

NORTH SUDAN

Polity5 regime codes:

fac	scode	polity	pers	bmon	bday	byear	emon	eday	eyear	exrec	exconst	polcomp
1X	SUD	7	3	1	1	1956	11	17	1958	7	7	7
1O	SUD	-7	4	11	18	1958	4	25	1963	4	1	1
1Oa	SUD	-4	1	4	26	1963	10	29	1964	5	2	3
2X	SUD	-88	0	10	30	1964	4	21	1965	-88	-88	-88
2Xa	SUD	6	4	4	22	1965	5	25	1969	7	7	6
2O	SUD	-6	2	5	26	1969	5	16	1971	4	1	2
2Oa	SUD	-7	2	5	17	1971	5	7	1973	4	1	1
2Ob	SUD	-6	12	5	8	1973	4	6	1985	4	2	1
2Oc	SUD	-3	1	4	7	1985	5	5	1986	5	3	3
2Od	SUD	7	3	5	6	1986	6	30	1989	7	7	8
2Oe	SUD	-7	10	7	1	1989	12	31	1998	4	1	1
2Of	SUD	-4	1	1	1	1999	12	11	1999	5	3	2
2Og	SUD	-6	3	12	12	1999	7	8	2005	4	1	2
2Oh	SUD	-3	5	7	9	2005	4	10	2010	5	3	3
3X	SUD	-2	1	4	11	2010	7	8	2011	4	2	6
3O	SDN	-4	7	7	9	2011	99	99	9999	4	2	3

PITF Problem Events:

- 1) 11/58-03/72 (ARC 11/58; ETH 09/63-03/72; GEN 09/63-03/72; ARC 05/69-10/71)
- 2) 05/83-present (ETH 05/83-10/02; GEN 09/83-10/02; ARC 06/89; ETH 02/03-present; GEN 07/03-08/11; ETH 06/11-present)

1X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: January 1, 1956 (independence)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

The Sudan had been administered jointly by the Britain and Egypt under the terms of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement of 1899. Egypt gained limited self-rule in 1922 and this autonomy was further expanded in 1936; it established full independence in 1951 and claimed control of the Sudan. Following negotiations, an Anglo-Egyptian agreement on the independence of the Sudan was signed on February 12, 1953; the agreement established a transitional period of limited self-rule in Sudan to be concluded within three years. Parliamentary elections were held in late 1953, resulting in a majority for the pro-Egypt, National Unionist Party (NUP); however, the parliament voted against union with Egypt and Sudan established independence on January 1, 1956. On February 2, 1956, Prime Minister Ismail al Azhari led the formation of an all-party, unity government but that government fell in July 1956 following a split in the NUP and the formation of the rival National Democratic Party (NDP). An Umma-NDP coalition government was formed and Abdullah Khalil (Umma) was elected prime minister on July 5, 1956. A territorial dispute with Egypt further diminished support for the NUP and February-March 1958 parliamentary elections returned Khalil's ruling Umma-NDP coalition.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Arab Nationalists* — Under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, the administration of Sudan was divided between north and south. The north was predominately Muslim but was split into two major groups. The north regions were populated largely by ethnic-Arabs who identified closely with Egypt; the largest political party to emerge during the period of self-rule was the National Unionist party (NUP). The NUP was led by Ismail al Azhari and drew its support from the Khatmiyya Islamic sect; it favored close ties, even union, with Egypt.

The leader of the Khatmiyya sect, Sayed Ali el-Mirghani, split from the NUP on June 26, 1956, and formed the rival People's Democratic Party, which allied with the Umma.

