Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

Fragile State and State Reconstruction (Sudan Case Study)

Dr.AlharethMohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

Assistant Professor in Zarqa University- Faculty of Arts

hhalalmeh@zu.edu.jo

alhareth2011@yahoo.com

Abstract:

The study talks about the issue of the fragile State and the reconstruction of the stateby considering Sudan as a case study. The study also aims at identifying the term "Fragile State" used in politics and international relations, explaining the causes of the failure of the State and identifying the indicators for measuring the failure of the State and its grades. Also to identify the factors that made the state of the Sudan a state to which the criteria of failure applicable, this study was used to answer questions and achieve the objectives of both the analytical descriptive curriculum, the historical curriculum and the case study curriculum, as well as to learn about the terminology and quality of State-building.

Introduction:

Modern international law considers the concept of a fragile state as one of the most important of this era, which has effectively imposed itself since the 1960s, but has emerged more urgently in the present century, as one of the main threats to international security and global stability. "A failed or weak State poses a challenge to the international community. In a highly globalised economy and intertwined information and security networks, pressure on a fragile state can have serious repercussions not only on the state and its people, but also on its neighbours, and the rest of the world." This type of state is the source of many phenomena by mass exoduses, civil wars, organised crime, the proliferation of weapons of all kinds, terrorism and so forth. At the theoretical level, however, this concept languishes from a considerable lack of specificity and, at the practical level, is a matter of considerable ambiguity and problematic. Hence, the study was carried out through the linkage of the fragile state, the reconstruction of the state and the consequent rebuilding of the fragile state, taking the Sudan as a case of study.

Study Approaches:

Through the use of three approaches: analytical, legal and case study, convinced that the fragile state is one of the threats to international security, the concept of the state adopted in this research is the concept as used in Westphalia Convention, which means the sovereign state that has become the legitimate form of political organization of human societies and thus the central subject of the study of international relations, with the problematic concept of sovereignty as a "problematic concept", in the words of Waltz. What is meant by a "fragile State" and what does a fragile State relate to the concept of State-building to

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

clarify what State-building is, taking the Sudan as a case of study.

Study Hypothesis:

The study is based on the premise that there are considerable applicability of the fragile state standards to the Sudan by introducing the classifications that demonstrate these standards and that the Sudan has the potential and capacity to rebuild the State in accordance with good governance and reconstruction standards.

Study Problem:

The study is based on a research problem in the Sudan's existence on the rankings of the fragile State and the applicability of standards to it. Does the Sudan have the potential to rebuild the State in accordance with existing possibilities or with regard to governance, the ability to carry out actions that will enable the Sudanese State to reconstruction it and is based on a number of questions:

- What is the concept of a fragile state and state reconstruction?
- What are the criteria and indicators of the fragile state?
- Why did Sudan be classified as a fragile State?
- What is the Sudan's ability to reconstruction the state?

Chapter One: The Concept of the Fragile State and State Reconstruction
Firstly; The Concept of the Fragile State

The concept of a fragile state shares a number of similar concepts with which it overlaps in the expression of a state of disability that may affect the functions of a State, placing its nationals in a state of failure or apprehension, considering that the national State remains that organized unit to which people obviously aspire whenever they face any new danger(Zakhnini, (2017). Depending on the nature and degree of the disability, and the jobs it affected, talk is made of fragile state, "Fragile State," "Bankrupt State,""Collapsed State" and "Rogue State."

The fragilestate reads as follows: "Its organ cannot perform its basic functions and, in particular, ensure the public security of its people", resulting in internal unrest that often has extensions of neighbouring states either in the form of mass exoduses of citizens of the fragilestate in search of safe places. Zakhnini, (2017), or exporting boiling status to other countries to resemble historical, economic, political or other data, which constitutes a threat to the national security of many countries and even a threat to international security and stability (Bani Hamad, (2019). Failure, however, was not linked solely to the organ; the state in international law was at the same time "A specific space, a particular social group and an independent political power that in principle guarantees that entity" that maintains the minimum social-political cohesion, i.e. a sense of common belonging and solidarity among citizens who are conscious of having the same identity "This makes the imbalances in the social fabric of the country caused by the eruption of racial, religious, linguistic or other tensions one of the factors reflecting the failure of the State to ensure its relationship with its citizens who, in these cases, are further and further away from local governments and are

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

headed to" broader than national "or" lower than national "departments." (Khogli, 2021) By comparing the definition of a fragilestate with a state capable of performing its associated functions as a legal entity, i.e. with its contrary, itmay be a means of seeking a definition of a fragilestate. A state as a legal fact refers to three material components: The first is the territory defined by the borders of the continent (Brihmouche, 2013), the second is the people living on this geographical area, whose components are supposed to coexist within the State society, and the third is the political power embodied in various institutions with a range of functions (Zu 'bi, 2011).

