



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies

The 10th Annual Democratic Transition Conference

The Second Wave of the Arab Uprisings

Sudan and Algeria

9-12 October 2021

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Online Registration



zoom

About Conference

Barely a decade since the revolutions of 2011 that marked a significant transformation in the region's social and political history, a new upsurge erupted in several Arab countries, proclaiming the persistence of popular aspiration for change despite the challenges and setbacks that beset the first wave. Two popular uprisings in Sudan and Algeria gave rise to unexpected changes in dominant ruling regimes clinging fast to their positions: faced with sweeping mass demonstrations President Omar al-Bashir was overthrown on April 11, 2019, while only days earlier massive waves of protest in Algeria had prompted President Abd al-Aziz Bouteflika to end his term as President of the Republic, on April 2, 2019. Since these developments, Sudan and Algeria each embarked on a difficult process of political transition towards a democratic system based on concepts of pluralism, rule of law, citizenship and protection of civil and political freedoms. The path of transition in the two countries faces many obstacles and challenges.

The Sudanese revolution that broke out on December 19, 2018, was not simply a second wave of the Arab revolutions of 2011 calling for dignity, democracy and justice; it also reflected a recurring Sudanese pattern of events. Since independence, Sudan has witnessed several transitional periods aimed at establishing pluralistic democratic rule, as well as three military coups and three revolutions or popular uprisings. The three uprisings aimed to overthrow political regimes installed by the military. Most of the military coups arose, however, from division among political elites and civilian parties contending for power, some of whom, to better confront their civilian opponents, invited military officers to take charge.

In addition to the weakness of political parties and civilian elites, the interference of the military in power, and a consequent authoritarian legacy extending throughout all sectors of society, Sudan has suffered other severe problems including ethnic and regional problems, civil wars in the south and in the Darfur region, the escalation of the role of armed militias, not to mention the problems of poverty, backwardness, corruption, and weakness of state institutions that it shares with many countries of the south. Sudan's government and people also suffered from the problem of terrorism and being included on the United States' list of states sponsors of terrorism and the consequential economic sanctions that isolated Sudan from the global economy for decades, exacerbating its social and economic problems.

The transition process in 2019/2020 was in no way an easy one, with many falling victim to confrontations with the security forces and the army, after the coup against al-Bashir, especially in the Khartoum General Command sit-in massacre. The country then witnessed a difficult period of negotiations between the civilian forces that were at the forefront of the popular uprising and the military establishment – the country's main organizing institution – before concluding an agreement known as the "Constitutional Document" on 17 August 2019 between the Transitional Military Council, which assumed power after the ouster of Bashir and the "Coalition of Forces for the Declaration of Freedom and Change". External factors, seen in Ethiopian and African mediation, played a pivotal role in this agreement. A few months beyond the transitional rule, Sudan witnessed the announcement of a normalization of its relationship with Israel; there were differing views amongst the pillars of the transitional civilian government, but the military settled the matter in favour of normalization.

The democratic transition process in Sudan is still unstable due to the intervention of external forces interested to see continued military rule; their influence increased with disagreements amongst civilian forces active in the revolution over the relationship with the army; over the nature of the transition

phase; over the exclusion of some civilian forces after the revolution; over normalization with Israel; as well as owing to the newness of Sudanese internal peace agreements with armed movements.

Algeria remained under one-party rule (of the National Liberation Front) from independence in 1962 until the early 1990s, with the People's National Army the main force in the country, alongside and strongly represented within the party. Popular pressure in the wake of the "October 1988 Uprising" compelled the army and the National Liberation Front to open the public domain in December 1991 for the country's first pluralist legislative elections, but the army turned against and annulled their results, throwing the country into a bloody stage of armed violence, prior to installation of an authoritarian regime with a formally pluralistic façade and a margin of freedoms. In February 2019, a peaceful popular uprising overthrew President Abdelaziz Bouteflika (1999-2019), prompting the army to intervene politically. The uprising did not encounter violent repression or acts of violence, state and army apparently benefitting from what Algerians call the bloody "black decade" in the country's history. A difficult transitional period began, culminating in a top-down constitutional reform process led by the regime and the army, with the declared aim of instituting a truly democratic pluralistic system.

