to weaken the Sudanese government and its ability to govern effectively.³²³ The sanctions have made it difficult for the government to access international financial markets, which has made it difficult for the government to borrow money and pay for basic services such as healthcare and education. This has led to widespread poverty and economic hardship, which has led to increased popular discontent and protests against the government.

The sanctions have also affected political stability and civil society in Sudan. They have declined the ability of the government to address internal conflicts and regional terrorism, which has contributed to ongoing instability in the country. Additionally, the sanctions have led to a decline in the ability of civil society organizations to operate, which has limited the ability of citizens to engage in political activities and advocate for change. The sanctions limited access to information and freedom of movement, and restricted the ability of civil society organizations to operate freely due to government harsh retaliation on its citizens with implementation of U.S sanctions.

“Political instability in Sudan has negatively impacted on governance as lack of unity and collaboration continues to hinder government’s role in peacebuilding and addressing the challenges affecting the citizens”³²⁴

Another major political effect of the sanctions has been to isolate Sudan from the international community. The sanctions have made it difficult for Sudan to trade with other countries, which has led to a decline in exports and a decrease in economic activity. This has made it difficult for Sudan to build relationships with other countries and has led to a sense of isolation

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Interview with IGAD Official. 2.03.2023

and marginalization. The sanctions have also had a major impact on the political opposition in Sudan. The sanctions have made it difficult for opposition groups to organize and mobilize, as they have limited access to resources and funding.³²⁵ This has led to a suppression of political dissent and has limited the ability of opposition groups to challenge the government. Overall, the sanctions have limited Sudan's ability to address regional conflicts and international terrorism, and have likely made the situation worse.

5.9 Conclusion

The United States sanctions on Sudan have had far-reaching and detrimental effects across multiple sectors, plunging the nation into socio-economic challenges. These sanctions, implemented with the aim of influencing the Sudanese government's policies especially on peace and security, have had dire consequences on various aspects of Sudanese society, including the education sector, health sector, political dynamics, humanitarian efforts, agriculture and food security, technology and services, oil production and trade, and the overall economy.

In the education sector, the restrictions impeded access to educational resources, hindered academic collaborations, and obstructed the exchange of knowledge. Young professionals and students faced obstacles in pursuing educational opportunities abroad, as financial transactions related to Sudan are often blocked. The inability to obtain certifications and access research materials has hampered academic progress, hindering Sudan's intellectual growth and capacity building. The restrictions on accessing technology and service hindered the development of the tech industry, limiting opportunities for entrepreneurship and job creation. This has further strained the already fragile Sudanese economy. The health sector, the sanctions limited access to critical

³²⁵ Ibid.

medical supplies and equipment, exacerbating the country's healthcare crisis. With restricted financial transactions, obtaining necessary medical imports has become an arduous task, negatively impacting the well-being of the Sudanese people. The inability to access advanced medical technologies and pharmaceuticals has compromised healthcare delivery, leaving many vulnerable.

The sanctions disrupted aid delivery to vulnerable populations. Humanitarian organizations faced obstacles in transferring funds and accessing necessary resources, making it challenging to provide critical assistance to those in need. This exacerbated the suffering of Sudanese citizens, particularly in conflict-affected regions. The restrictions also hindered the import of agricultural machinery and inputs, impacting productivity. In addition, the financial constraints have made it difficult for farmers to access credit and invest in modern farming techniques. As a result, food production declined, leading to food shortages and increased food prices, exacerbating food insecurity in Sudan.

The sanctions disrupted Sudan's oil production and trade. The country heavily relies on oil exports for revenue, and the restrictions have hampered its ability to sell oil internationally. This had a detrimental impact on the national budget, leading to reduced government spending on critical services and infrastructure. Overall, the Sudanese economy WAS deeply scarred by the US sanctions. The restrictions deterred foreign investments, impaired trade relations, and impeded economic growth. High inflation, unemployment, and a weakened currency have all contributed to a dire economic situation, leaving the Sudanese people to bear the brunt of these sanctions.

The political dynamics of Sudan were influenced by the sanctions. While they were initially intended to influence government policies, they have inadvertently strengthened the regime's control over the country. The government often uses sanctions as a scapegoat for

economic hardships, deflecting blame from its own mismanagement. This has allowed the regime to maintain a firm grip on power, exacerbating political instability and undermining prospects for meaningful change.

Generally, the US sanctions on Sudan inflicted profound and pervasive harm across multiple sectors, exacerbating the country's challenges and impeding its progress. While the intent may have been to influence government policies, the consequences primarily affected the Sudanese people, plunging them into a protracted cycle of economic hardship and instability. The sanctions had a profound negative effect on key areas especially on Sudan's economy and this hindered the country's growth and development.

Chapter five examined the key areas affected by US sanctions on Sudan which included economy, health and education sector, humanitarian efforts, food security, social effects and political dynamics. Chapter six discusses the responses and feedback from respondents who participated in the research survey. The feedback from the questionnaires and interviews is presented in chapter six.

CHAPTER 6

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

6.0 Introduction

Chapter five examined the effects of US sanctions on Sudan with key sectors highlighted including trade and economy, health industry, education sector, and food and agriculture. In addition, the sanctions triggered social and political implications especially with the curtailed diplomatic engagement between Sudan and the West. Chapter six provides a comprehensive analysis of data gathered from primary sources and presents the findings from the research. The focus was on understanding the effect of US sanctions on key areas in Sudan.

Sanctions have been imposed in Sudan with the aim of pressuring the government align with international interests of peace and security. Sanctions as a foreign policy tool have negatively affected local populations in Sudan. The study utilized case study approach with qualitative and quantitative insights from reports and interviews that facilitated an understanding of how sanctions have affected ordinary citizens in Sudan. The findings indicate that U.S. sanctions have had significant negative effects on the Sudanese population, resulting in economic hardships, weak institutions, and social inequalities.

6.1 Representation of Participants

6.1.1 Response Rate

The sample size that responded to the primary data included 396 participants. The participants provided key information with regards to the subject in form of:

Questionnaire – 279 participants.

Focused Group Discussion – 56 participants.

Key Informant Interviews – 61 participants

6.1.2 Demographics

The respondents were largely male representing about 64.5 percent and female at 35.5 percent.

The age bracket was spread across different categories with those below 35 age bracket representing 40 percent, 35-44 age bracket representing 28 percent, and the remaining 32 percent over 55 years.

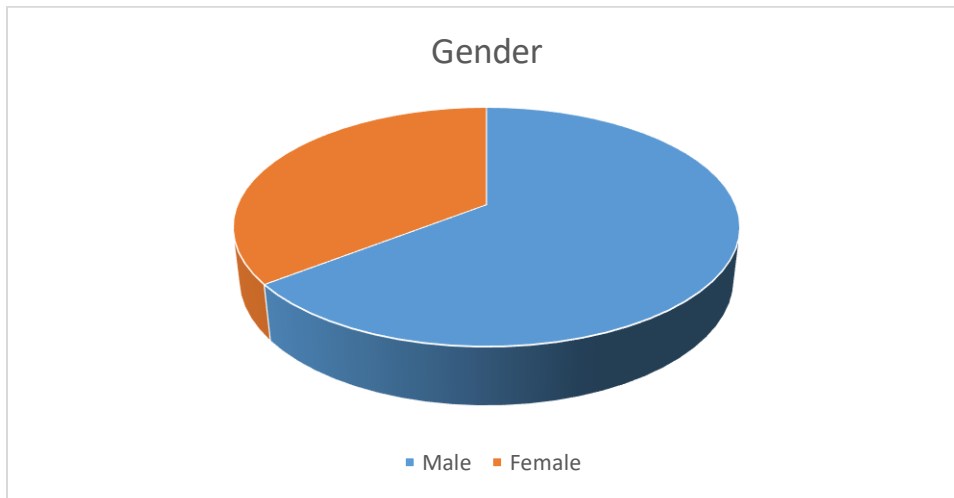


FIGURE 1: GENDER OF RESPONDENTS

The percentage of women who participated in the study were more than men. Based on the impact of sanctions on local populations, women and children are mostly affected. The higher representation of women implied a constructive, objective and credible analysis of the effect of sanctions on local populations in Sudan. Women and children represent vulnerable groups mostly affected by sanctions. The representation of women in the survey provided an insight on the effect of sanctions especially on the local population in Sudan.