Standards of a Fragile State:

Fund for Peace developed an indicator of an independent research organization - and a Foreign Policy magazine which is published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace - 60 countries (Zakhnini, 2017). According to its first version, the overall indicator contains twelve sub-indicators, divided into four groups, social, economic, political and cultural; each has a number of sub-procedures or subcategories. According to the source, most of the fragile states are located in Africa, first of all, Sudan, because of its poor degrees in the grievances of groups and human rights, in the words of the report accompanying the indicator. This may be reminiscent of the controversy of 2004-2005 raised by the report entitled Arab Human Development: "The Arab World" represents the worst-ever region of the world on the scale of "freedom", originally set by the American Freedom House Foundation, in isolation from the necessary internal and

external conditions and the environment of regional conflicts. (Al Daghaili,2019)

Of these standards:

a- Military or paramilitary intervention in the internal affairs of a State in danger, through foreign forces, or identities that may affect the internal balance of force or conflict resolution.

b- Funders' intervention, especially if there is a tendency towards excessive reliance on external assistance, or peacekeeping functions (OTT, 2021).

Causes of State Failure:

There are a large number of reasons why many Third World States (the world of the South) are trapped in fragilestates, including two causes that appear to be sufficient to explain what led these countries to come under the control of weak, fragile or even collapsed states.

The first reason: manifests itself in the effects of the colonial phenomenon and the resulting destruction in these States, both during the colonial era and after their independence (Zakhnini, 2017)

The second reason: This is the negative external role that has played an important role in the delayed growth of these states. The causes of the state's failure appear to be certain and uncontested in the light of the international standards on which the state's failure has been determined. Contrary to these criteria, however, there are factors and variables that do and surface them. Clearly, the indicator describes the symptoms of failure, but does not explain the reasons

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

behind it. In what comes, I will try to explain briefly - the reasons behind the failure of States (Schumann Center, 2017.)

1- Monopoly of Power

Philosophers set the conditions that must be in power and who performs them. According to Aristotle, those with absolute authority must have three conditions; They are:

1. Devotion to the State system.
2. Performance efficiency their functions.
3. Virtue and justice in conformity with the State system.

   It is clear that the President of the "fragile State" invokes the authorities without accountability and does not have any such characteristic; He and his associates do not devote themselves to the system of State (Constitution), but constantly contravene it, as well as the absence of virtue and justice; Evidence of looting of public money and property of thousands of citizens unfairly (Abu Umra, 2014). John Locke considers that by law the interests of the individual are enshrined, by means of which private property rights and personal freedoms are protected, and that the law requires the State to perform and save these rights (Makawi, 2016).

2- Poor Distribution of Wealth and Development Gains:

The poor distribution of wealth constitutes one of the most serious problems of the developing world, and it is this problem that is currently causing its audiences to resurrect themselves, if there is a positive return of national wealth to the reach of all; This could protect fragile States from the threat of collapse and open up space for prosperity,

security and justice for all (Al-Mashabaqa , 2012).

3- Political Globalization

This term does not mean or represent the elimination of the State or the establishment of a global system of governance, but rather includes humanity's entry into a new political phase. The free movement of decisions, legislation, policies, convictions and choices takes place across communities and continents with minimal restrictions and controls, exceeding states and geographical boundaries (Murad, 2020)

4- The Absence of Tolerance

From the point of view of researchers specializing in the study of the State, the lack of tolerance towards dissenting minorities, as well as the existence of the authoritarian state, are among the most fundamental features of the State's failure. The State's authoritarian character has been rooted in autocratic rule for centuries; It reflects the reality of state authorities unable to deal effectively - in the short term - with socio-economic problems (Zakhnini, 2017.)

5- Violence of the State's Security Apparatus:

The fragile countries of the past decades have been practicing security policies, indicating a structural imbalance in the structure and basic sectors of these policies (political, criminal, economic, and social) as well as the rapid change in the rate of change in the leadership of these organs (Murad, 2020).

6- Capitalism and Corrode the Power of the State:

Capitalism is now moving the world towards a further fragmentation of the State's authority and sovereignty, dwarfing its capacity for political action, and even preventing its viability and existence.Current evidence can demonstrate this vision;thus, many Governments now are facing a situation in which they have legal sovereignty without effective sovereignty over their territories and this cannot be denied (AlHalalmeh, 2017). Philip Gomet is therefore reluctant to express his fears that the nation-State will melt, losing its absolute sovereignty, especially the weak States.

Secondly, The Concept of State-Building:

(Francis Fukuyama) State-building is defined as the strengthening of pre-existing institutions, the building of new institutions that are effective, viable and self-sufficient, which means that state-building is the opposite of downsizing the State and reducing its capabilities (Fukuyama, 2007), this means that the process of building state institutions and organs on legal frameworks is a process that derives from reality to carry out the evolutionary functions of the system from penetration, integration, loyalty, commitment, participation and distribution, bridging the gap between the governor and the governed to political stability (Bani Hamad, 2019). Charles Tilley defined State-building as the process of establishing independent and differentiated central organizations with authority over their territories, which have the authority to dominate semi-autonomous organizations (Tilly, 1985). The European Development Report (2009) identified it as the process focusing on building the legitimacy of State institutions and their capacity to provide basic services to their citizens, such as security, justice, the rule of law, education and health, which all meet citizens' aspirations (European Report on Public Development, 2009).

