

Sudan

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Sudan is coded as a parliamentary democracy at independence in 1956. Ismail al-Azhari of the National Unionist Party (NUP) ruled as PM on a platform of union with Egypt, in unofficial coalition with the Khatmiyyahs. There is no SOLS change at independence. At this time, there appeared to be three main sects in northern Sudan: the Ashiqqas (urban, secular), led by al-Azhari and represented politically by the NUP, the Khatmiyyahs, led by Sayidd Sir al-Mirghani and initially represented by the NUP, then by the splinter People's Democratic Party (PDP), and the Ansars, led by Sayyid Sir Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi and represented by the Umma party (Woodward 1981, 380). Southern Sudan was not represented in government. In office only a short time, al-Azhari began to alienate the more religious Khatmiyyahs through his support of secular government policies. Some Khatmiyyah members left the NUP and established a new splinter party, the PDP, led by Mirghani. Later in 1956, the opposition parties Umma and PDP formed a coalition in parliament (Library of Congress 1991; Anderson 1999, 11) and defeated the al-Azhari government, replacing al-Azhari with Abdullah Khalil of the Umma party as PM. This is a SOLS change. In 1958, discontent with the Khalil government grew. Egypt suggested it might support a coup against him and word circulated that the Umma and NUP were planning a new coalition that would exclude the PDP and Khalil (Library of Congress 1991). In response, Khalil, a retired army general, executed his own preemptive military coup with the support of senior Umma members and the army's two top generals, Ibrahim Abboud (Khatmiyyah) and Ahmad Abd al Wahab (Ansar) (Library of Congress 1991). Starting in 1958, the country is considered a military authoritarian regime with Abboud at its head serving as PM. Despite the fact that Khalil essentially invited the military in, we code this as a SOLS change because the new leader's support group was clearly the military (as coded by Geddes), while the old leader's was mainly the Ansar Umma party. The southern Sudanese, disenfranchised, continued armed struggle against the Sudanese government. This and increasing protest issues led Abboud to dissolve the military ruling council, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, in 1964 and set up a civilian transitional government meant to transition the country back to civilian rule. The protesters created the leftist United National Front (UNF), which selected Sirr al Khatim al Khalifa, as prime minister of the interim government. The country is missing Geddes data on regime type for 1964 due to the nature of this interim regime. Elections were scheduled and then held in 1965. The Umma and NUP garnered the most votes and formed a coalition headed by Muhammad Ahmad Mahgoub, of the Umma party as PM (Library of Congress 1991). This is a SOLS change for 1965. The country is considered a parliamentary democracy from 1965 until 1969. al-Azhari served as president as part of this coalition. Later in 1965, the Umma/NUP coalition collapsed over disagreement as to whether Mahgoub or al-Azhari should direct the country's foreign policy. The Library of Congress explains "Mahjub continued in office for another eight months but resigned in July 1966 after a parliamentary vote of censure, which resulted in a split in the Umma. The traditional wing led by Mahjub, under the Imam Al Hadi al Mahjub's spiritual leadership, opposed the party's majority. The latter group professed loyalty to the imam's nephew, the younger Sadiq al Mahdi, who was the Umma's official leader and who rejected religious sectarianism. Sadiq became prime minister with backing from his own Umma wing and from NUP allies." This is not a SOLS change for 1966 because al-Mahdi was supported by the same Umma/NUP coalition as his predecessor, albeit without the support of Mahgoub's small religious splinter group. al-Mahdi won the 1967 elections, but when he lost the

support of the NUP, his government, still under fire from the religious wing led by Mahgoub, fell. Mahgoub, once again PM, put together a coalition composed of his traditionalist wing of the Umma, the NUP, and the PDP. This is a minor SOLS change for May 1967 because the composition of the coalition changed from Umma/NUP to Umma/NUP/PDP. In December 1967, the PDP and the NUP joined to form the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), led by al-Azhari. This changed the coalition to Umma/DUP, though this does not constitute a minor SOLS change. In April 1968 new elections were held and the DUP won the most votes with Umma in close second. Without a parliamentary majority, the DUP were forced to form a coalition with the Umma traditionalists, and Mahgoub kept his post as PM. In 1969, Colonel Gaafar Muhammad Nimeiry (Mil/SSU) seized power in a military coup. This is a SOLS change. The country is considered a personalist regime under Nimeiry until 1985. In 1971, Major Hisham al-Atta, allied with the Sudanese Communist Party (SCP), staged a coup. Al-Atta created a seven-member revolutionary council to serve as the national government, with Lt Col Babiker al-Nur Osman at its head. Three days later, members of the military loyal to Nimeiry staged a counter coup and power was restored to Nimeiry. This is an instance of an ABA situation, where $SOLSchange_{30}=2$. ($SOLSchange=0$, $SOLSchange_{30}=2$, $SOLSchange_1=1$, $SOLSchange_2=1$) Nimeiry ruled until April 6, 1985, when Lt General Abdel Rahman Swar al-Dahab staged a coup and overthrew him. This is a SOLS change. Dhahab created the Transitional Military Council (TMC) to rule Sudan. For the year 1985, Sudan is considered a military authoritarian regime. Dhahab scheduled elections for 1986. In 1986, the Umma party won the most seats in the election. Sadiq al-Mahdi, Umma, formed a coalition government with the DUP, the National Islamic Front (NIF), and four southern parties (Library of Congress 1991). This is a SOLS change. From 1986 to 1988 Sudan is again considered a parliamentary democracy.¹ A state of emergency was imposed in July 1987 due to bickering within the coalition government. On August 22, 1987, the DUP left the coalition (The Sunday Times 1987) and the government essentially shut down because the NIF, the third largest party, refused to rejoin any coalition that contained leftist elements. Because Umma and the DUP could not agree on a coalition, al-Mahdi's Umma/DUP government continued as an interim government until a new government was formed 9 months later in May 1988. This interim period should not be coded as a minor SOLS change (Anderson 1999: 34-5; 133, Fadlalla 2007: 53, Collins 2008: 162-8). For the next nine months, Sadiq ruled out of coalition with any other parties. Finally, on May 15, 1988, Umma rejoined its coalition with the DUP, NIF, and a few southern parties. This is a minor SOLS change. The coalition fell apart again when the DUP tried to negotiate a peace agreement with southern separatists. The government opposed its efforts, and DUP left the coalition on December 29, 1988. This is a minor SOLS change. The NIF who wanted to continue to fight the southern separatists in order to make Sudan an Islamic state, continued in coalition with Umma (The Guardian 1989). Eventually Al-Mahdi came under pressure from the army to either make peace or act decisively to win the war. On March 11, 1989, al-Mahdi formed a new coalition of the Umma, the DUP, southern parties, and the trade unions, accepting the DUP's peace agreement. This is a minor SOLS change. Later in 1989, Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, Mil, staged a coup and overthrew al-Mahdi and created a military council to rule the country. This is a SOLS change. The country is considered a personalist regime under al-Bashir from 1989 through

¹ Here our coding of the leader of Sudan deviates from Archigos, who code the president al-Mirghani as the leader. As we regard Sudan to be a parliamentary democracy during this short democratic spell, we code the Prime Minister al-Mahdi as the leader for this period.

2008. In 1996, al-Bashir's SOLS changes from Mil to SNC (Sudanese National Congress). This is not a SOLS change.

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