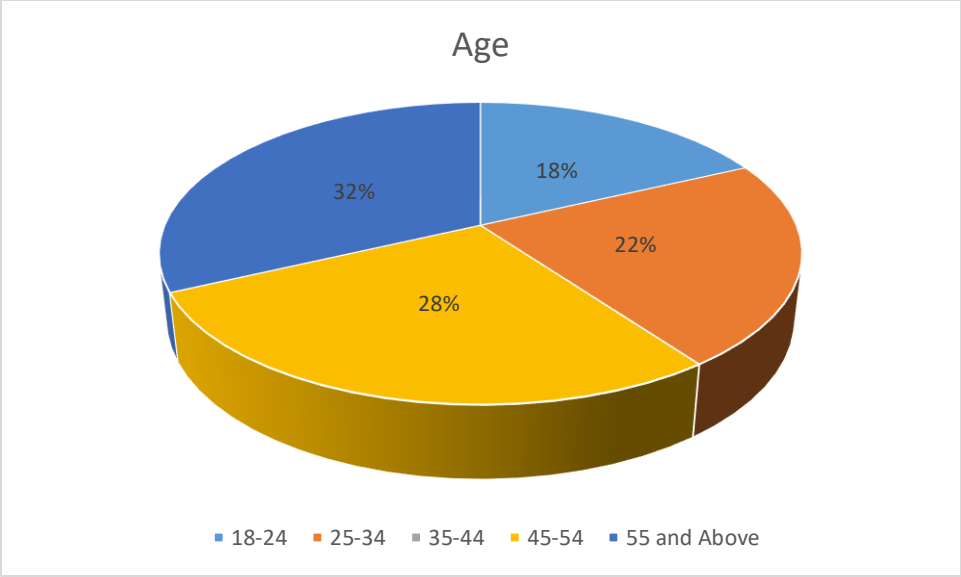


FIGURE 2: AGE OF RESPONDENTS

The participants represented diverse age groups from 18 to above 55 years. This representation facilitated broader coverage of the impact of sanctions based on the diverse age representation. This provided a factual overview of the impact of sanctions across the years.

6.2 Research Findings

6.2.1 Impact of sanctions on Economy and Trade

The respondents were asked about the impact of sanctions on trade and the economy as a whole. 90 percent of the respondents agreed that the sanctions had far-reaching consequences on the country’s economy. 6 percent asserted that internal factors had triggered fall of the economy while 4 percent did not know. Sanctions severely affect a country's economy by restricting trade, financial transactions, and investment. The respondents highlighted four key areas that were significantly affected by U.S sanctions over Sudan and included Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), imports and exports, job opportunities, and business transactions. The sanctions contributed to reduced foreign investment, limited access to international markets, and challenges in securing

loans or financial aid from global institutions. The sanctions targeted trade and investment leading to reduced Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and limitations on exports and imports.³²⁶ Sudan's ability to access global markets for its goods and attract foreign investment has been hindered by sanctions. In addition, reduced foreign investments coupled with limitations of imports and exports affected availability of job opportunities and subsequently low business transactions.³²⁷

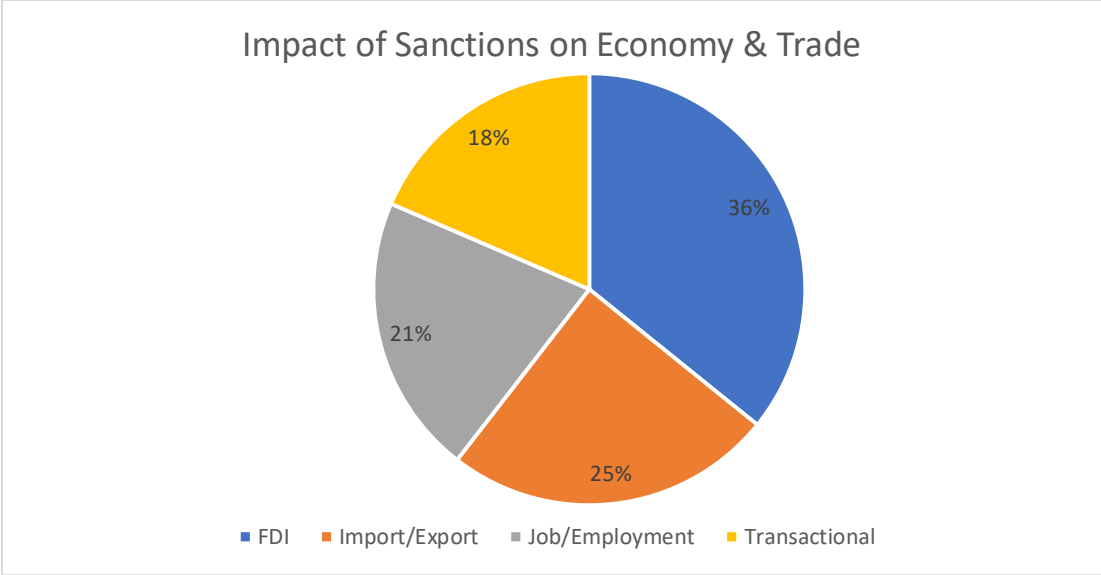


FIGURE 3: RESPONSE - IMPACT OF SANCTIONS ON TRADE AND INVESTMENT

Sanctions can negatively affect a country's gross domestic product (GDP) growth. The participants asserted that the restrictions on trade, investment, and access to international financial markets led to reduced economic activity and slow down overall economic growth in Sudan. Sanctions have contributed to inflationary pressures as import costs rise due to restrictions on trade and supply chain disruptions. This increase in inflation has eroded purchasing power and affect

³²⁶ Gangi, Y. A., & Ahmed, M. H. (2015). The impact of international relations on inflow of foreign direct investment: A case study of Sudan. *Editorial board*, 46.

³²⁷ Patey, L. A. (2009). Against the Asian tide: The Sudan divestment campaign. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 47(4), 551-573.

the standard of living for ordinary citizens. Sanctions have led to a devaluation of Sudan's local currency as the demand for it weakens on the international stage. The weaker currency has made imports more expensive and further exacerbate inflation.

Most research on the relationship between sanctions and foreign direct investment (FDI) primarily examines the effects of US sanctions. Participants noted that US sanctions on Sudan disrupted international trade and financial flows, forcing firms and governments to adjust to a new, more restrictive operational environment. As a result, companies may move their investments to states or countries that provide indirect access to the sanctioned economy. These high-cost sanctions lead to a significant short-term decrease in FDI and have long-term repercussions.

6.2.2 Impact of Sanctions on Agriculture Sector

76 percent of the respondents highlighted that food security was a key area affected by sanctions as it disrupted the agricultural sector and food supply chain. 15 percent affirmed that food insecurity was caused by internal factors while 9 percent did not know. The respondents noted that lack of access to inputs, equipment, and markets had led to reduced agricultural productivity and higher food prices, impacting the nutritional well-being of the Sudan population. The sanctions also hampered private sector growth and entrepreneurship in agricultural sector in Sudan. Restricted access to international food markets and financing limited the growth and expansion of agricultural sector, reduced job opportunities and stifling agricultural diversification.