The Concept of State Reconstruction:

The concept of state reconstruction originated after the end of the cold war in the 1990s, and increased interest in it after the events of the Arab Spring late in the year. (2010), there is no single definition of the concept of State reconstruction, but a comprehensive definition of the concept suggests that it implies radical changes in the structure of State institutions so that they can efficiently perform their security, social and political functions based on legitimacy and societal consent, or to establish and strengthen public structures and buildings within a territory, or the establishment and strengthening of public structures and buildings within a territory, enabling such buildings to provide public goods and to build a sovereign authority with the right to monopolize the legitimate use of material force. (Bogdaney, 2005)

Reconstruction of the Fragile State:

In order to be able to comprehensively capture all aspects of the reconstruction process, work must be done according to the "Bien Model" approach, in which the term Bien refers to an abbreviation that combines the initials of the various dimensions of the reconstruction process:

- Basic Human Needs

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

- Institutional Needs
- Economic Development
- Need of Sustainability

Firstly, Basic Human Needs
The maintenance or return of security to the fragile State or the ramshackle State was not a task for which the international community prepared, but a difficult task that was not taken into account. Until the end of the cold war, the issue of restoring State security in vulnerable countries received limited attention because the security system was shortened on State security (Zakhnini, 2017).

1- Disarmament
2- Reintegration
3- Qualification Process

Secondly, Institutional Needs:
The decisive stage in the construction process is the building of self-sustaining democratic institutions, provided that they are carried out through political consultations involving the various colors of the political spectrum, as well as the components of social construction, with a view to establishing a framework for the political system that reflects society's real needs.

Re-growth needs to focus on investments in human capital. Here Snodgoass advises a three-phase process of economic recovery:

Fiscal stability: Action must be taken to reduce and manage the inflation that results from conflict. A macroeconomic environment must be created that helps develop by reducing inflation, reducing the government's budget deficit, and external

debtors must show some tolerance for the transitional government by stopping debt repayments for a temporary period and liberalizing trade rules. (Zakhnini,2017)

Economic rehabilitation: It is the responsibility of the new Government and donors to renew the national infrastructure and revitalize the distribution systems of the health and education service, rebuild economic public institutions, after disarming ex-combatants and retraining the security forces.

Reconstruction: The private sector must have an influential role and have a framework in which to develop and succeed. However, the economic aspect is often neglected in reconstruction operations in Kosugu, for example, economists believe that the period during which the Territory was under the international civil administration of the United Nations, which was temporary until its legal status was resolved, amounted to a lost period that seriously affected economic conditions within the Territory (Abdelsamad, 2012).

Third, Circumstances of Reconstruction:
One of the circumstances surrounding fragile States' reconstruction may divert them from their real humanitarian objective, and we will try to summarize them as follows:
First, the ability to achieve long-term commitment: the establishment of legitimate institutions capable of eroding violence is slow; It can take a whole generation, and even the fastest-shifting countries take 15 to 30 years and the difficulty increases even

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

more in countries with a record of losing trust, in which case two possibilities arise:

1- Expectations should be too low to believe any government promises, making cooperative action impossible.

2- Either they are too high for moments of transformation to produce expectations of rapid change that existing institutions can achieve (Zakhnini, 2017)

Chapter Two: Rebuilding the State (Sudan)

First: Sudan and the Fragile State

In 2005, when Foreign Policy, in cooperation with the Peace Fund, initiated the publication of the Annual Index of Fragile States, Sudan was ranked as the 3 most failed country in the world, before being moved to the top of the list in 2006 as the world's most fragile state. The following year, the Sudan was also at the top of the list, as a fragile state until Somalia, Afghanistan and Côte d'Ivoire. In 2008, the index's authors took the second place in the Sudan, after Somalia. In 2009, the Sudan was ranked third again, after Somalia and Zimbabwe, and this year's index (2010) also ranked third, after Somalia and Chad this time. (Brihmouche, (2013) This classification reveals a significant imbalance in the concept of a fragile state, It is also reflected in the recently accumulated literature on this concept, which originally emerged to describe a situation in which a state loses control of its territory. National Security Strategy Report, leaving a vacuum filled by other militias and others, and this concept has assumed redoubling importance following the publication of the National Security Strategy Report in 2002 National

Security, which identified the fragile countries as the greatest external threat to US national security (Oatoi, 2021).

For several years, the Sudan has maintained its advanced ranking on the fragile countries' index; prepared by the Journal of American Foreign Policy, when a war occurs in a State and lasts for 20 years; Separatist conflicts are rampant throughout the territory on the grounds that the system is unable to provide minimal security and development services; This suggests an imbalance in the state's functions that requires attention. The Sudanese regime, through its successive governments, has not succeeded in establishing a national state that addresses the difficulties faced by every young state, the first of which is the building of a unified identity that founded the principle of citizenship with all the latter's comprehensive obligation from all segments of society to offer loyalty to the State (Alhalalmeh, 2021).

Sudan's first rulers, such as Prime Minister Ismail Al-Azhari and then succeeded by General Abdullah Khalil in dealing with the southern problem, were unwilling to accept the idea of independence or establish a federal relationship with him; Contrary to their history of struggle for Sudan's independence and unity, studies suggest that leaders of that regime believe that separatist demands are the result of the influence of British missionaries and administrators and that these southerners will eventually accept the fact that the Sudan is civilized with Arabism and Islam and that time will bridge the cultural divide, However, this did not weaken the country's economic

http://journalppw.com

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

performance, which led to an inability with the government to fulfil its commitment with the South insisting on federalism (Zakhnini, 2017.)

