

## Polity IV Country Report 2010: Sudan

<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 15%;">Score:</td> <td style="width: 15%;">2009</td> <td style="width: 15%;">2010</td> <td style="width: 15%;">Change</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Polity:</b></td> <td>-4</td> <td>-2</td> <td>+2</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Democ:</b></td> <td>0</td> <td>1</td> <td>+1</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Autoc:</b></td> <td>4</td> <td>3</td> <td>-1</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Durable:</b></td> <td colspan="3">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td><b>Tentative:</b></td> <td colspan="3">Yes</td> </tr> </table>	Score:	2009	2010	Change	<b>Polity:</b>	-4	-2	+2	<b>Democ:</b>	0	1	+1	<b>Autoc:</b>	4	3	-1	<b>Durable:</b>	5			<b>Tentative:</b>	Yes			
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SCODE	<b>SUD</b>	CCODE	<b>625</b>	Date of Report	<b>1 June 2011</b>																				
<b>Polity IV Component Variables</b>																									
XRREG	XRCOMP	XROPEN	XCONST	PARREG	PARCOMP																				
1	0	0	2	3	3																				
<b>Date of Most Recent Polity Transition (3 or more point change)</b>																									
End Date	12 August 2002		Begin Date	9 July 2005																					
<b>Polity Fragmentation: No</b>																									
<b>Constitution</b>	2005 (Interim National Constitution)																								
<b>Executive(s)</b>	President Umar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir (NCP); initially seized power in June 1989; officially became president 1993; initially directly elected 1996; reelected 11 and 15 April 2010; 68.2%																								
<b>Legislature</b>	Bicameral: National Assembly (450 seats; most recent elections, 11 and 15 April 2010) National Congress Party (NCP): 323 Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM): 99 Other parties: 21 Independents: 3 Vacant: 4 Council of States (50 seats; indirectly elected by state legislatures)																								
<b>Judiciary</b>	Constitutional Court; National Supreme Court; National Courts of Appeal																								

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

#### **Executive Recruitment: Self-Selection (4)**

Uman Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir initially gained power in June 1989 by means of a military coup that displaced Sudan's first freely elected civilian government in eighteen years. He immediately dissolved the legislature, suspended the 1985 constitution, banned all political parties other than his own National Islamic Front (NIF), and established the Revolution Command Council for National Salvation (RCC) as the supreme ruling body of an Islamic state. In 1993, facing increasing international condemnation and

<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.

domestic pressure, the RCC was dissolved and Bashir created a new civilian government with himself as president. With the formation of opposition political parties officially banned, Bashir and the NIF swept the 1996 general election. In January 1999, political parties began to be allowed to operate on a limited basis. Bashir's was reelected from a very weak field of five candidates in December 2000 presidential elections that were conducted under a state of emergency and a boycott by opposition parties who were, in any case, still unable to reasonably contest Bashir's rule. A peace agreement ending the Second Sudanese Civil War, signed on 9 January 2005, placed several leaders from the opposition Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) into critical executive ministerial posts, including SPLA leader John Garang into the office of vice president. Garang was subsequently killed in a helicopter crash and replaced by Salva Kiir Mayardit. On 4 March 2009 the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for President Bashir on charges of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes in Darfur. President al-Bashir was re-elected as head of the Sudanese government in April 2010 with 68% of the vote. These elections, the first multiparty polls since 1986, were marred by claims of fraud. Bashir's two main challengers withdrew before the elections began, claiming the process had already been rigged in favor of the incumbent. In early 2011, a representative of the government indicated that al-Bashir would not stand for re-election in 2015.

**Executive Constraints: Slight Limitations (2)**

There are virtually no institutional constraints on President Bashir's authority. The constitution is frequently revised or suspended at his initiative, although the terms of the 2005 peace agreement may limit Bashir's power somewhat during, and perhaps following, the transition period. The late 1990s were characterized by a growing rift between Bashir and the ideological leader of the NIF, Speaker of the National Assembly Hassan Turabi. In December 1999, in response to Turabi's public withdrawal of his support and with a bill coming to vote that would reduce the powers of the president, Bashir dissolved the legislature and decreed a state of emergency. In May 2000, Bashir suspended Turabi from the (renamed) National Congress Party (NCP); Turabi then formed an opposition party, the Popular National Congress (PNC), in September 2001. In February 2001, Turabi was arrested for making overtures to the southern rebel groups. Opposition parties boycotted the December 2000 general elections and Bashir loyalists swept all seats in the legislature. The judiciary is subject to executive influence.