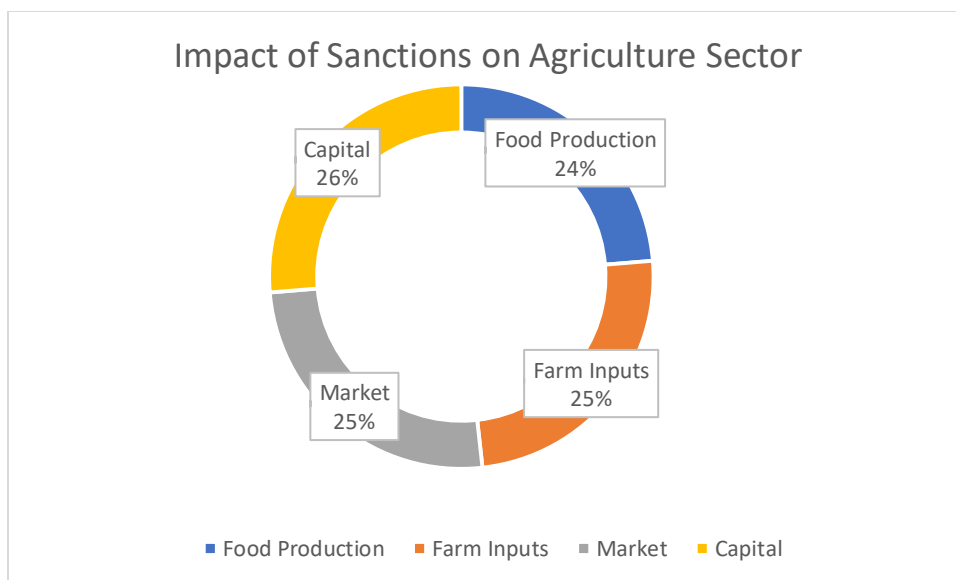


FIGURE 4: RESPONSE - IMPACT OF SANCTIONS ON AGRICULTURE INDUSTRY

Economic sanctions led to job losses and increased poverty rates as the agricultural sector became fragile. Agricultural industries dependent on international trade and investment suffered resulting in reduced employment opportunities for the population.

The humanitarian situation in Sudan had reached a critical point even before the US imposed sanctions and amid internal political disputes. Millions of Sudanese are currently facing severe food insecurity, and 80 percent of the respondents emphasized the far-reaching consequences on food prices, people's livelihoods, and their means of coping. The primary goal was to evaluate the impacts of this crisis, particularly on the most vulnerable individuals, while shaping a humanitarian response that takes into account age, gender, and disability considerations in Sudan.

The surge in food prices, identified by about two-thirds of the 396 (264) participants, was largely attributed to the political crisis and the subsequent imposition of sanctions. This price escalation has been particularly noticeable in essential staples like maize and rice, which constitute fundamental components of the majority of households' diets. Over the years, these staple food

items have experienced a significant and concerning increase in their prices, making them less affordable for many, thereby exacerbating the challenges of food insecurity among the population. This rise in costs has placed added strain on already vulnerable communities and their ability to access an adequate food supply.

In response to the escalating food prices and reduced availability of imported food products, many people resorted to various economic coping strategies. According to the participants, many people have had to rely on purchasing food on credit, selling their crops prematurely, or resorting to early slaughter of their livestock. While these strategies provide some immediate relief in accessing food, they come with the potential risk of undermining long-term food security.

The reliance on short-term measures strains individuals' ability to maintain consistent access to food over time, potentially exacerbating the food security situation. In addition, the adverse effects of these coping mechanisms are not evenly distributed, with women often bearing a disproportionate burden. The participants indicated that women have been compelled to sell their livestock and crops at a rate twice that of men, resulting in a more significant loss of resources for them. The gendered impact underscores the need for gender-sensitive approaches to address food security challenges in the region.

The loss of livelihoods emerged as a significant concern among the participants triggered by economic sanctions. They conveyed that a substantial number of individuals had been compelled to reduce their involvement business activities, while some had been forced to abandon their livelihood entirely. A particularly distressing aspect was the cease of income-generating activities with majority of those affected being women. This downturn in economic activities has had severe implications, not only on individual households but also on the overall economic stability of the region. The adverse impacts on women's income sources underscore the gender-specific

challenges faced, emphasizing the need for gender-sensitive approaches to support affected communities.

Communities have resorted to coping strategies in response to the worsening situation. These include reducing the frequency of daily meals, cutting down on the portion size per meal, and incorporating new food items into their diets. These measures highlight the severity of the crisis, as even those who previously managed to meet the basic requirements of all household members are now struggling to do so. Vulnerable groups facing the brunt of food insecurity and livelihood challenges encompass female-headed households, older individuals, and those without a source of income, spanning both genders and all age groups. It is particularly troubling that these segments of the population are in dire need of assistance, emphasizing the urgency of targeted humanitarian efforts to mitigate the suffering experienced by these vulnerable individuals and communities.

6.2.3 Implications on Humanitarian Aid

Sanctions can influence the domestic political landscape, either by pressuring the government to change its policies. One of the core social implications of sanctions in Sudan is humanitarian aid. According to 64 percent of the respondents, the sanctions negatively affected humanitarian aid by limiting access to essential goods and services. The restrictions affected access to food, medicine, and other critical supplies, particularly for vulnerable populations. The respondents also highlighted that the organizations working in Sudan face difficulties in accessing the country or transferring funds, limiting their ability to provide critical assistance to those in need.

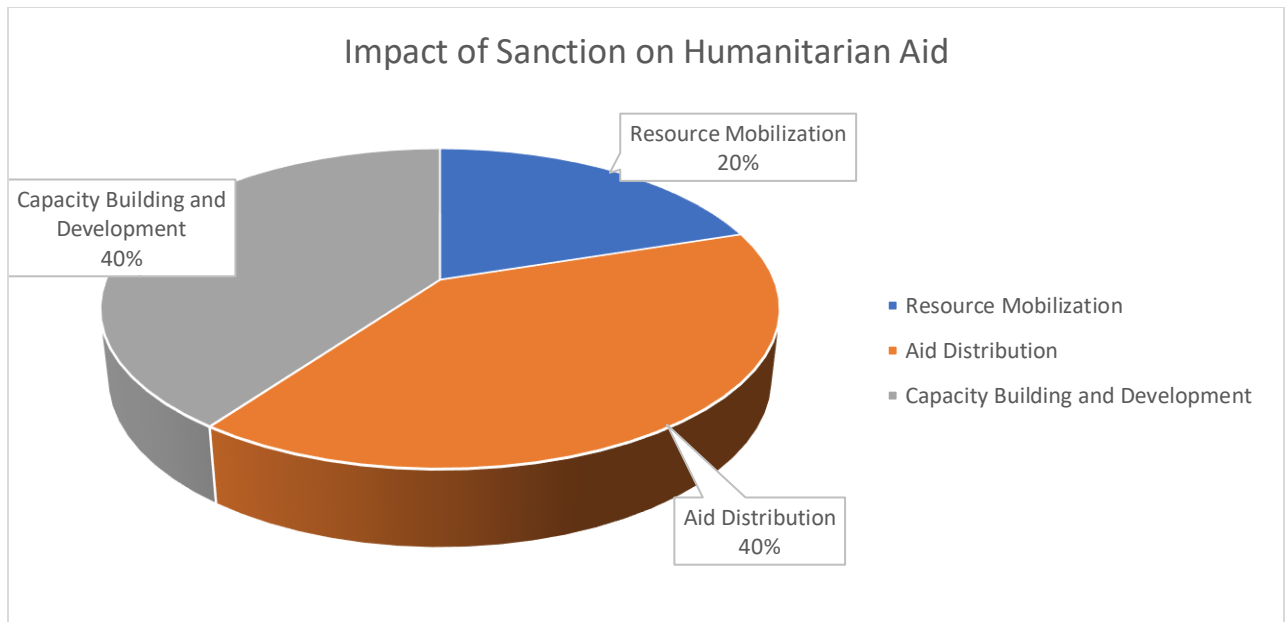


FIGURE 5: RESPONSE - IMPACT OF SANCTIONS ON HUMANITARIAN AID

294 participants emphasized the humanitarian consequences of US sanctions, such as shortages of essential goods, disruption of critical services, and increased poverty and malnutrition. They noted that sanctions adversely affect a country's economy by reducing foreign trade and investment, limiting the availability of essential goods, and decreasing the value of the local currency. Additionally, sanctions lead to the breakdown of public services, including health care, education, and social security, while also causing a rise in unemployment and poverty.