Secondly, Sudan's natural characteristics:

The Sudan is located in the northeastern part of the African continent and overlooks the Red Sea and the Nile, the most prominent in the geography where the River Nile makes up 67.4% of its area.

Coordinates: This geographical location with longitudinal and accidental length North and South Borders Longitude 49.21 BS - 34 .38 BS Latitude 23.8 SH - 8.45 SH and Longitude: 21.49 SQ 38.34Latitude: 23.08 SH 8.45 SH

Area: Sudan's area (882.000 1km2) is global 16, Africa's second, Arabic third. Land area (1.752 .187 km2), sea area (129 .813 km2) and coastline length (872 km2). Sudan Land of Opportunity (2011).

Climate: desert and dry desert in the far north of the northern state of northern Kordofan and northern Darfur) semi-desert to rainy in central and southern Sudan with good climate diversity and that large area which helps crop diversity (Khojli, 2021.

Surface: The Sudan is predominantly a streamlined plain with heights in the Red Sea mountain range. Surface features play a major role in economic orientation and the surface as a whole is a simplified plain that means the closest and convenient factors in agricultural, animal and Ghanaian production.

Sudan's population:

The population of the Sudan in the last census in 1993 was 25.6 million. According to the Central Statistical Agency, the population was about 33.419.625 thousand, according to the 2018 projections. The population census and population increase between the 2008-1993 census was about 52%.

If we divide the Sudan into two sections along a longitudinal axis from the north to the south on the longitudinal line 31 degrees east, we will find that the eastern part represents 38% of the Sudan's area, but it includes 56% of the population either the western part, 62% of the Sudan's area and 44% of the population. (such as Al-Jazeera, Al-Rahad and Al-Qadhaf), as well as the most important areas of urban urbanization and urban agglomerations, we find migration and settlement movements from the sector west of this line to the sector east of it (Al-Hadi, 2012).

The population of the Sudan is estimated to be 33.419.625 in 2018, with a high proportion in rural areas of the Sudan of 16 persons per square kilometer per square kilometer. This density is considered to be high compared to the density of the coastal area of less than 10 persons per square kilometer, owing to the limited and precarious resources of dry and semi-dry land, where more than half of Sudan's territory is located. It can be said that the population density ranges from (3-2) persons per square kilometer in desert and semi-desert areas and rises to (230-218) persons per square kilometer in Sudan's major labour market areas. The population density in Khartoum State is 231 persons per square

kilometer. In the Northern State, 10 persons per square kilometer, the population problem's dimensions in Sudan lie in:

1- Lack of balance between population, natural resources and available services
2- Poor population distribution
3- Age distribution: A large proportion of young ages (dependent age) and under 15 years are economically unproductive groups.
4- Population instability and increasing rates of migration from rural to urban areas (gradual migration)
5- Urban Settlement of Services
6- Weak resilience and disaster response mechanisms.
7- Low level of population characteristics (Brihmouche, 2013)

Third: Sudan's geopolitical location:

The geographical location of the Republic of Sudan is distinct and is located in the heart of the African continent, bordered by Egypt in North, South Sudan in South, Chad and Central AfricanWest, and Red Sea, Republic of Ethiopia, and Eritrea in East and adjacent to that large number of African countries, which made problems to it, including the presence of a huge number of refugees who came to it because of the political and economic conditions and civil wars in their countries. (Zakhnini, 2017), in addition to the occurrence of famine as a result of drought, especially in the Horn of Africa region, we can clarify some of the characteristics of which the Republic of Sudan is marked by virtue of its geographical location and summarize them in the following points:

1- Most of Sudan's territory is characterized by simplified plains and 2% of its area falls below 300 miters, 45% of its area ranges in height from 300 to 500 miters, and half its area is below the level (1200), and about 3% of its area is considered very high in Jebel Marra in the far west (3042) m above sea level and Jabal Owainat area in the north-west on the border between Sudan and Libya (1902) miters above sea level, the Ingasema mountains in Ethiopia's southeastern boundary and the Red Sea mountain range in the east (2000) m above sea level, and the Nuba Mountains in the west of the central country (600) m above sea level (Alhalalmeh, 2017).

2- The country's size, geographical diversity and legacy represent a microcosm of the African continent that shapes Sudanese identity.

3- Sudan overlooks the Red Sea coast by 720 km and owns about 59 islands

4- Until the middle of the last century, Sudan was the main corridor for pilgrimage convoys and trade from West Africa to the Holy Land and East Africa.

5- Sudan has an important geopolitical position between Africa and the Middle East and a link between the continents of Africa and Asia.

6- The Sudan is part of the three million square mile Nile Basin State System, with rivers and tributaries that make up the Nile Basin.

7- The Nile River divides Sudan's territory into two parts east and west of the Blue and White Nile and they meet in Khartoum.

