

## Narrative Description:<sup>1</sup>

## **Executive Recruitment:** Competitive Elections (8)

In 1968, a military coup led by Lt. Moussa Traoré ousted the personalistic dictatorship of Modibo Keita and established the Military Committee for National Liberation. The Traoré regime shifted to one-party rule under the 1974 constitution which designated the Mali People's Democratic Union (UDPM) as the sole legal party. The Traoré regime faced serious opposition and was especially brutal in repressing the dissidents. In 1990, the Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA) was formed to rally popular discontent and oppose the Traoré dictatorship. Traoré refused to allow reforms and tensions escalated; Traoré was ousted in March 1991 by an army coup led by Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Touré. Touré immediately set up

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The research described in this report was sponsored by the Political Instability Task Force (PITF). The PITF is funded by the Central Intelligence Agency. The views expressed herein are the authors' alone and do not represent the views of the US Government.

a transitional government and initiated the promulgation of a new constitution in January 1992 that established a multiparty electoral system.

The first presidential election was won by Alpha Oumar Konaré, the ADEMA candidate, in free and competitive balloting. Konaré won 45% of the vote in the initial ballot and 69% of the runoff vote and took office in June 1992. He was reelected in 1997, in elections that were considered generally free and without evident fraud. However, his candidacy was weakly contested (he gained 95% of the vote) as major opposition parties boycotted the elections claiming that the electoral procedure was administratively flawed because the government failed to carry out annual updates of electoral lists. In 1999, Konaré confirmed that he would not attempt to seek a further term in office. The April 2002 presidential elections were contested by 24 candidates. The top two vote getters, Moussa Touré, running as an independent (28% of the vote), and Soumaila Cissé, the ADEMA candidate (23%), squared off in a May 2002 runoff election. Touré received 65% of the vote in the runoff election and, on 8 June, took office in Mali's first ever electoral transfer of executive power.

In the May 2007 presidential elections Toure was returned to office with 68% of the vote. While President Toure was affiliated with no official party, he gained the backing of numerous groups in civil society and 22 minor parties organized under the banner of the Alliance for Democracy and Progress. The opposition parties argued that the voters' list used in this election favored the incumbent and accused Toure's supporters of using state assets to fund his election campaign. While foreign observers declared the election to be mostly fair, the opposition parties formally asked the Constitutional Court to annul the results.

## **Executive Constraints: Substantial Limitations (5)**

The Constitution accords separate powers to the three branches of government: executive, legislative, and judicial. In practice, however, the executive branch exercises more effective authority. The president is authorized to appoint the government and the prime minister, although the constitution holds them accountable to the legislature as well. The legislature meets twice a year for approximately five months in total. The former dominant party in the legislature, ADEMA, which had controlled 128 of 147 seats following the 1997 elections and due mainly to an opposition boycott, found itself with less than one-third of the seats after the 2002 elections. The polls were marred by allegations by all parties, including ADEMA, of fraud, insufficient election materials, delayed opening of voting stations, and omissions from voting lists. The legislative division was deepened when the Constitutional Court annulled tens of thousands of votes, saying that voter cards had been falsified, results manipulated, and more ballots counted than there were voters. Its decision resulted in the loss of 11 seats by ADEMA and a gain of 13 seats by the Hope 2002 alliance led by former Prime Minister Ibrahim Boubakar Keita. The Court ordered a re-vote for eight seats from two regions in which all the ballots were annulled. The president, as an independent, formed a "battle government" in October 2002 in consultation with all parties to work with a nearly evenly divided legislature. In the July 2007 elections President Toure's ruling coalition, the Alliance for Democracy and Progress, strengthened his hold on parliament, winning 128 our of 147 seats. The judiciary is subject to executive influence and there are reports of corruption in the courts.

## **Political Participation:** Factional Competition (7) (new: 9)

Political competition in Mali is strongly influenced by ethnic divisions (50% Mande, 17% Peul, 12% Voltaic, 10% Moor and Tuareg). In 1991, Tuareg groups formed a coalition named the Azawad Liberation Front and, despite government efforts for a peaceful settlement, continued rebel military activities until 1996. By 1999, the government had completed the process of integrating elements of former Tuareg rebel forces into its armed forces, however, Tuareg economic and political grievances continued to go unresolved. In May 2006 Tuareg rebels looted weapons in the town of Kidal, raising fears of a new rebellion. In response, the government signed an Algerian-brokered peace deal. Under the deal, the Tuaregs dropped demands for greater regional autonomy in exchange for a poverty reduction program. The government has promised to do more to develop Mali's northern desert regions, where the Tuaregs live.

Divisions remain intense among the country's leading political parties. The opposition, however, remains highly fragmented. Upon taking power in 1992, ADEMA professed its willingness to collaborate with other parties. Eventually, government reshuffles resulted in a more dominant ADEMA presence. Non-ADEMA parties accused ADEMA of marginalizing the opposition and abandoned the coalition government in protest. A group of 12 parties boycotted 1997 presidential and legislative elections, including the country's second largest party, the National Congress for Democratic Initiative (CNID) and

the Sudanese Union-African Democratic Rally (US-RDA). The results of the 2002 legislative elections relegated ADEMA to a minority in the National Assembly; however, the majority party, Hope 2002, was a loose alliance of parties opposed to ADEMA's former dominance. Over 150 parties participated in the 2007 legislative elections, which were won by the coalition Alliance for Democracy and Progress.