“The sanctions restricted access to humanitarian aid, which further exacerbate the humanitarian situation. This was mostly in resource mobilization as it became difficult to attract foreign donors due to the negative rating of Sudan by the US and international community. The limitation in funding made humanitarian efforts difficult and less impactful in supporting especially vulnerable communities across the country.”³²⁸

The participants asserted that the sanctions lead to a range of negative outcomes, including food insecurity, lack of access to essential goods and services, heightened poverty levels, worsening health outcomes, and an increase in human rights violations. All these effects triggered

³²⁸ Interview by NGO Personnel. 1/04/2023

the need for humanitarian organizations to step in and support the communities from becoming adversely affected.

Seventy-nine percent of the participants observed that the government supported NGOs in providing humanitarian exemptions to sanctions, enabling the delivery of aid to those in need. These exemptions included granting licenses for specific goods and services, offering financial assistance, and waiving certain sanctions. This approach aimed to ensure that humanitarian aid reached vulnerable populations despite the sanctions. However, the implementation was hindered by funding restrictions and access challenges. The uncertain nature of the sanctions, combined with limited access to basic goods, fostered insecurity and fear among the population, resulting in a diminished quality of life.

6.2.4 Impact on IT Development

Sanctions have derailed Sudan's overall development by affecting IT penetration across the country. 63 percent of the respondents highlighted that limited access to international financing and technology transfers slowed down or halted infrastructure initiatives, such as energy, and telecommunications projects. The key areas highlighted by the respondents that were mostly affected by the sanctions in IT sector included Internet connectivity, development of IT skills, adoption of e-commerce, and telecommunication. The respondents noted that the country lags behind in internet connectivity and IT skills and this has been derailed by lack of external support in the industry. This has derailed adoption of e-commerce, an important area that has the potential to create job opportunities for the local population. In addition, telecommunication was also highlighted as a key challenge in the country.

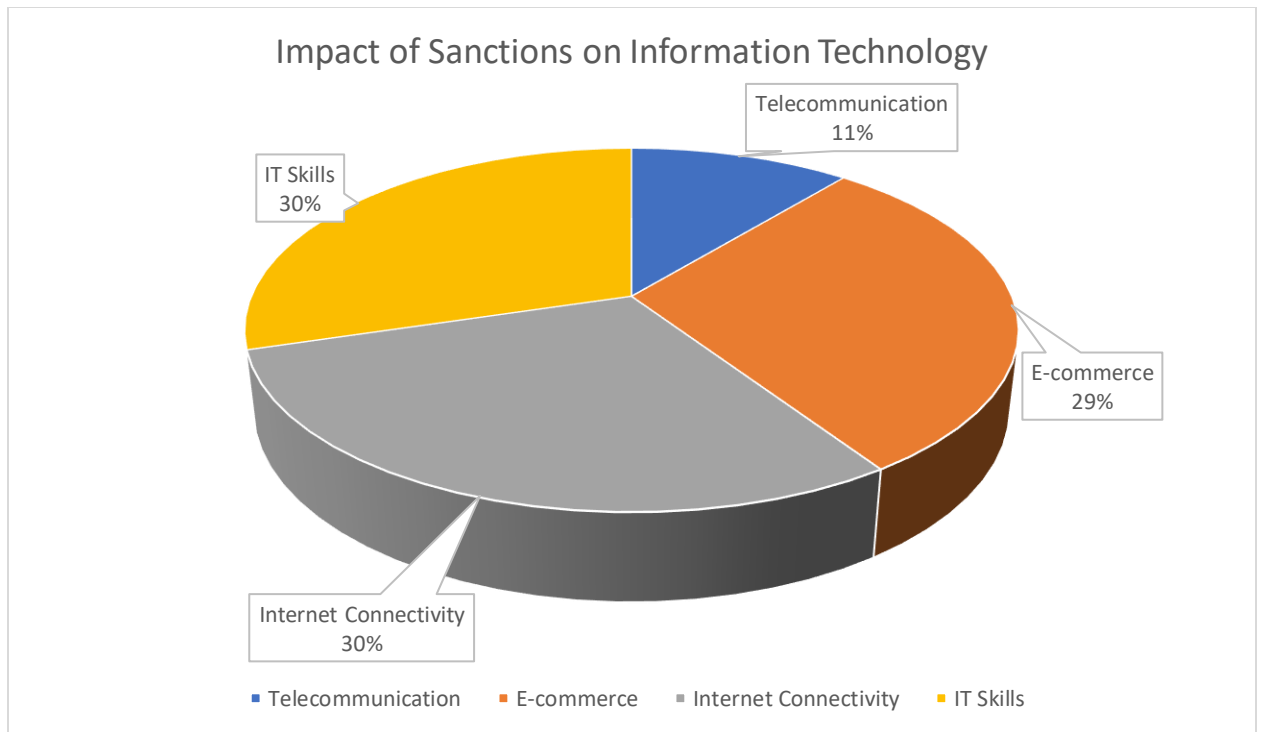


FIGURE 6: RESPONSE - EFFECT ON INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

6.2.5 Impact on Public Service Delivery

81 percent of the respondents echoed on two critical areas that were significantly affected by the sanctions including the health and education industry. The sanctions negatively impacted on access to essential services such as healthcare and education in Sudan. The key highlights in the health sector that were negatively affected by the sanctions as noted by the respondents included lack of availability of medical supplies, equipment, and qualified personnel leading to lower-quality healthcare services. The sanctions have resulted to fiscal and budgetary challenges. With reduced revenue streams, the government of Sudan faces challenges in meeting its budgetary requirements in health and education industry.

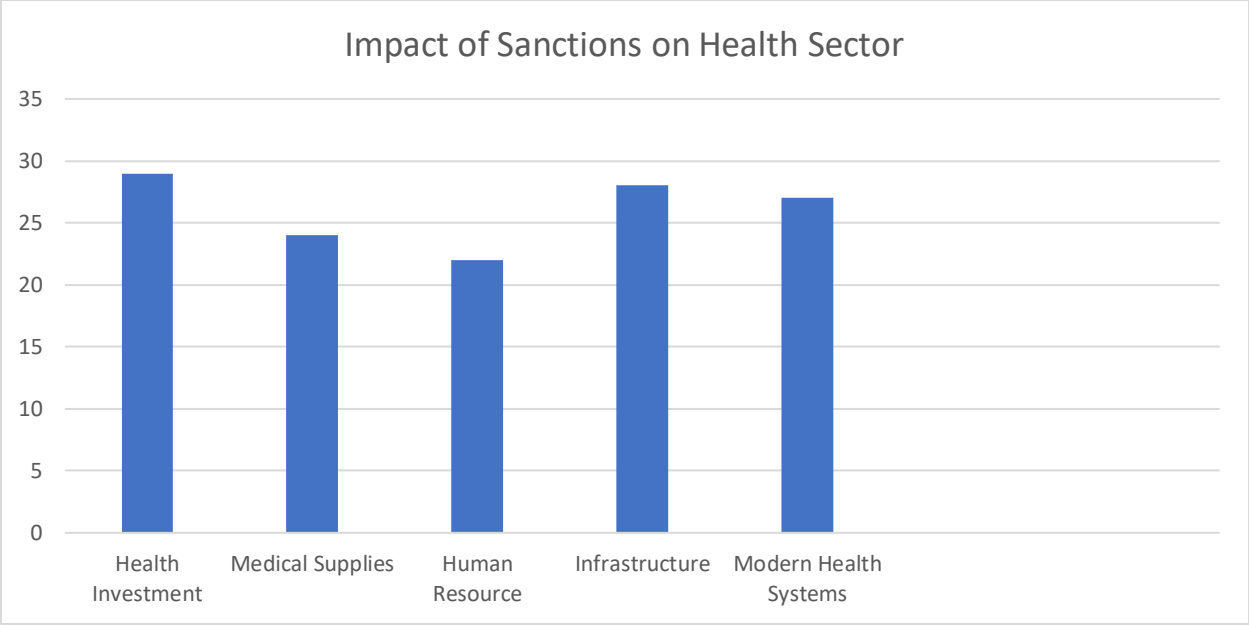


FIGURE 7: RESPONSE - IMPACT OF SANCTIONS ON THE HEALTH SECTOR

Nearly 84 percent of participants identified resource availability as crucial for a resilient health system. They believed that Sudan's health system could withstand disruptions caused by US sanctions if resources were utilized strategically. Financial resources are essential for mobilizing other critical resources during sanctions and crises. Sustained healthcare funding was deemed vital for resilience. Considering Sudan's economy, which relies heavily on oil, it was strongly recommended to employ diverse and stable financial resources, such as taxation or improved efficiency, to reduce the risk of an underfunded response.