8- Its geographical location makes it the strategic depth of the Arab country in Africa near the Red Sea Gate, the Gulf of Arabia, the Indian Ocean and the Arab Oil Sources Area, makes it a presence and influence in the security of the Red Sea and the Nile

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

Basin countries and makes it the focus of great international strong attention and problems surrounding the situation of Somalia (piracy, conflict between Ethiopia and Eretria, the las, the lakes region) (Zuba)

9- The Republic of the Sudan is located in the eastern part of the continent on the Red Sea in the so-called East African region

10- The Sudan is located in the region of the century of famine (Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Katina), characterized by the spread of natural disasters and the recurrence of severe droughts in 1984/38. 2010/2009) food shortages, disasters, political instability and civil wars that paved the way for international intervention (Al-Karam, 2017).

Fourth: The Sudan according to the indicators of States' failure:

The narrow concept of a State's failure means (loss of control over the national territory). If we take this concept, there are negative signs in this area. The State has at varying times lost control of parts of the national territory in the South, Darfur, some areas of the East, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile in successive civil wars. In addition, the Darfur crisis has created an instant displacement and disruption of life in that region to such an extent as to justify broad international intervention, on the one hand, to meet urgent humanitarian needs and, on the other, to safeguard civilians' security. These are issues at the core of the State's national functions. The Sudanese State has, at varying times, lost control over the estimated parts of its national territory, failed to provide security and basic services to large sectors of its citizens, and was

subjected to extensive foreign interference in its internal affairs, all of which may support the argument of failure. (Khogli, 2021)

On the other hand, the accusations underlying the basic complaint against the Sudan and its regime on accusations relating to the existence of a repressive State tend to be too restrictive, violate human rights and narrow to opponents. There are also accusations that the State seeks to destabilize neighbouring States, i.e. that the complaint is not from the State's absence or weakness, but rather from the fact that the State is stronger and more present than necessary. The current Sudanese regime faced fierce siege and armed insurgencies supported by repeated attacks from neighbouring States. But the State has not only withstood these coordinated attacks, supported by large sectors of its citizens, regional and Arab powers and super-Powers. and perhaps the Sudan was the only country that experienced unprecedented economic prosperity under the blockade, boycott and multiple civil wars, Because of its success in extracting and exporting oil, and the completion of important development projects, Roads, bridges, dams, factories and expansion of education and health services (El Vindi, 2012). It is therefore inappropriate to apply the notion of "fragile State" in the narrow sense that we have chosen for the Sudanese situation, because it does not serve as an instrument of characterization, and thus to analyses the State crisis as manifested there. Taking the "solid" benchmarks of the security capabilities of the Sudanese State, we find that there has been an estimated increase in the last decade (after the flow of oil in

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

1999), where the numbers of army, police and security services have increased, their food and equipment have improved, and their deployment has expanded. The armed forces and the various security forces also remained coherent and faced no cracks, despite the regime's defections and worsening ethnic and tribal conflicts, such as in Darfur. This does not mean that the State does not face the risk of future collapse, which depends on several factors, most notably the State's ability to respond positively to the tremor that will result from the impending secession of the South, and whether such secession will lead to a new war in the South or internal conflicts. It also depends on how successfully the ongoing conflict in Darfur is resolved and on settlements with other political forces in the north. But objective data, and recent past experiences, rule out collapse and overcome the likelihood of resilience (Quality, 2018).

Fifth: Sudan according to failed State indicators

The failure of the State is measured by a major set of political, economic and social indicators, which in turn are divided into more than 100 sub-indicators.

(Volcano, 2017) talked about that the Sudan is leading the Failed Countries Index. Its ranking was absolutely a failure of one of 178 countries in 2007 to move to second in the following year, while it was ranked third over five consecutive years. (2009-2013) to swing between (2014-2015) between the fifth and fourth places followed by such ranking notes without checking the extent of Sudan's failure as it is at the top of the list For more than 10 years in a row, for a

number of reasons, the fragility of institutions, extreme poverty, weak governments, fraught relations and heavy dependence on oil, reflected on the Sudan in a fragile, unstable, degraded State, the poorest, the most politically unrest and the most insolvent of the international community.

In line with this (Gouda, 2018), we find Sudan among the first 50 countries that suffer from fragility in the impact of their five engines (Violence, Justice, Flexibility, Weak Institutions, Economic Foundations) (OECD Economic Foundations 2015).

Armed conflicts in the Sudan:

The problems faced by the rest of Africa are also problems of the Sudan, such as underdevelopment and social unrest. In fact, the country is rife with various patterns of armed conflicts. Table 4 illustrates this. In the South, the war began in 1983 and continued until 2005 of Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which eventually led to the secession of the State of South Sudan from the Sudan. and that the Nuba Mountains region of Kordofan State and the Al-Nasna region of southern Blue Nile State are in conflict (Brihmouche, 2013)

Civil Wars:

The origin of the rebellion in the Sudan is a number of unintended mistakes and practices by the patriots and parties, as well as the intentional mistakes deepened by missionaries and British rulers. The first of the rebellion's resources began with the Tropical Division in August in Tourette's, 261 Sudanese were killed (Aboussada, 2010). Successive Governments of the

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

Sudan have dealt with the rebel movements with the military solution only in order to break their stalemate without receiving economic, social, cultural, political, environmental and identity solutions (Makawi, 2016).