In all these stages, the Algerian army remained the main force in the country, deriving its legitimacy from the Revolution of Liberation (1954-1962) which enabled it to play a pivotal role in choosing presidents of the republic over a period of five full decades, in addition to seeping influentially into key sectors of the state via governors and department heads officially appointed by the president. The rentier economy based primarily on oil resources provided huge financial revenues for expanded patronage and clientelism networks to shore up long-term survival of the regime through purchased social harmony, the fragility of which, since October 1988. President Bouteflika adopted the same strategy of buying loyalty to the regime's apparatus of power, but by this point the system had been ravaged by corruption and a previously unknown overlapping of the president's family with businessmen. In the two cases of the one-party regime (1962-1989) and the formally pluralistic regime (since 1989), the regime maintained a delicate balance between society's demands and its maintenance of effective control. However, instead of a single state party, there were two parties controlling parliament, government and political life, supported by the army: the National Liberation Front and the National Democratic Rally, with a presence of smaller loyalist and weak opposition parties – all with the continued domination of a narrow military and political elite over the reins of power. Opposition parties in addition suffered structural problems that also contributed to the continuation of the regime: partisan divisions and splits; control of historical figures; the absence of internal democracy and internal power rotation; and their continuous inability to value political programs with a capacity for popular mobilization.

Therefore, the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies chose "The Second Wave of the Arab Uprisings: Sudan and Algeria," as a theme for the 2021 annual conference on democratic transition. The conference, which the Project of Democratic Transformation and Transition Phases in The Arab Countries is managing, will examine the Sudanese and Algerian political transition processes in light of local, regional and external factors. The conference peer-reviewed papers are covering a wide-range of theoretical and applied research, with the hope to stimulate further research on topics related to change and reform in the Arab countries.

Timetable

Day 1

Saturday 9 October 2021

Register



ID: 835 42011089

15:00 – 15:15	<p style="text-align: center;">Opening Remarks</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Haider Saeed</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Abdel-Fattah Mady</p>
15:15 – 16:45	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The Elites and Transitional Institutions in Sudan</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Abdelwahab El-Affendi</p> <p>Hassan Elhadj Ali: Compound Hybridity: The Impact of the Ruling Coalition on the Transitional Path in Sudan</p> <p>Abdullah Ali Ibrahim: The Concept of the Elite: We Stumble When We See</p> <p>Attigany Abdel Kadir Hamed: The Sudanese Revolution and Prospects for Democratic Transition</p>
16:45 – 17:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Break</p>
17:00 – 18:30	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The Challenges of State-building and Constitutional Issues in Algeria</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Mohamed Hemchi</p> <p>Abdelkadir Abdelali: The Nature of Political Power in Algeria after the Popular Movement</p> <p>Kamal Djalab: The Constitutional Path and Democratic Transition in Algeria</p> <p>Adnen Nouioua: Fighting Corruption in Algeria in the Light of Political and Economic Challenges</p>

- Timing of sessions based on Doha local time (GMT +3)

Day 2

Sunday 10 October 2021

Register



ID: 897 5186 1515

15:00 – 16:30	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 3 State and Peacebuilding in Sudan</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Mehdi Mabrouk</p> <p>Sultan Barakat and Mona Hedaya: Centrality of the Eastern Region in Sudan's Peace: Current Tensions and Conflict Prevention</p> <p>Bahaeldin Makkawi Mohammed: The Juba Agreement for Peace in Sudan: Challenges and Prospects</p> <p>Hamad Omer Hawi: Challenges of the Democratic Transition in Sudan following the December 2018 Revolution</p>
16:30 – 16:45	Break
16:45 – 18:15	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 4 Issues of Civil-Military Relations</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Saleh Ziani</p> <p>Mohamed Si Bachir: The Security/Military and Political Dialectic in the Algerian Democratic Transition</p> <p>Karar El-Tohami: Problems of Transition in Sudan: The Shortcomings of the Revolution and The Contradictions of Democracy</p> <p>Adel Ourabah: The Algerian Military Establishment and its Role in the Context of the Popular Uprising</p>