The participants noted that the sanctions disrupted educational systems and access to quality education. Lack of adequate budgetary allocation by the government led to reduced public spending on education services and infrastructure. 80 percent of the respondents highlighted infrastructure development in schools as the most affected area by the sanctions as the sector is significantly supported by the international donors. The respondents indicated that sanctions had a significant impact on the allocation of government resources to healthcare and the distribution

of health resources across different programs. In the absence of clear priorities and resource allocation mechanisms, healthcare spending typically decreases, leading to the potential failure of numerous health initiatives.

76 percent of the participants highlighted some efforts made in Sudan to prioritize and allocate resources in the healthcare sector. However, these efforts did not result in the establishment of a systematic and accurate method for prioritization. Consequently, there is a need to develop an institutionalized and effective approach for setting priorities and allocating financial resources, aiming to enhance the resilience of the healthcare system.

"The US sanctions have led to a decline in our revenue, subsequently creating economic austerity. These austerity measures are expected to impact the allocation of resources to various government departments, including the Ministry of Health. As resource allocation diminishes, it becomes necessary to reassess the policies of the Ministry of Health. Such reassessment should ideally be based on well-defined priorities. Unfortunately, due to the absence of a systematic prioritization process, priorities are often established based on personal preferences, resulting in inefficient resource utilization. Therefore, we require a systematic system that guides how to maximize the effectiveness and efficiency of our limited funds."³²⁹

78 percent of the participants noted that the primary impact of sanctions was predominantly felt in the pricing of medications, medical devices, and equipment. The escalation in prices for these items has resulted in restricted access and the emergence of a black market, ultimately jeopardizing the quality of these essential goods, thereby posing a significant health hazard. Many participants underscored the vulnerability of medications and medical equipment during the sanctions period, emphasizing the importance of ensuring stable pricing for these medical products during such times.

"We now have a pricing structure for some medications, which provides clarity regarding the expected cost of these drugs. The same holds true for certain medical equipment and devices, but this pricing framework is not comprehensive and is occasionally outdated. If we could establish an up-to-date price list for medicines and medical equipment accessible to all Sudanese citizens,

³²⁹ Interview by NGO Personnel. 19/03/2023

during crises like these sanctions, traders would be unable to exploit people by selling drugs at exorbitant prices."³³⁰

59 percent of the participants pointed out that sanctions and their repercussions had not been adequately incorporated into Sudan's national health planning and policies. Consequently, goals and strategies were not appropriately aligned. Moreover, although building a resilient economy represents a viable solution to counter the effects of sanctions, its implementation had not been rigorously pursued. Participants stressed the need for health planners to contemplate scenarios involving the persistence of sanctions, with any targeting efforts being aligned with sanctions and their consequences. They recommended the review of scenario exercises, including simulated sanctions situations, as a strategy to prepare for crises or disasters.

*"Sanctions are an ongoing possibility, whether in this current round or the next. We must have a comprehensive plan in place to address sanctions, and until then, discussions about sanctions will remain futile. We failed to consider the possibility of sanctions while forecasting. Even if we did, we did not account for the embargo's implications. Initially, we did not approach it from this perspective. We overlooked these sanctions-related factors in our work, which is a significant issue facing our country."*³³¹

67 percent of the participants noted that during sanctions and the accompanying restrictions on financial transactions and transfers, one of the crucial factors for preserving the healthcare system's integrity was the utilization of alternative methods for conducting exchanges and resource procurement. Ensuring that the healthcare system has multiple alternative courses of action can enhance its resilience. These alternative pathways refer to having alternative routes to attain specific objectives, ultimately bolstering resilience by providing alternative avenues when disruptions or challenges occur on the primary pathway, allowing the system to achieve its goals. Other areas affected by the sanctions in the education sector included human resource and access.

³³⁰ Interview by Sudan Embassy Attache. 26/02/2023

³³¹ Interview by NGO Consultant. 22/02/2023

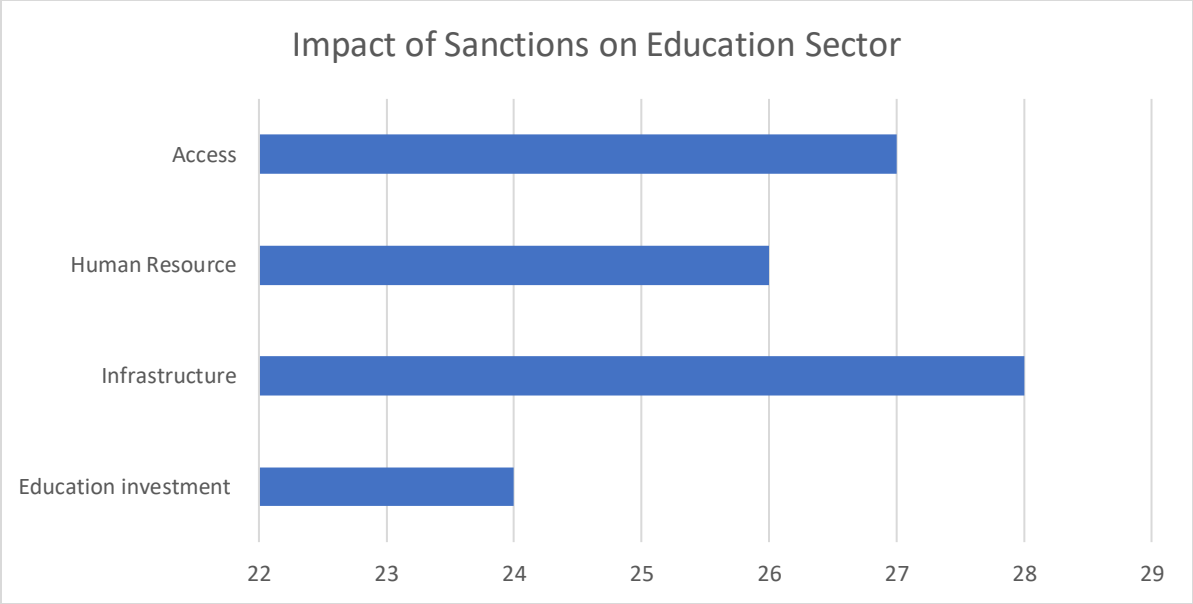


FIGURE 8: IMPACT OF SANCTIONS ON EDUCATION

90 percent of the participants expressed concerns about the impact of US sanctions on Sudan, particularly regarding academic collaborations between Sudanese institutions and foreign universities. In general, Sudanese students have still been able to obtain visas to pursue education abroad, as the US State Department emphasizes that university admissions are a private matter between students and the respective institutions. However, while Russia has experienced sanctions in the past, a blow to its financial system, particularly involving its largest bank, could potentially reshape the landscape of higher education in the country if students and academics miss out on opportunities. These sanctions not only limit the academic pursuits of students but also create a vulnerable university community due to limited investment in robust research, which often relies on international partnerships.

86 percent of the participants asserted that infrastructure was one of the most affected areas in the education sector by the US sanctions. This was essentially due to investment in infrastructure that was necessary for Sudan as a developing country. In addition, poor infrastructure limited the

number of students that could access education in Sudan. This had far-reaching impacts especially in empowering children towards progressing further in their education. Education infrastructure is normally funded by the government as well as seeks support from the international community. However, the imposition of sanctions by the US against Sudan limited development of education infrastructure.