- *Sudanese Nationalists* — The main opposition party in the Muslim region was the Umma, who were drawn mainly from the Ansar Islamic sect that was concentrated in the west and central regions; the Ansar sect was led by Sayed Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi. The Umma leader, Abdullah Khalil, was elected prime minister on July 5, 1956, following the split in the NUP and the fall of the Azhari unity government.
- *Southern (Non-Muslim) Sudan* — The southern region was mainly black-African and non-Muslim, combining Christian religion and traditional beliefs; it was also less developed and less institutionalized than the north and politically marginalized. The “Sudanization” of the administration and preparations for statehood brought many northerners into the south who were seen as institutionalizing northern rule and, so, viewed as a threat to the southerners. The (southern) Equatorial Corps of the Sudan Defense Force staged a brief but violent mutiny in August 1955 that began in Torit, near the southern border with Uganda. Southern political leaders formed the Southern Sudan Federalist Bloc in parliament following 1958 elections.

10) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: November 18, 1958 (military coup)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

Adverse Regime Change: November 1958

Sudan's parliamentary government was overthrown on November 17, 1958, in a military coup led by Gen. Ibrahim Abboud. A Supreme Council of the Armed Forces was established to rule the country with all governing authority exercised by Gen. Abboud. Parliament was dissolved, and all political parties were banned. A threatened mutiny by armed forces under the command of Brig. Abdel Rahman Shenan in early March 1959 led to a restructuring of the Supreme Council to favor the Arab-nationalists; a further move against the President Abboud by troops commanded by Shenan on May 21, 1959, led to the arrest and imprisonment of several senior officers. The leaders of all Sudan's political parties were arrested on July 11, 1961.

Changes within Autocratic Period:

10a) April 26, 1963 (local elections) – On November 17, 1961, President Abboud announced plans to establish a Central National Council to take over the advisory responsibilities of the Supreme Council and act as a constitutional commission to prepare for a return to civilian government. Although political parties remained banned, elections to local councils were held on April 26, 1963, and these officials, then, selected representatives to the Central Council which was inaugurated on November 14, 1963.

Ethnic War: September 1963 – March 1972

The Anya Nya rebellion by the non-Muslim population of southern Sudan against the Muslim-dominated, central government was launched in September 1963 in the Ethiopian border region and quickly spread through the south. The rebellion ended with the signing of a peace settlement in Addis Ababa on March 27, 1972, granting regional autonomy for the south within a unified Sudan.

Genocide: September 1963 – March 1972

The government dominated by northern Muslim-Arabs used indiscriminate violence to suppress mostly non-Muslim Africans who supported the secessionist movement in the south.

2X) Date of Change to Factional-Democratic: October 30, 1964 (transitional government)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

On September 7, 1964, President Abboud established a commission to inquire about causes of the rebellion in the south that had ignited in September 1963. This inquiry triggered public debate and criticism of the regime that escalated quickly into mass demonstrations and strikes and resulted in violent rioting in the capital. Political groups and professional organizations formed the United National Front (UNF) to press for reforms; the UNF gained the support of both the Khatiyya and Ansar sects. Abboud was also pressured by junior officers who were dissatisfied with the senior leadership. On October 26, Abboud dissolved the military junta. Discussions between the armed forces and the UNF resulted in the formation of a civilian, transitional government led by Serr al Khatim Khalifa on October 30 and, on November 15, President Abboud announced his resignation. The United National Front unraveled almost immediately over preparations for elections and policy toward the rebellion in the south. A government crisis in February 1965 resulted in the formation of a Umma-NUP coalition government.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Muslim Nationalists* — Muslim nationalism was most strongly advocated by the Umma Party (Ansar sect) and the National Unionist Party (NUP; Khatmiyya sect); these major parties were supported by the smaller but more radical Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim nationalists were opposed to the southern secession, regional autonomy, or federalism, insisting on unity and advocating Sharia law. A split in the Umma-NUP coalition in April 1967 led to a reconciliation of the split in the Khatmiyya sect as the NUP and PDP joined in December 1967 to form the pan-Arabist Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). The Umma split into conservative (aligned with the DUP) and progressive factions.
- *Opposition to the Islamists* — The Communist Party and Trade Unions formed the main opposition to the Islamist government formed in February 1965. The People's Democratic Party (PDP; Khatmiyya sect) also opposed the Islamist government and boycotted the April-May 1965 parliamentary elections leading to the arrest of most of its leadership. The Communist Party was officially banned on December 9, 1965. The Sudan African National Union (south) remained in exile and did not participate in conventional politics.