Day 3

Monday 11 October 2021

Register



ID: 874 8770 1775

15:00 – 16:30	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 5 Social Forces in the Context of Transition</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Hamid Ali</p> <p>Mohamed Naimi: Social Movements in Sudan and Algeria and their Implications for Democratic Transition Demands</p> <p>Hassan El-Saouri: The Sudanese Revolution and the Challenges of Democratic Transition</p> <p>Mashair Al-Ameen Al-Dawlab: The Social Engineering of Women's Issues in the Transitional Period in Sudan</p>
16:30 – 16:45	Break
16:45 – 18:15	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 6 Economic Issues in the Context of Transitions</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Sidahmed Goudjili</p> <p>Ali Ibrahim Mohamed: Economic Obstacles to post-December 2019 Democratic Transition in Sudan</p> <p>Khalid Menna and Reda Boudjana : The Political Economy of the Democratic Transition in Algeria</p> <p>Al-Zaki Al-Helo: The Economic Causes of the 2019 Uprising in Sudan: The Crisis of Development and Economic Performance</p>

Day 4

Tuesday 12 October 2021

Register



ID: 898 4468 6433

15:00 – 16:00	<p>Session 7</p> <p>External Influences on Transitions (1-2)</p> <p>Moderator: Ashraf Abdelhay</p> <p>Ahmed Ibrahim Abu Shouk: Transitional Revolutionary Government in Sudan and the Normalization with Israel: Historical Background and the Current Political Dialectic</p> <p>Marafy Al-Bahi: Rapprochement with the Military: External Impact on the Trajectory of Democratic Transition in Sudan</p>
16:00 – 16:15	Break
16:15 – 17:15	<p>Session 8</p> <p>External Influences on Transitions (2-2)</p> <p>Moderator: Abdou Moussa</p> <p>Yasser Derwiche Djazaerly: Geopolitical Transformations and the 2019 Uprising in Algeria</p> <p>Arbi Boumediene: The International Context of the 2019 Uprising in Algeria between Strategic Alternatives and Values Considerations</p>

Participants

Abstracts



Abdelkadir Abdelali

Professor in the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Taher Moulay University of Saida, Algeria and former lecturer at the Ouargla and Tissemsilt Universities. He received a doctorate in political science from the University of Algiers III in 2008. He is interested in comparative politics, research methods, political theory, international relations theory, social rifts, and the politics of the Middle East and North Africa. His published studies include: "Social Faults and Their Impact on the Party System in Israel" in 2010. He has contributed to research projects on government violence and peace, and new religiosity. He contributed to *the International Handbook on Peace and Reconciliation*, published in 2013, and to *the International Handbook of War, Torture, and Terrorism*, published in 2012.

The Nature of Political Power in Algeria after the Popular Movement

This paper analyses the interactive relationship between the protest movements and the transitional regime in Algeria. The protest movements in Algeria are characterized by a reflection of a cultural and structural legacy on the loss of initiative and unity and the formation of persuasive and argumentative movement leaderships. This context further entrenches the extended transitional situation and the regime crisis, which increases with the escalating economic crisis and the decline in oil imports. The paper poses the question: Does the nature of the political system allow the movement to push for further steps towards democratic transition? The author concludes that expanding the scope and capabilities of civil society and its generation of strong and institutionalized social and political movements can change the rules of the political game and direct protest towards avoiding political violence. This, in turn, would lead to effective reforms in the rules of conduct and political decision-making within the system.



Abdullahi Ali Ibrahim

Academic, Journalist, and Playwright, who serves as Emeritus Professor of African and Islamic History at the University of Missouri, USA and as Editor-in-chief of the Journal of Sudanese Studies at the University of Khartoum. He received his PhD from Indiana University in the United States and undertook an academic fellowship in African humanities from Northwestern University from 1991-1992. He has a special interest in the cultural history of colonialism. Among his most prominent books published in English are "Social Aesthetics" (Northwestern University Press, 2017) and "History of Islamic Justice and Renewal in the Sudan" (2008). He published several books in Arabic, including "Mahdi and Scholars," 1968 and "Sources of Violence in Sudanese Culture," 2019.