Integration Crisis:

The integration crisis means the State's ineffectiveness in using its material and intellectual capacities to absorb the growing diversity of society's groups and demands so that poor distribution of resources and wealth will lead the Centre and its political system towards the loss of legitimacy and thus the emergence of a competitive situation and conflict between status and margin. (Parties) to capture the State leading to the depletion of more State resources in order to overcome an identity of the identities (Mehbooba, 2020)

Economic factors:

These factors are reflected in the inequitable distribution of economic resources among the components of a State equitably and, as a result, conflicts break out so that every armed movement or group seeks wealth without the participation of other groups.

Effects of neighbouring countries:

The Sudan before the separation was surrounded by seven African countries and after the separation in 2011, the State of South Sudan was added to it. These countries are a source of inconvenience and export their problems to the Sudan in direct or indirect ways (Khojli, 2021).

Social exclusion:

Previous Governments in the Sudan have exercised some social exclusion towards certain ethnic components
In the Sudan, the rebel armed movements claimed their historical and economic rights through the equitable distribution of the State's resources. All this was the result of the inevitable stray development role of the Centre (Al-Hadis, 2021).

Poverty:

The level of poverty in the Sudan is of concern to date, despite the downward trend observed in the poverty index, which is estimated at 46.5% of the total population (Country summary, 2015)
According to the Family Base Survey of 2009, the monthly per capita expenditure is estimated at about 148 pounds, of which 61% is spent on food and 39% on non-food services. The poverty line is estimated at about 112 pounds per month for the individual. There is a clear variation between states, countryside and urban. Khartoum has a low rate, followed by Northern States.
Poverty resulting from deprivation and insufficient living standards is measured by such indicators as the lack of light as the causes of Sudan's failure, as follows:

Sudan's fragmentation:

The strategic objectives of the United States and the Government of the Zionist entity (Israel) have been varied. The fragmentation and division of the Sudan is one of those objectives. In practice, the first part of the referendum plan, which took place as a result of South Sudan's de facto separation

and the temporary division of the Sudan into two States (Zakhnini, 2017).

South Sudan's secession:
In accordance with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement for the Division of Power and Wealth in the Sudan, 2005, the State of South Sudan separated on 9 July 2011, calling it the "Southern Sudan", with an area of 205,000 miles, this area contains, inter alia, natural resources from forests and petroleum. The southern Sudan has renewable natural resources and is available in many locations, such as: Limited and arable land, while the southern Sudanese country has an area of about 630,745 km2, equivalent to one quarter of Sudan's area. It is the sum of the 10 southern states, the largest being Jonglei 19.4% State (Water State), and the state of Unity 5.7% Petroleum State is the seventh of the fledgling States. After the separation, Sudan's land area became 1,875,068 km2. (Brihmouche, 2021)

US Sanctions:
Economic blockade consisting of US sanctions on Sudan: US sanctions on Sudan imposed in 1997 by decision of US President Bill Kletion the United States sanctions include the prohibition of all commercial and financial transactions with the Sudan. The Ministry of Finance estimated the total losses due to the United States sanctions at about $45bn. The sanctions led to the suspension of some 15 aircraft belonging to the Sudanese National Air Carrier, as well as the rail sector, which suffered severe losses due to the sanctions and the loss of 83% of its tribute structure.

Arabic gum after the only hour excluded from US sanctions, and Sudanese exports of Arabic gum estimated at about $50 million annually (Murad, 2021).

Chapter Three: Rebuilding the Sudanese State
First, Sudan's future destinations:
After the data mentioned in his field and the weakness of development efforts towards those data, she worked to find the types of chronic challenges that the Sudan is experiencing, which in turn will eventually result in future destinations and in the addition of Ezzedine, 2017. In the light of the foregoing, it can be said that the scenario depends on predicting the future of the phenomenon, learning about the history of the phenomenon and revealing the nature of the mutual effects of this history and the group of powerful ones that have formed it, which are likely to occur in decision-making, to the extent possible (Ezzedine, 2017)
The following scenarios are:

Scenario 1: Fragmentation of the Sudan:
The corollary is the deterioration of the economic and social situation and the failure of the State to fulfil its functions in maintaining security (security liquidity) with a complete absence of insights and future remedies to those conditions. The creation of exploitative states and the creation of so-called militia politics are the result of the collapse and absence of the State under the so-called theory of creative chaos (Al-Mashabqab, 2021).

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

Scenario 2: Absorption and adaptation (continued status quo) in the Sudan:

The difference between this scenario and the previous scenario is that through the social contract system through the repercussions of initiatives and remedies and the suppression of fire to those situations that have contributed to and exacerbated the situation and conflicts in the Sudan through the promotion of national integration processes and the spread of a culture of civic education and multifaceted development, the signs of violence and poverty reduction are encompassed to address the historical bitterness and oppressions of certain ethnic components after the firm beliefthat the interest of the country first before their own interests (Khojli, 2021)

Scenario 3: Demolition and construction in Sudan:

These are remedies for historical errors, compatibility and social reconciliation that have accumulated over the past years through good diagnosis, effective treatment, reemployment and reinforcement of positive elements, as well as the rejection of phenomena of violence, criminalization of others, non-demonization of cases, enhanced State regulation, taking into account sudden risks and unexpected crises as a result of the explosion of internal and external conditions (Alhalalmeh, 2017).