Changes within Factional-Democratic Period:

2Xa) June 10, 1965 (new government) – Parliamentary elections were held in the five northern provinces in April and May 1965; the elections were boycotted by the People's Democratic Party and turnout was low despite the fact that women were allowed to vote for the first time. The Umma Party emerged as the largest party and formed a coalition with the NUP; Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub (Umma) was elected prime minister on June 10, 1965. Mahgoub was removed

through a motion of censure and he became leader of the parliamentary opposition; a new Umma-NUP government was formed by Sadiq el-Mahdi (Umma) on July 27, 1966. The government escalated its military offensive in the south. Elections were held in the south in March and April 1967 that were neither free nor fair. The NUP left the ruling coalition on April 28, 1967, and called for the formation of a National Government. Mahgoub replaced el-Mahdi on May 18 and formed a government including Umma, NUP, and PDP ministers. Elections held in May 1968 gave Mahgoub a, seemingly, more stable coalition of the DUP and conservative Umma; however, the Umma factions reconciled in April 1969 and demanded a greater share in the government.

2O) Date of Change from Factional-Democratic: May 26, 1969 (military coup)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

Adverse Regime Change: May 1969 – October 1971

On May 25, 1969, pro-left army officers, led by Colonel Jaafar Mohammed al Nimeiri, launched a military coup ousting the government of Prime Minister Mahgoub and establishing a Revolutionary Council. The regime dissolved the Constituent Assembly and all political parties.

Changes within Autocratic Period:

2Oa) May 17, 1971 (banning of Communist Party) – As the regime declared itself a Sudanese socialist regime, it maintained an ambiguous relationship to the Communist Party which was officially banned but largely tolerated. This ambiguity allowed the Communist Party to increase its influence among opponents to the regime and by early 1971 it was one of the largest Communist parties in the Arab countries. On May 17, 1971, Nimeiri reiterated the ban of the Communists and, on July 19, a group of leftist officers temporarily overthrew the Nimeiri regime with support from the Communists. Nimeiri was reinstated by loyal forces on July 22.

2Ob) May 8, 1973 (new constitution) – On October 12, 1972, Nimeiri convened an elected Sudanese People's Council to draft a constitution and, on May 8, 1973, Sudan's first formal constitution was adopted. The constitution created an Islamic, presidential state in which the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU) became the sole political organization; it also recognized Christianity as a religion as well as regional autonomy for the Southern Region. In 1983, Nimeiri decreed three highly provocative policies that, in combination with increasing dissatisfaction with his failed economic policies, created serious challenges to his regime. On June 5, 1983, he decreed the dissolution of the Southern Region and its re-division into the three provinces that had existed at independence. Southern leaders accused Nimeiri of renegeing on the 1972 autonomy agreement. On September 8, 1983, Nimeiri decreed the introduction of Islamic (Sharia) law for the entire country. On June 12, 1984, he proposed the creation of a new province that would include territory from the Upper Nile where oil deposits had been discovered, removing them from the south.

Ethnic War: May 1983—October 2002

Southern rebellion resumes under SPLA leadership after Muslim government violates autonomy agreement, and breakup of SPLA in 1991 leads to new inter-communal violence within the south. Peace process begins in earnest in October 2002 with an effective cease-fire; a series of negotiated settlements follow in 2003 and 2004.

Genocide: September 1983—October 2002

Government dominated by northern Muslim-Arab targets secessionist non-Muslim southerners and Nuba for destruction by indiscriminate military attacks, massacres by government-supported tribal militias, and government-induced privation and population displacement. Following the signing of the Machakos Protocol in July 2002 which signaled the beginning of an effective peace process, the warring parties signed a memorandum of understanding in October 2002 to permit unfettered humanitarian access to affected populations.