The Concept of the Elite: We Stumble When We See

Sudan's transitional period is haunted by the spectre of the "infernal circle," a vicious circle which has seen every such transition in Sudan's history end with a military coup and a return to dictatorship. This premature desperation is rooted in analysts' readings of the two transitional periods of 1964 and 1985, both of which produced democratic systems that were then toppled by coups in 1969 and 1985 respectively. These analysts attribute the failure of those transitions to the elite proponents of civilian rule. They argue that whenever this elite has been divided against itself, power has fallen automatically into military hands. This paper adopts a more complex approach to understanding the "infernal circle". Firstly, it reassesses the validity of the concept of the "elite," an idea taken from Western thought. Secondly, it places blame for the vicious circle at the door of the "counterrevolution" so often absent from our political analysis. When we allow our reading of the transitional period to be restricted to conflict between elites, we develop the mistaken impression that this elite would be capable of not fighting among themselves if only they were better people. This paper roots the elite within a broader social conflict in which the elite are not only a party in their own right, but are locked in a bitter war amongst themselves.



Adel Ourabah

Independent Researcher who received his PhD in International Security Studies in 2018 from the University of Algiers III. His research interests focus on security transformations and civil-military relations in the Maghreb countries, especially Algeria. He is a member of the Algerian Association of Political Science. His research papers include "Algerian Civil Society in a Rentier Context," and "The Rentier State and the Fragility of Human Security in the Arab Context."

The Algerian Military Establishment and its Role in the Context of the Popular Uprising

The Algerian military establishment occupies a central position at the heart of the state due to the historical role it has played. This begins with the establishment of the political system, through its modernizing and developmental role in the 1960s and 70s, all the way to its steering of the civil war period in the nineties. The events of the popular movement in 2019 only served to confirm this position, given the critical role played by the military in these events. However, not all these roles took a linear path; they were subject to fluctuating contexts mainly related to the tumultuous nature of the existing political system and its rentier economy, as well as the formation of the military institution itself. This research examines the role of the military institution in the context of the popular movement and its strategies to preserve the existing system, and its traditional role and interests within it, especially since these strategies were characterized by a peaceful nature different from the institution's past actions. The paper suggests that the changes that the military institution underwent during the Bouteflika era, and the tentative bets associated with that, redefined, to some extent, its role in the context of the popular movement. Accordingly, this paper is not only concerned with analyzing the military dynamics on the eve of the popular movement, but also the overall dynamics that prevailed during the Bouteflika era.



Adnen Nouioua

Assistant Professor of Law at Institute of Technological Studies of Bizerte University in Tunisia. He received a doctorate in public law from the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences of Tunis in 2018. He serves as a Researcher at the International Relations, Markets and Negotiations Law Laboratory at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences of Tunis. His research interests lie in anti-corruption and transitional justice issues. He has participated in many academic conferences, including "Corruption in International Trade Exchanges and International Commercial Arbitration", and "The Issues of the Martyrs and Wounded of the Revolution: What is the Role of the Truth and Dignity Commission?"

Fighting Corruption in Algeria in the Light of Political and Economic Challenges

The paper examines how the anti-corruption policy contributes to the challenges facing Algeria since the popular movement that erupted in 2019 and resulted in the transition to democracy. The paper is premised on the hypothesis that anti-corruption policies based on laws and institutions and modified to the pace of the democratic and economic transition help build state capacities that include political, judicial and societal accountability for those involved in corruption and are a major guarantor of success in democratic transition. The paper analyses and discusses this hypothesis by reviewing the legal and institutional elements of combating corruption that have been established and continued to be developed in Algeria. The paper concludes that the adoption and implementation of "modified" anti-corruption policies in Algeria would support the balance between social, economic and political modernization prospects, thus enhancing the chances of establishing a "self-reformed" and sustainable democratic political system.