The participants also cited limited access as another challenge affecting education industry in Sudan. Dilapidated classrooms along with sparsely developed schools limited access. This was critical especially as students had to walk long distances in order to get schooling. Human resource is another key area of concern triggered by the sanctions. Schools in the country have limited personnel to manage the teaching program. This further exacerbates the situation where one teacher teaches hundreds of students. There has been lacking adequate training to ensure the country is on the right path towards recovery in the education sector.

From a deontological standpoint, the imposition of sanctions raises critical ethical questions about the justifiability of using coercive measures against an entire population. Deontology, which emphasizes adherence to moral rules or duties, suggests that actions must be judged based on their intrinsic morality rather than their consequences. Under this framework, the morality of sanctions is questionable because they inherently involve inflicting suffering on individuals who are not responsible for the actions of their government. The intent behind sanctions might be to pressure or destabilize oppressive regimes, aiming for political or humanitarian improvements.

However, the collateral damage they inflict on innocent civilians cannot be overlooked or morally justified. The suffering of ordinary Sudanese citizens, particularly regarding their limited access to essential services like healthcare and education, starkly challenges the moral foundation of such sanctions. Healthcare shortages lead to increased mortality and morbidity, while disruptions in

education compromise the future prospects of an entire generation. These outcomes contravene the deontological imperative to treat individuals with inherent dignity and respect. The indiscriminate nature of sanctions means that they often hit the most vulnerable hardest, exacerbating poverty and suffering without necessarily achieving the intended political outcomes. Thus, from a deontological perspective, the ethical legitimacy of sanctions is deeply problematic, as they fail to uphold the moral duty to avoid harm to innocent individuals, questioning the overall righteousness of such punitive measures.

6.3 Conclusion

The data analysis on the impact of sanctions on Sudan reveals significant consequences for the country's economy, social fabric, and humanitarian conditions. Over the period of sanctions, the imposition of sanctions has led to a severe decline in foreign investments, trade restrictions, and reduced access to financial markets. This has resulted in soaring inflation, widespread poverty, and food and medicine shortages. Humanitarian aid delivery has been hindered, exacerbating the already precarious situation. There has been a negative impact on education and healthcare systems, with adverse effects on vulnerable populations. Consequently, the data underscores the urgent need for a comprehensive re-evaluation of the sanctions regime to mitigate the humanitarian crisis in Sudan.

Chapter six discussed the effect of US sanctions on the local populations in Sudan with focus on analysis of primary data. The analysis revealed adverse negative impact of the sanctions on vulnerable populations on short-term as well as long-term spheres. Chapter seven provides an overview of the discussion on the impact of sanctions on Sudan with key focus on summary of presentation, recommendations, and areas of further studies.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

Chapter six discussed in-depth the effect of US sanctions on Sudan with focus on primary data generated from respondents. The focus of the chapter was on the key areas that were affected by US sanctions and the impact on local populations. Chapter 7 provides a summary on the effects of sanctions on Sudan's vulnerable populations in different areas including socioeconomic spheres. The chapter sheds light on the challenges faced by these populations and provides recommendations including advocating for targeted policies to mitigate the adverse effects. The analysis and comprehensive recommendations foster deeper understanding of the situation and promote sustainable solutions for a better future for all Sudanese. The impact of sanctions in Sudan has been a matter of great concern especially the adverse effect on civilian population. Imposed in response to political and security factors, these sanctions have had far-reaching consequences on the lives of the country's most marginalized communities.

7.1 Summary of Findings

Sanctions are a commonly used foreign policy tool aimed at pressuring unfriendly regimes to change their behavior. The United States imposed sanctions on Sudan in the early 1990s, following the country's support for terrorism and human rights abuses. The sanctions included trade restrictions, financial isolation, and restrictions on humanitarian aid and technological transfers. These measures were meant to pressure the Sudanese government to address these concerns, but they have also had unintended effects on ordinary citizens.

The most significant impact of U.S. sanctions on Sudan has been on the country's economy, resulting in severe hardships for the local population. The restrictions on trade and financial transactions have hindered the country's economic growth and led to high inflation rates, unemployment, and a rise in poverty levels. Many Sudanese people have struggled to afford basic necessities such as food, healthcare, and education, leading to a decline in living standards. The sanctions' unintended humanitarian consequences have been profound. While some exemptions for humanitarian aid were in place, the complex bureaucratic process and risk-averse financial institutions have often delayed or obstructed the delivery of critical assistance. This has resulted in a humanitarian crisis, particularly affecting vulnerable populations, such as children, the elderly, and internally displaced persons.

The sanctions have negatively impacted Sudan's healthcare and education sectors. The scarcity of resources has made it difficult for the government to invest adequately in these essential services. Medical facilities have faced shortages of medicines and equipment, leading to inadequate healthcare access for many citizens. Similarly, the education system has suffered from a lack of funding and resources, limiting opportunities for the youth and hindering the country's long-term development. Agriculture is a vital sector in Sudan, and the sanctions have had detrimental effects on food security and agricultural productivity.³³² With limited access to modern technology and agricultural inputs due to trade restrictions, farmers have struggled to increase yields and combat food shortages. Moreover, the increased cost of living has made it challenging for the poor to afford sufficient food, exacerbating the problem of hunger and malnutrition.

³³² *Ibid.*

The imposition of sanctions has also had political consequences in Sudan. Some argue that the sanctions have contributed to the consolidation of power within the ruling elite, as they often control access to scarce resources. The government has used the sanctions as a scapegoat for economic difficulties, deflecting blame away from their mismanagement and human rights abuses. This has hindered the potential for democratic reforms and further marginalized civil society organizations. The combination of economic hardships and political instability resulting from the sanctions has driven many Sudanese people to seek better opportunities abroad. The country has experienced a significant increase in emigration and refugees, further straining neighboring countries' resources and creating a regional migration crisis.

7.2 Conclusion

Sanctions represent a form of coercive diplomacy employed in the realm of international politics. Typically, they are utilized to exert pressure on a government with the aim of inducing a change in its policies or behavior, or to penalize it for transgressions. Sanctions serve as a tool wielded by governments, international entities, and individuals to compel a nation to alter its conduct. They are commonly invoked in response to various violations of international law, human rights abuses, acts of terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and environmental degradation. Sanctions can take the form of economic measures like trade embargoes, asset freezes, and financial restrictions, as well as diplomatic measures such as the suspension of diplomatic relations. Additionally, they encompass military actions, such as arms embargoes or troop deployments. These measures include restrictions on trade and financial transactions, encompassing asset freezes, travel bans, prohibitions on financial dealings, and controls on imports and exports. Sanctions can be deployed as diplomatic leverage, curbing a country's access to global markets and resources, or withholding specific goods or services.

However, the human toll of sanctions is often overshadowed in discussions of international policy. While sanctions serve as a crucial instrument of international politics, intended to chastise countries or regimes for their actions or policies, they are meant to be a non-violent means of applying pressure. Yet, for many nations, economic sanctions and similar punitive measures are routinely used to chastise, discourage, or coerce a specific country or group. Regrettably, these economic penalties frequently yield unintended and adverse consequences for innocent populations, including those residing in the targeted countries or groups. These repercussions often lead to devastating and severe effects on the people residing in the country under scrutiny.

In recent times, sanctions have been applied to individuals and organizations in response to alleged human rights violations, corruption, terrorism, cybercrime, and other international offenses. Sanctions may be unilaterally imposed by a single country or multilaterally enforced by a coalition of nations. The mechanisms for developing sanctions vary, with the most prevalent approach being through international organizations like the United Nations (UN) or the World Trade Organization (WTO). These entities may institute sanctions in response to breaches of international law or as a punitive measure against a nation for particularly egregious conduct. Sanctions can also be unilaterally imposed by a solitary nation, either as a response to an international law violation or as a means to advance its own interests. The ramifications of sanctions can be far-reaching, encompassing but not limited to increased poverty, food insecurity, limited access to healthcare, and disruptions to educational systems. It is vital to contemplate the human cost of sanctions when considering them as a policy tool, especially in the context of foreign diplomacy.