Scenario 4: Historic session:

The inevitable result of foreign alliances with internal forces to reach the reins of government is this scenario by fueling conflicts and this power is the earner, with the support and financing of foreign States whose interests are determined by the promotion of these ethnic groups in order to implement and protect their vital interests in the Sudan and the Red Sea region. This scenario leads to further fighting, continued security liquidity, instability and the continuation of the conflict, which is based on securing self-influence.

Secondly, Building the Sudanese State according to reality

As in the case of the Sudan in general, the Sudanese State is central to the status of the African and Arab States. They are inherently similar to marginal Arab States "such as Lebanon and Yemen, and share with them the existence of strong social structures of the community or tribe that have a parallel and independent presence. The Sudan also has a great deal of unparalleled ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity in other Arab countries. Arab countries characterized by ethnic and linguistic pluralism, such as Iraq and Algeria, are devoted to religion, while religious diversity such as Lebanon is guided by Arabism and language. The Sudan's diversity is intertwined and mutually reinforcing. The difference in religion most often corresponds to ethnic, linguistic and regional discrimination (Khogli, 2021).

Hence the Sudanese independent state (and we do not talk about a particular regime) from its earliest days, even before its birth, has faced the challenge of existence because of the existence of an entire entity, the southern part of the country, that has lived for decades and quality separated from the rest of the country, and is alarmed by the northern part and the political elite there.

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

That elite, an emerging elite with little political experience, faced challenges that were far greater than its capabilities and potential, as it had to struggle for independence at the same time as it was struggling with itself over the country's destiny: would it unite with Egypt or choose complete independence? At this point, I faced the challenge of dealing with the South, where the insurgency erupted in August 1955 at a time when the country was still under colonial rule. Al Daghaili, (2019)

The current situation in the Sudan is an extreme situation of polarization that has been taking shape since before independence. Political leaders and intellectuals in the North have been observing their Arab Islamic identity, calling for rapprochement with the Arab world and Egypt's unity, while the southerners hold on to their African identity, and see the promotion of the Arab-Islamic identity as a political threat to their status in the country and their African identity. This polarization evolved when the southerners objected to proposed unity projects with Egypt, Syria and Libya in the early 1970s, followed by the southern rejection of Nimeiri's Islamic trends in the late 1970s and the early 1980s (Al-Afandi, 2021)

Attempts to restore democracy are not enough in the case of the Sudan - as in the case of other countries such as Lebanon, Yemen, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya and Zimbabwe - but must work at more than one level to create minimum alignment among the elite and among society's various vehicles. The southern war erupted in the Sudan during the first democratic era (1953-1958), and the conflict intensified during the second democratic era (1994-1999), as evidenced by evidence. The Third Democratic Covenant (1985-1989) failed to ease the fighting, as well as to reach a peace agreement. The first peace agreement was reached under the Nimiri rule, while the last was concluded under the current Government, both of which were not care of "democracy. (Mourad, 2012)

Thus, securing the future of the Sudanese State and bringing it out of its crisis depends on the successful consensus among the political elites on a democratic transition that benefits from and builds upon the elements of the current Sudanese State power and addresses its weaknesses, notably armed conflicts, the monopoly of power on a narrow category and the exclusion of large sectors of the political or economic sphere. These are demands that need creative thinking, courageous decisions and after-sightedness that allow for absenteeism from narrow interests and short-term goals. But this is a dear requirement if our experiences with the well-known elites of what is considered (Khogli, 2021)

Conclusion

On the cusp of independence, a number of Arab States were historically arbitrary and completely fabricated. This included the Sudanese State, which was founded on an artificial unification between South and North, without objective justification, and with support for the political orientations of most of the Southern elite. Therefore, the South's secession from the North represents a kind of correction of the historical error and a restoration of the order, with the political will to actually correct the error,

Dr. Alhareth Mohammad Sbeitan Alhalalmeh

through the establishment of a political system reflecting the true social base.

There was a question about the Sudanese project and why it was unsuccessful, even though it was more promising than flawed, there was an imbalance in the project itself and in the talk about it. For example, for us in the Sudan, as a multi-ethnic country, even in Darfur and elsewhere, people are not Arabs, they are Muslims and not Arabs, like our Kurdish brothers. When she entered the Arab identity and tried to impose it, John Garing was a famous saying, "God had the wisdom to create us non-Arabs, and then they came to make us a trolley by force." What was needed was some leniency.

Results of the study

1- The Sudan is now moving towards rebuilding the State in a climate of variables and threats. The greatest challenge is to strengthen the social fabric through political, social and economic measures.

2- The State will only adopt a pluralistic system of governance that simplifies freedom and justice and adheres to institutional policy-making and decision-making. Good Governance, as endorsed in the United Nations Third Millennium Document 2001, is based on a harmonious quartet.