20c) April 7, 1985 (military coup) – On April 6, 1985, while Nimeiri was traveling abroad, the newly appointed commander of the armed forces, Gen. Abdel Rahman Swar el Dahab, led a military coup that ousted the Nimeiri regime. The Islamic courts, which had been suspended by Nimeiri in September 1984, were abolished, although a “revised” Sharia law continued to be observed. On April 7, a Transitional Military Council (TMC), led by Gen. Swar el Dahab, was established and, on April 22, an interim Council of Ministers was appointed. On October 10, 1985, an interim constitution came into effect which lifted the ban on political parties.

20d) May 6, 1986 (new elected government) – General elections were held on April 1-12, 1986, in which over forty parties participated, most of which had been formed during the transition period. The traditional parties based on the Ansar (Umma) and Khatmiyya (DUP) Islamic sects controlled a majority of seats in the Constituent Assembly and formed a ruling coalition with some smaller parties. The Constituent Assembly convened on April 26 and, on May 6, 1986, the TMC ceded power to the civilian government headed by a five-member Supreme Council (head of state) and a government led by Prime Minister Sadiq el-Mahdi (Umma). The main opposition party emerged as the National Islamic Front, which was led by Dr. Hassan Abdulla al Turabi who was the leader of the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood (Turabi failed to gain election). On January 10, 1988, a Transitional Charter was adopted to serve as an interim constitution and was accepted by all parties except the parties representing the south (the NIF approved the Charter in April 1988). The main obstacles to the government were disagreements over the status of Sharia law, policy regarding the southern rebellion, and continuing economic problems. A new, broad-based government, including representatives of all major parties except the NIF, was formed on March 25, 1989, and, on March 26, it endorsed the Addis Ababa peace accords that had been negotiated between the rebel Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) and the DUP in November 1988.

20e) July 1, 1989 (military coup) –

Adverse Regime Change: June 1989

The civilian government of Prime Minister Sadiq el-Mahdi was overthrown by a military coup on June 30, 1989. The army officers who carried out the coup were led by Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir and called themselves the "National Movement for Correcting the Situation."

The ruling Command Council of the Revolution of National Salvation declared the suspension of the Constitution, the dissolution of parliament and all political institutions, and the banning of strikes, trade unions, and all newspapers. On July 7, Bashir stated that he rejected the November 1988 peace agreement with the SPLA and in subsequent talks with the southern rebels the government repeatedly refused to lift Sharia law. Despite the military junta's ban on political organizations, the government included supporters of the fundamentalist National Islamic Front and their influence increased during the early years of Bashir's rule. In October 1993, Bashir dissolved the military junta and established an Islamic fundamentalist government. Elections held in March 1996 established a National Assembly controlled by the National Islamic Front and led by Hassan al Turabi. In June 1996, banned opposition parties forming the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) called for Bashir's resignation; NDA militants aligned with southern rebel forces in open rebellion against the Bashir regime.

2Of) January 1, 1999 (lifting of ban on political parties) – The National Assembly began debate on a draft constitution on March 9, 1998. The new constitution was adopted on June 30; it allowed the National Assembly to pass a law lifting the ban on political parties. That law was passed on November 23 to be placed in effect on January 1, 1999. Political parties began registering immediately afterward.

2Og) December 12, 1999 (presidential coup) – On December 11, 1999, President Bashir dissolved the National Assembly and decreed a state of emergency in a power struggle with Hassan al Turabi who was attempting to push through constitutional amendments to limit the power of the executive and, thereby, increase his own authority. The rivalry extended within the ruling National Islamic Front and led to a split in May 2000 when Turabi and his followers were expelled; Turabi formed the Popular National Congress in September 2000 to oppose Bashir in presidential elections. However, due to government restrictions, most opposition parties decided to boycott the December 2000 elections and, as a result, Bashir and his supporters took total control of the government.