Per the terms of the January 2005 agreement, a new bicameral legislature was established in mid-2005. The National Assembly is composed of 450 appointed members, including officials from government, SPLA, and former opposition political parties. The Council of States is composed of fifty members, elected indirectly by the state legislatures. This agreement also extended autonomy to much of southern Sudan, which led to the creation of the government of Southern Sudan in late 2005. The ability of the transitional government to constrain Bashir remains to be seen, but no substantial restraints on his power have developed since the incorporation of the southern region.

**Political Participation: Factional/Restricted Competition (6)**

All political parties and organized opposition groups were officially banned from 1989 until 1999. Although the formal ban on political organization was lifted somewhat in January 1999, the opposition was still effectively excluded from the political arena. Rising dissent within the ruling party was met with the imposition of a state of emergency. Despite the extension of the state of emergency in 2002, President el-Bashir initiated a small degree of political liberalization when he fully lifted the ban on political parties in August of that year. With the lifting of the ban more than ten opposition parties are now able to fully participate in political life in this country.

President Bashir's primary political rival, Hassan al-Turabi, who was imprisoned in 2001, was released from custody in October 2003. However, by April 2004 al-Turabi, along with several other opposition figures and army officers, was detained once again. This round-up of political rivals was triggered by an alleged coup plot. The government has also suspended al-Turabi's political party, the Popular Congress Party, and banned its leader from political activity. Al-Turabi has denied any involvement in the coup plot.

Since independence, Sudan has been deeply divided by a conflict between the northern Islamic Sudanese and the mainly Christian and animist southern Sudanese who reject the northern group's monopoly on political power and, more recently, the imposition of an Islamic state and Shari'a law. The civil war between the government and the southern factions has been particularly protracted and brutal. The first half of 2002 saw increased movement toward a peaceful resolution of the country's thirty-year civil war. Spurred on by intense US political pressure, a formal peace accord between the government and

leaders of the rebel SPLA was signed in July 2002. Under the terms of this accord, known as the Machakos Protocol, each side agreed to the creation of a temporary federal system of governance.

Under the terms of a peace agreement negotiated in 2003 between the central government and the SPLA, there was to be a six-month period to forge a new constitution followed by a six year implementation period. During this six year period southern Sudan would be afforded significant economic and political autonomy and central government expenditures and revenues would be equitably split between the two regions. A joint army, consisting of both central government and SPLA troops, was also to be organized. At the end of the six year period, in 2010, there is to be a referendum by southerners on the future legal status of the South. However, serious disagreement on the boundaries of the “South” continued to undermine the peace process in 2003-04. The source of this controversy revolved around the provinces of central Sudan that are the home to both Muslims and Christian/animists.

Despite these roadblocks, on 25 January 2005 the National Liberation Council, the southern Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army’s legislative body, unanimously ratified the southern peace agreement ending the civil war in the south. Under the power-sharing agreement between the government and the SPLM/A, 52% of the government would be formed by the ruling National Congress Party and 28% from the SPLM/A, with other northern parties taking 14% and other southerners 6%. On 2 February 2005 Sudan’s national assembly unanimously ratified the comprehensive peace agreement. After the adoption of a transitional constitution on 6 July 2005, John Garang, leader of the SPLM/A, was inaugurated as the country’s First Vice President. However, Garang was killed in a helicopter crash on 30 July 2005, less than a month after taking office. As news of his death spread, serious rioting and inter-ethnic violence broke out in Khartoum, Malakal, and Juba. Immediately following his death, Salva Kiir Mayerdit assumed the leadership of the SPLA and on August 11 Kiir replaced Garang as First Vice President and the disturbances subsided. A crisis in the central government’s relations with southern Sudan developed in late 2007. On 11 October 2007, the SPLM suspended its participation in the central government citing its frustration with what it sees as deliberate attempts by the ruling National Congress Party to block implementation of key provisions of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement; it rejoined the government on 26 December 2007. Tensions with the south increased during 2008 as groups began mobilizing for general elections scheduled to take place in early 2009; armed clashes occurred in 2008 the Nuba Mountains and Abeyei in the oil-producing region straddling the border between north and south.