Ahmed Ibrahim Abu Shouk

Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at Qatar University. He received his PhD in History at Bergen University, Norway. He worked as a researcher at the Center for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at Bergen University (1995-1999), then a professor in the Department of History and Civilization (1999-2012) at the International Islamic University in Malaysia. He has also worked as a researcher and visiting professor at the Center for Modern Middle Eastern Studies in Berlin (2010, 2012, 2016), the University of Pittsburgh (2015), and the University of Wisconsin (2017). He has published more than twenty books and fifty research papers in both Arabic and English.

Transitional Revolutionary Government in Sudan and the Normalization with Israel: Historical Background and the Current Political Dialectic

This paper highlights Sudan's historical position regarding normalization with the State of Israel, discussing the reasons that prompted the transitional government to accept the normalization project within current political conditions, and analyzing the positions of the Sudanese political forces on the same issue. The paper discusses the impact of the process of removing Sudan from the list of terrorism sponsoring countries as part of the Israeli-US normalization project, which ultimately blackmailed the transitional government to sign the Abraham Accords. Local, regional and global push and pull factors created a state of ambiguity in Sudan, which may have negative repercussions on the future of the transitional period. The paper concludes that the transitional government's approval of normalization was not a priority for a democratic transition, as evidenced by the different positions of the political parties regarding the formal normalization procedures and its expected objective outcomes. Opponents of the transitional government's approval of normalization have called it "political blackmail," based on a strategic dimension that serves US priorities to maintain Israeli security and its political and military superiority in the region, and a financial dimension reflected in the economic crisis that threatens the democratic transition in Sudan.



Ali Ibrahim Mohamed

A former Sudanese parliamentarian, he holds a doctorate in development economics. He works at the Sudan Polling and Statistics Center and has lectured in a number of Sudanese universities on economic and development issues. He has also worked as a research fellow at the Economic and Social Research Department at the National Research Center. His research focuses on corruption and development issues, and he most recently published a paper titled "The Economic Effects of Lifting US Sanctions on Sudan."

Economic Obstacles to post-December 2019 Democratic Transition in Sudan

This paper addresses two central questions: Why did corrupt practices continue after the fall of the Bashir regime? What are the repercussions of this issue for democratic transition in the country? The paper draws on development economics literature and expands on the interpretation of "grand corruption" through the theory of political settlements, which address corruption as an inevitable phenomenon of capitalist transformation in developing countries. The paper highlights how political geography intersects with the economics of corruption, attempting to build an analytical framework to examine some indicators of perceptions of corruption that are still inherent in the government performance after reform. The paper concludes that the unequal distribution of power within the ruling coalition means that political responses are ineffective in addressing the challenge of grand corruption and are likely to remain so for the foreseeable future, which in extreme cases could be a major obstacle to both democratization and economic development.



Al-Zaki Al-Helo

Teaching Assistant in the Department of Economics, University of Khartoum, and Researcher at the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning in Sudan. He received a master's degree in development economics from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies in 2019. He has participated in several research projects, including a project on the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on the Sudanese economy, with the support of the International Labor Organization. He has published a number of papers, including "A Quick Glance at the Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on the Local Labor Markets in Sudan."

The Economic Causes of the 2019 Uprising in Sudan: The Crisis of Development and Economic Performance

This paper studies the causes of the 2018 Sudanese uprising from a political economy perspective. It uses data acquired from news coverage of the Sudanese revolution monitored by the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, and other sources. The data indicates economic motivations, namely, the scarcity of basic commodities (bread and fuel), high prices, restricted cash withdrawals from banks, deteriorating public services and poor development performance, for the uprising. The revolutionaries' demands then shifted from focusing on economic reforms to the goal of regime change. The paper seeks to build a narrative linking these factors with the state of the Sudanese economy since 2011, using economic performance data and studies on the economic problems in Sudan. The paper concludes that economic fragility, reflected in the state's inability to provide subsidized goods and control prices, led to a build-up of popular anger and, ultimately, a revolution that toppled the regime. Other factors contributed to this anger and eventually led people to the street, including the so-called "empowerment policy" and the repercussions of the civil war.