Ethnic War: February 2003 – ongoing

Rebellion in the Darfur region in west Sudan begins with attacks by Darfur Liberation Front in February 2003 followed by a government offensive in March. Violence quickly escalates as local *janjaweed* militias take on anti-insurgency role.

Genocide: June 2003 – August 2011

The government backs local, Arab *janjaweed* militias and encourages them to terrorize suspected supporters of separatist rebels. Victims groups include Fur, Zaghawa, Masaleit, and other non-Arab peoples of the Darfur region.

2Og) July 9, 2005 (power-sharing agreement; interim constitution) – In accordance with the terms of the power-sharing peace agreement signed on January 9, 2005, between the SPLM and the Sudan government that ended the long-running civil war in the south, SPLM leader John Garang was sworn in as First Vice President on July 9, 2005; in addition, an interim constitution was promulgated, a new bicameral legislature was appointed, and a regional government was established in the south for a six-year period prior to a referendum on independence for the

south. Garang was subsequently killed in a helicopter crash on July 30 and his deputy, Salva Kiir Mayerdit, was sworn in as First Vice President on August 11. A new, national unity government was established on September 20, 2005, including Bashir's ruling National Congress Party and the SPLM. Peace agreements were also signed on June 18, 2005, with the National Democratic Alliance and on October 14, 2006, with the Eastern Front (an alliance of the Beja Congress and the Rashidiya Arabs). General elections are scheduled for 2009. On May 10, 2008, a column of vehicles carrying Darfur-based Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) fighters launched an attack on Omdurman, across the Nile River from the capital, Khartoum; the attempted coup was widely believed to have been planned with the support of Hassan al Turabi.

3X) Date of Change to Factional-Autocratic: April 11, 2010 (general elections)

Brief Explanation of Change To:

General elections held in Sudan on April 11-15, 2010, officially ended the transition period defined by the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement that ended the second Sudanese civil war. The elections were dominated by President Bashir's National Congress Party (NCP) in the north and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) in the south, thus cementing a polarization of politics in Sudan leading up to the independence referendum in the south scheduled for January 2011. Following the election, SPLM members of the power-sharing "national unity" government largely withdrew their participation due to ruling NCP entrenchment and focused on organizing the independence referendum and preparing the south for secession. The independence referendum was held in the south on January 9-15, 2011; turnout was reported to be over 97% with 98% voting for independence.

Ethnic War: May 2011– ongoing

With South Sudan preparing for independence in July 2011, the Sudan government ordered the disarmament of all fighters belonging to the Sudan People's Liberation Army-North (SPLA-N); these forces were concentrated in Blue Nile and South Kordofan states on the border between north and south. Leaders of the militias refused and Sudan armed forces initiated an offensive to disarm the fighters in June 2011.

Identify Main Factions:

- *Sudanese (Arab) Nationalists* — The Sudanese nationalists in north Sudan espouse an Arab identity and are dominated by President Bashir's National Congress Party. Since the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with the SPLM in September 2005, the NCP government has made a concerted effort to reach agreement with opposition groups in the north and those groups have largely acquiesced, at least temporarily, to NCP dominance in the north in anticipation of the secession of the south.
- *South Sudanese* — The South Sudanese are largely African and non-Muslim groups that are loosely organized by the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). The southern region of Sudan has resisted domination by the northern Muslim groups through armed rebellion nearly continuously since Sudan's independence in 1956.

3O) Date of Change from Factional-Autocratic: July 9, 2011 (secession)

Brief Explanation of Change From:

South Sudan seceded from Sudan just past midnight on July 9, 2011. The secession of the south effectively ended the factional politics between the northern Arab nationalists and the southern African groups but presented difficulties and complications for both states, including a border crisis that nearly erupted in a new interstate war over control of oil revenues and transport, which was averted largely due to pressure from international donor countries who were asked to provide assistance for restructuring the economies of the separated states. President Bashir formed a new government of national unity on December 10, 2011. Mediated negotiations eventually led to the signing of nine joint-cooperation agreements between the two states on September 27, 2012; however, tensions remained high.