3- The State should strengthen each other as follows: an agile national Slim Government, a central regional system (Devolutionary), a functioning civil society system, and a private economic/commercial sector produced according to the model below:
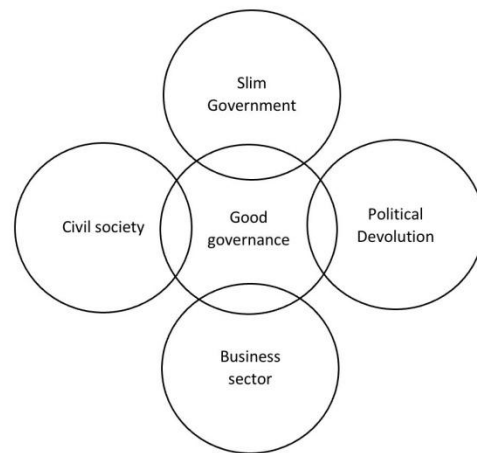
4- This composed quartet could be called "Solid Governance", which would secure the social fabric through the active participation of Al-Qaida in policymaking and decision-making, and the synergy of all components of society in shaping the national strategy based on a solid base of informatics and popular satisfaction. We are now pursuing an underdeveloped decentralized system, which is perceived by the viewer as federal governance in terms of structure and formality, but as central to tendency. We have had a saying in one of our studies that we have been repeating again and again, and an irrelevant frequency, that we are applying a federal system with a central mindset (68) and that will not lead us to sustainable social peace, unless the theory of regional decentralization (securing the rights of cultural groups) conforms to the established application.

Study Recommendations

1- The Sudanese decision maker must build on the strengths of the Sudan that enable us to build upon it to restore the State of Sudan as a strong and unified State.

2- The Sudan must unify the people's internal spectrum by eliminating all disparities that disperse and emphasizing the university identity on which it builds.

3- The Sudan should take advantage of the opportunities available to its territory politically and economically through minerals and the resources of the rich State in order to streamline itself the ability to raise the State's income to the rank of self-sufficient States.

4- The Sudanese political decision maker must play a greater political role in the region, consistent with the Sudanese State's great standing in the form that gave it the role to play.

5- The Sudanese State must review existing legislation in a manner that guarantees its independence, unity and survival by dissolving all narrow affiliations and building a strong, unified and civil State.

This research is funded by the Deanship of Research in Zarqa University/Jordan

References:

1. Zakhnini, 2017. The concept of a fragile state: a characterization of a reality or a justification for creating a new reality, a website : http://search.mandumah.com/Record/8719 58

2. Bani Hamad, Arif Ahmedi Hussein (2019). Rebuilding the country: Syria as an example 2011-2018. Studies - Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Jordan, website: http://search.mandumah.com/Record/9969 43

3. Khojli, Ibrahim Abdul Latif Abdulmtalib (2021). The fragile state "Data-Challenges-

Commodities": Sudan as an example. Rehan Scientific Publishing Magazine, Fekir Center for Studies and Development, Website: http://search.mandumah.com/Record/1148 314

4. Abdul Samad, El Hadi (2012). Building a modern Sudanese state: from the perspective of multiculturalism. Enlightenment (Al-Tanweer) Magazine, Website: http://search.mandumah.com/Record/52215 8

5. Brihmouche, Mariamah. Riad, Borich (2013). Fragile State: Between the societal impasse and the external extension of the Sudan as an example, unpublished master's thesis, University of Galilee.

6. Al-Zubi, Ali Zeid (2011). State failure criteria: study of socio-political theory and analysis with reference to the case of Yemen, Annals of Ein Shams Literature, Ain Shams University, website: http://search.mandumah.com/Record/14008 6

7. Al-Dheili, Salwa Fawzi (2019). Sovereignty and the Concept of a Fragile State, Journal of the University of Sabha for Humanities, website: http://search.mandumah.com/Record/10792 81

8. Al-Afandi, Abdulwahab (2012). State deficit crisis and risk of collapse: (2) State of the Sudan, Research and Discussions of the Intellectual Symposium: State Crisis in the Arab World, Website: http://search.mandumah.com/Record/71223 3

9. Oatwe, Marina (2012). State Deficit Crisis and Risk of Collapse (Yemen-Sudan-Somalia): General Comment on the Three

Case Studies, website: http://search.mandumah.com/Record/712244

10. Alhalalmeh, Al-Harith (2017) International Humanitarian Intervention and Sovereignty Problem, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Mut'ah.

11. Alhalalmeh, Al-Harith, (2021) The Implications of the Passage of the Jewish Nationalism Law on the Palestinian Issue, research published in the journal Studies: Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Jordan M48, P. 1

12. Fukuyama, Francis (2013) State Building, Book Published, Dar Al Imama.

13. Makawi, Baha Alden (2016) Principles of Politics, Book Published, University of Bahrain, 4.

14. Abu Umra, Rana (2014) America and the Fragile State, Merritt Publishing House, Cairo, first edition.

15. Murad, Mohammed (2012), Sustainable Human Development, Lebanese National Defense Journal, Beirut, No. 79.

16. Probert Schumann Center for Advanced Studies (2009), European Development Report 2009, Overcoming Fragility in Africa ", Vesouli.

17. Al-Mashabqa, Amin, Al-Tayeb, Merghani Abkar (2012) Darfur Geopolitical Reality and the Future, first edition, Amman, Al-Hamid Library House for Publishing and Distribution.

18. (OECD Economic Foundations 2015)