Sanctions serve as a governmental tool employed to apply pressure on other nations in pursuit of specific policy objectives. While they can be a potent instrument, they also carry a

substantial human toll that can be exceedingly burdensome for innocent populations. The impact of sanctions on innocent people can be profoundly devastating. These measures can trigger acute shortages of essential resources like food, medicine, and vital services, ultimately resulting in poverty, illness, and loss of life. Additionally, sanctions can disrupt critical infrastructure, compounding economic harm and intensifying hardships. Furthermore, they can sow the seeds of economic and political instability, potentially culminating in conflicts and violence. The cumulative effect of these consequences on innocent populations can be severe and enduring, with significant costs.

Moreover, economic sanctions can inflict financial hardships upon individuals and businesses. They can lead to a decline in foreign investment and a devaluation of a country's currency, exacerbating economic challenges. The human cost of sanctions on innocent populations is substantial and necessitates careful consideration when contemplating their utilization. While sanctions can be a potent tool for governments, their deployment should be thoughtfully weighed against potential consequences, with due regard for the government's policy objectives. Ultimately, it remains the responsibility of governments to ensure that the rights and well-being of their citizens are duly considered when implementing economic sanctions.

The primary repercussion of economic sanctions is of an economic nature. These penalties significantly impact innocent populations, as they harm individuals who are not directly responsible for or involved in the actions that prompted the penalties. The economic sanctions imposed by the US on Sudan, for example, have resulted in a reduction in available resources for innocent populations. This has included diminished funding for public services, infrastructure, and education. Furthermore, economic sanctions have led to a reduction in job opportunities within specific regions, resulting in higher unemployment rates and increased poverty.

The US sanctions on Sudan dented a huge blow to the country's engagement in the international community. The US sanctions meant that Sudan was isolated in the international arena and this negatively impacted its involvement especially in trade. The government has not been able to attract investors into the country and this has derailed its economic progress. Globalization and expansion of economies has provided a platform for countries to expand their trade. This has not been experienced in Sudan in length due to the US sanctions and negative rating especially on human rights and fights against terrorism. Investment into Sudan's industries including the oil sector has been limited and there lies huge opportunities economically. The rampant war coupled with poor governance also creates socioeconomic challenges in the country. The implications of the US sanctions against Sudan is thus isolation of Sudan by many global trading partners and organizations.

The effects of U.S sanctions on Sudan have been significant, and have impacted various aspects of the country's economy and society. The sanctions have hindered Sudan's ability to access international financial markets, which has made it difficult for the country to secure loans and investment. This has led to a shortage of foreign currency, which has made it difficult for Sudan to import goods and pay for vital imports such as food and medicine. In addition, the sanctions have had a negative impact on Sudan's agricultural sector, which is a major source of employment and income for many Sudanese people. The sanctions have also made it difficult for Sudan to access technology and equipment, which has hindered the country's ability to develop its infrastructure and improve living standards. Overall, the U.S sanctions on Sudan have had a detrimental effect on the country's economy and society.

Economic sanctions diminish the availability of goods and services for innocent populations, resulting in heightened prices and diminished access to vital commodities and

services. Additionally, these sanctions precipitate a devaluation of the currency, ushering in financial instability and insecurity for innocent civilians. Consequently, innocent populations are compelled to grapple with economic adversity, a constrained access to resources, and even potential human rights violations. The economic ramifications of these sanctions encompass job losses, diminished wages, and an overall decline in living standards. This economic hardship has a cascading effect, impacting even those who have not transgressed the law. Secondly, economic sanctions curtail access to essential resources. For instance, the economic penalties imposed on Sudan have rendered the nation's struggle to procure crucial medical supplies, leading to a public health crisis. Similarly, economic sanctions restrict a country's access to food and other fundamental necessities, with dire consequences for the entire populace.

The case study of U.S. sanctions on Sudan demonstrates the multifaceted impacts such measures can have on local populations. While the sanctions aimed to punish the Sudanese government, they have caused significant economic hardships, exacerbated humanitarian crises, and hindered the country's development. The unintended consequences have disproportionately affected vulnerable populations, including children, the elderly, and displaced persons. As policymakers consider imposing sanctions in the future, this case study highlights the importance of assessing the potential impacts on civilian populations and promoting targeted and constructive measures that uphold human rights and humanitarian principles. Effectively managing the impact of sanctions on Sudan requires a balanced approach that combines targeted pressure on the ruling elite with measures to protect the well-being and rights of the local population. Diplomacy, humanitarian assistance, economic diversification, and regional collaboration can play crucial roles in fostering positive change while addressing the concerns that led to sanctions in the first place.

The research undertaken provides substantial evidence affirming the hypothesis that the imposition of international sanctions forces states to change both their foreign and domestic policies. The study found that U.S. sanctions on Sudan have led to significant shifts in the Sudanese government's approach to both domestic governance and international relations. Facing economic pressures and political isolation, Sudan has been compelled to alter its policies to align more closely with international expectations. This includes efforts to improve human rights records, adopt democratic reforms, and distance itself from previous associations with terrorist groups. These policy changes underscore the coercive power of sanctions in influencing state behavior.

Secondly, the research confirms that the nature of U.S. sanctions imposed on Sudan has evolved over time due to shifting geopolitical interests and changes in international norms. Initially, sanctions were primarily focused on issues related to terrorism and security. However, over the years, the scope of sanctions has expanded to address broader concerns such as human rights abuses and the need for democratic reforms. This evolution reflects the dynamic nature of international politics and the changing priorities of the U.S. and the global community. The study highlights how the sanctions regime has adapted to new geopolitical realities and normative shifts, making it a more complex and multifaceted tool of foreign policy.

The third hypothesis, that Sudan's actions have contributed to U.S. sanctions on the country, is also affirmed by the research findings. Sudan's involvement in harboring terrorist groups, its record of human rights violations, and its failure to implement democratic reforms have been major factors leading to the imposition and continuation of U.S. sanctions. The study illustrates how Sudan's policies and actions have consistently triggered punitive measures from the international community. This cause-and-effect relationship highlights the role of state

behavior in attracting international sanctions and underscores the importance of compliance with global standards to avoid such punitive measures.

Finally, the research conclusively supports the hypothesis that U.S. sanctions on Sudan have degraded the quality of life of ordinary Sudanese citizens. The study documents the significant socioeconomic impacts of sanctions, including reduced access to healthcare, education, and essential goods. The economic downturn caused by sanctions has led to widespread poverty and increased hardship for the general population. These findings emphasize the unintended consequences of sanctions, particularly their detrimental effects on innocent civilians. The study calls for a reconsideration of sanctions strategies to mitigate these adverse impacts, suggesting more targeted measures that can pressure regimes without causing widespread humanitarian suffering.

In summary, this research provides a comprehensive analysis affirming the four hypotheses. It demonstrates the coercive influence of sanctions on state policies, the evolving nature of sanctions in response to changing geopolitical contexts, the contributory role of state actions in attracting sanctions, and the severe impact of sanctions on civilian populations. These insights contribute to a deeper understanding of the complexities surrounding international sanctions and offer valuable guidance for policymakers aiming to balance political objectives with humanitarian considerations.

7.3 Recommendations

Distributed Ledger Technology for Transparent Humanitarian Aid Disbursement

A novel cross-sector blockchain system has the potential to aid humanitarian agencies in responding to increasingly frequent and complex crises while generating significant cost savings.

This distributed ledger technology offers the ability for humanitarian organizations to reach a larger number of people, especially when aid budgets face pressure due to shrinking government allocations. Leveraging distributed ledger technology can result in substantial cost reductions, lower transaction fees, and the prospect of enhancing monitoring and evaluation processes for aid organizations and donors. Prominent use cases encompass cash and voucher assistance, supply chain management, and donor engagement. The system allows donors to define parameters for the utilization of their funds.