Despite these promising signs that the devastating war may finally be winding down, armed conflict has continued as ethno-regional groups throughout the country have sought to increase their bargaining power. The most serious fighting has been taking place in the western Darfur region of the country where Arab militias, possibly backed by the government, have destroyed entire villages and have created a deepening humanitarian crisis throughout the region. Approximately 2.5 million residents of the Darfur region have been displaced in fighting since the conflict began, with fatality estimates of around 200,000 dead. International human rights groups have described the fighting in Darfur as “ethnic cleansing.” For generations, the two Darfuri communities, African farmers and Arab nomads, have competed for the scarce water and fertile land in this harsh landscape in the west of the country. Black Africans in the region claim that Arab “janjaweed” militias are engaged in a scorched earth policy aimed at driving them from their homes. Despite concerted international pressure, the deployment of an African Union peacekeeping force, and several third-party attempts at mediating a settlement, fighting has continued through late 2007..

While the primary factional division in Sudan has been portrayed as an ethno-regional struggle between northern Arabs, represented by the central government in Khartoum, and southerners, allied with the Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement (SPLA), this division is a little misleading. While the central government and the SPLA have garnered most of the attention in this war, deep factional divisions divide both the north and south of the country. The SPLA, for example, is drawn almost entirely from the Dinka people, one of dozens of groups who inhabit the south. Factional struggles in both the north and south have become increasingly pronounced as the peace process has moved forward. Reflecting this increasing factional nature of politics in the country, in early 2004 a rebel movement in the Darfur region of western Sudan, the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) forged an alliance with an eastern rebel group, Beja Congress. Both groups have indicated that they are fighting for economic and political power in the newly federalized Sudan state.

Rebel groups in the Darfur, who are acting in the name of the historically marginalized Muslim Black-African populations of Darfur and Kordofan (who account for fifty percent of the population of the country), have rejected the bilateral peace agreement signed between the central government and the SPLA.

Arguing that neither the northern-dominated central government nor the Dinka-dominated SPLA represent their interests, in early 2003 the SLM/A and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) were formed and took up arms against the central government. According to the central government, both groups have alleged ties to Hassan al-Turabi. Moreover, like the populations of Darfur and Kordofan, the 2.2 million Beja of eastern Sudan have also been neglected by the central government for decades and have been devastated by famine, disease and efforts by the central government to appropriate their land. The Beja, who practice a more tolerant form of Sufi Islam, have also resisted efforts by the central government to enforce Islamic law. On 10 May 2008 a large convoy of vehicles and JEM rebels attacked Omdurman in an apparent coup attempt; the rebel attack was rebuffed by armed forces loyal to Bashir (Omdurman is the twin city of the capital, Khartoum, and lies on the western bank of the Nile River).

On 15 January 2011, Southern Sudan voted overwhelmingly for independence, with 99% voting in favor of secession. President al-Bashir indicated that he would accept the vote and would contribute to a peaceful and orderly transfer of power scheduled for 9 July 2011 (exactly six years after the peace deal which ended the bloody north-south civil war came into effect). However, he also indicated that he would now implement a more rigid version of Sharia in Sudan, potentially facilitating a major flood of migrants from the north to the new state of South Sudan. The SPLM former rebels, led by Salva Kiir Mayardit, have been running the region since 2005 and have gained some experience in governing. However, the prospects for success of this resource rich, yet severely underdeveloped, state remains uncertain. More certain is the reaction of the Sudanese government to South Sudan's secession. The Sudanese government has moved troops into both South Kordofan and Blue Nile states which border on South Sudan and ordered the disarmament of all armed militias associated with the SPLM; their refusal to disarm has triggered military offensives in those border regions.

Contributing to the uncertainty of the new South Sudan state is the escalation of political and tribal violence in the region. Despite claims by the northern government that they would usher in a peaceful transition to statehood, by early March 2011 the South Sudanese government had suspended talks with the Khartoum government, accusing President al-Bashir of plotting to overthrow their regime. The suspension of talks followed fighting between southern forces and a rebel militia in the southern oil town of Malakal. The rebel militia has been engaged in conflict with the southern government since its leader, General George Athor, a former senior member of the SPLM, failed to win the April 2010 election to be governor of the southern state of Jonglei. Hundreds have been killed in the conflict that, according to the SPLM, is being funded by al-Bashir's National Congress Party with the goal of destabilizing and overthrowing the government prior to independence in July 2011.