The creation of a shared, sector-wide blockchain platform for humanitarian efforts enables the sector to automate and monitor processes in real-time, ensuring secure records. This modernization and coordination are essential for addressing emerging threats like pandemics, climate change, and natural disasters, which necessitate the rapid, efficient, and widespread distribution of aid. A cross-sector blockchain platform, which serves as a digital database accessible within a large decentralized network, has the capacity to support a wide array of applications, including cash and voucher distribution, identity services, natural capital and carbon tracking, as well as donor engagement.

Leverage blockchain technology to establish immutable and transparent systems:

Blockchain technology holds the potential for adoption by humanitarian organizations to allocate humanitarian assistance, ensure accountability, and minimize diversionary practices. This technology can also be applied to philanthropy, enabling non-profit organizations to establish a transparent and secure record of all donations. Donors, in turn, can utilize the blockchain to track their donations, ensuring that their contributions are utilized for their intended purpose. This heightened transparency and accountability enhance public trust and, consequently, render humanitarian aid delivery more efficient, transparent, and accessible.

The integration of blockchain and cryptocurrency has the potential to revolutionize management within humanitarian organizations by achieving the following objectives: Enhancing transparency and traceability in aid distribution; Reducing operational costs and expediting transactions.; Ensuring greater accountability and reducing the likelihood of corruption; Facilitating direct access to aid for beneficiaries; and creating innovative Web3 fundraising opportunities for humanitarian projects; Augment traceability in the delivery of humanitarian aid.

The utilization of smart contracts can automate the disbursement of aid based on predefined conditions, ensuring that funds are only released when specific milestones are achieved. Consequently, blockchain has the capacity to minimize mismanagement and fraud, leading to a more effective and efficient humanitarian aid delivery process. By bypassing intermediaries, such as banks and government agencies, and leveraging innovative blockchain tools like stablecoins, aid can be swiftly and securely distributed to those in need. This novel approach not only streamlines the process but also enhances transparency and accountability.

Blockchain technology has also opened doors to pioneering Web3 fundraising opportunities for humanitarian organizations. The Web3 community is truly global, offering humanitarian organizations a chance to connect with a worldwide and engaged audience, harnessing this connection to raise funds for their causes. This is chiefly accomplished through crypto philanthropy platforms that enable non-profit organizations to accept donations in numerous cryptocurrencies. Additionally, unique Web3 tools can help maximize the impact of individual contributions.

7.4 Recommendations for Further Studies

Social and Cultural Effects

Investigate how US sanctions affect Sudanese society, including cultural exchanges, migration patterns, and social norms. Explore the role of sanctions in shaping social dynamics and identity in Sudan. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the impact of US sanctions on Sudan, further research is needed to delve into their profound social and cultural effects. A study in this area should aim to examine various facets of Sudanese society that are influenced by these sanctions. First and foremost, researchers should investigate the disruptions caused in cultural exchanges between Sudan and the rest of the world. This involves understanding how sanctions have hindered artistic collaborations, the exchange of ideas, and the flow of cultural influences between Sudan and other nations. Such research can offer valuable insights into how sanctions not only limit economic activities but also stifle the free exchange of ideas and cultural expressions.

Another critical aspect that warrants exploration in social and cultural effects is how US sanctions have impacted migration patterns in Sudan. A comprehensive study can examine how the limitations imposed by sanctions have influenced the movement of people within Sudan and across its borders. It can assess whether the economic hardships resulting from sanctions have driven a significant number of Sudanese citizens to seek opportunities abroad or if they have led to the internal displacement of populations. This research can shed light on the complex interplay between sanctions, economic conditions, and human mobility.

US sanctions can also have a profound influence on social norms and identity in Sudan. Further studies should delve into how these sanctions have shaped social dynamics within the country. Research can investigate whether the economic challenges brought about by sanctions have led to changes in social norms, values, and behaviors. Additionally, scholars can explore how

these sanctions affect the formation of collective identity among Sudanese citizens. Understanding whether sanctions strengthen or weaken a sense of national identity and unity is crucial for assessing their broader societal implications.

Investigating the social and cultural effects of US sanctions on Sudan is a critical area of study that can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the repercussions of such measures. By examining cultural exchanges, migration patterns, and social norms, researchers can shed light on the multifaceted ways in which sanctions shape Sudanese society. Moreover, placing these findings in a historical and comparative context can enhance our knowledge of the broader implications of sanctions on societies worldwide.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent

I am undertaking a study on **IMPACTS OF SANCTIONS IMPOSED ON UNFRIENDLY REGIMES ON LOCAL POPULATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF U.S SANCTIONS TOWARDS SUDAN**. The findings and recommendations of this study are aimed at contributing to knowledge and a deeper understanding of impact of sanctions on unfriendly regimes in Africa and especially developing countries. The information collected in this study is specifically for academic purposes only and as such will be treated with top confidentiality.

Section One: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Kindly state your name: (Optional)

2. Please state your Organization/Ministry/Department/Agency/Institution:.....

Section Two: 1. To examine the role of international sanctions in improving inter-state relations.

3. What is your understanding of the concept of international sanctions?
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4. What is the role of international sanctions in shaping inter-state relations?
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5. What are the main objectives or purposes of imposing international sanctions on unfriendly regimes?

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6. What examples of instances where international sanctions have effectively improved inter-state relations? Please describe the specific situations and outcomes.

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7. What potential challenges or limitations do you see in using international sanctions as a means to improve inter-state relations?

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8. What alternative approaches or strategies could be employed alongside or instead of international sanctions to foster positive inter-state relations?

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Section Three: To analyze the changing nature of U.S sanctions imposed on Sudan.

9. Provide an overview of the U.S. sanctions towards Sudan in the past.

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10. Have you observed any significant changes in the nature or scope of U.S. sanctions on Sudan over the past decade? If yes, please describe the key changes and their implications.....

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11. What factors do you believe have contributed to the evolving nature of U.S. sanctions on Sudan? (Are there any specific events or developments that have influenced these changes)

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12. Have the changes in U.S. sanctions had any discernible impact on Sudan's economy, society, or political landscape? (please elaborate on the nature of these impacts)

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13. How do the changing nature of U.S. sanctions on Sudan align with the broader U.S. foreign policy objectives or regional dynamics in the Horn of Africa? Are there any notable trends or patterns that can be identified?

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Section Four: To assess the extent to which the U.S imposed sanctions have contributed to regime change in Sudan.

14. What are the objectives of U.S. imposed sanctions on Sudan?

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15. To what extent do you believe the U.S. imposed sanctions have influenced the political landscape in Sudan? Have they played a significant role in facilitating or contributing to regime change?

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16. Are there any specific instances or events where you believe the U.S. imposed sanctions directly or indirectly impacted the stability of the Sudanese regime? (please provide examples and describe the nature of the impact)

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17. What are the potential limitations or criticisms regarding the role of U.S. imposed sanctions in inducing regime change? Are there any counterarguments suggesting that the sanctions have had limited or no impact on the political dynamics in Sudan?

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18. Are there any counterarguments suggesting that the sanctions have had limited or no impact on the political dynamics in Sudan?

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Section Five: To determine the effect of U.S sanctions on local populations in Sudan.

19. What are the main ways in which U.S. sanctions have impacted the daily lives and well-being of the local population in Sudan? (Please describe the specific effects you believe the sanctions have had)

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20. Are there observed changes in the socio-economic conditions of the local population in Sudan since the imposition of U.S. sanctions? If yes, please elaborate on the nature of these changes and their implications

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21. How do you perceive the accessibility and availability of essential goods, services, and resources, such as food, healthcare, education, and employment opportunities, for the local population in Sudan under the U.S. sanctions? Have there been any noticeable challenges or improvements in these areas?

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22. What are the potential short-term and long-term consequences of the U.S. sanctions on the local populations in Sudan? Are there any unintended or unforeseen effects that have emerged as a result of the sanctions?

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23. Are there any unintended or unforeseen effects that have emerged as a result of the sanctions?

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