Arbi Boumediene

Professor and Researcher in political science at Hassiba Benbouali University of Chlef, Algeria. He received a PhD in International Relations from the Department of International Studies, Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, University of Algiers III in 2020. His research focuses on political and security issues in the Maghreb and the African Sahel, and he has published studies on political, social, economic and security transformations in Algeria.

The International Context of the 2019 Uprising in Algeria between Strategic Alternatives and Values Considerations

External interference in periods of political change is usually clearly linked to countries that have a distinct position in the geopolitical division of the world, and their connection with international and regional competition. This paper discusses the external variable in the 2019 protest movement in Algeria by addressing the limits of international and regional intervention in directing the course of the Algerian movement in comparison with other Arab countries in which external intervention can be considered a pivotal actor. This paper aims to discuss the determinants of Algeria's relationship with regional and international powers, and to explain the absence of external interventions in the Algerian popular movement. Finally, it examines the future of the turbulent political path, and discusses external opportunities for transition. The paper concludes that the absence of regional and international interventions in the Algerian popular movement is mainly related to the geopolitical and strategic imperative, distinct from moral and normative considerations, as the risks of instability in Algeria would create very complex security challenges in the Mediterranean region. Algeria also plays an important role in maintaining the strategic balances of the region, especially for European security.



Attigany Abdel Kadir Hamed

Professor and Head of the Department of Social Sciences at the Ibn Khaldun Center, Qatar University. He received his PhD in Political Science from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in 1989. His research interests span Islamic political thought, Islamic movements and Quranic studies. He has lectured in many Arab and Western universities, including the Universities of Virginia and Shenandoah in the United States, and the International University of Islamic Sciences in Malaysia. Among his most recent publications is the "The Problem of the Meccan Qur'an in Orientalist Studies".

The Sudanese Revolution and Prospects for Democratic Transition

Was the fall of Al Bashir's salvation regime the result of an internal initiative or an alliance between the opposition, or both? To what extent did external factors influence the overthrow of the regime? Is the post-salvation regime expected to follow a democratic trajectory, or will it become a new authoritarian regime? In addressing these questions, this paper concludes that it is not inconceivable that the agreed goal between the international powers and their authoritarian partners in the region is to move Sudan into a "hybrid" system. This entails elements of the old authoritarian regime continuing to hold the joints of power, while preserving a minimum level of democracy. In addition, the ruling military-civilian alliance will find support from the United States and the European Union (and their regional allies), enabling it to dismantle the institutions of the former regime, absorb a number of armed movements into the political process, and gradually engage in the international (security and economic) system. Internally, the transitional government will face challenges that may not only lead to the collapse of the transition but could also lead to the collapse of the Sudanese state itself.



Bahaeldin Makkawi Mohammed

Associate Professor, Department of International Affairs, Qatar University. He held the position of Dean of the Faculty of Commerce and Economic and Social Studies at Al-Neelain University in Sudan. He received his PhD in 2002. His research interests lie in political development, democratization and cultural diversity. He wrote a book, titled, "*the Problem of South Sudan: Causes, Implications and Principles for a Solution*," 2011, and edited "*Civil Society in Sudan*," 2010.

The Juba Agreement for Peace in Sudan: Challenges and Prospects

This paper addresses a fundamental question: What are the most important challenges facing the Juba Agreement for Peace in Sudan? To do this, the author asks: What are the main reasons behind the wars and conflicts in Sudan? What are the most prominent aspects of the peace agreement between the transitional government and the armed movements and to what extent does the agreement respond to the demands of the armed movements? What is the impact of this on the country's democratic transition? The paper observes that despite the different contexts for the emergence of various armed movements, they share many demands, the most important of which are: balanced development, real participation in power, recognition of cultural diversity, respect for human rights, and citizenship as a basis for rights and duties in Sudan. The fall of the military regime provided an opportunity to stop the war and achieve peace. Despite facing political, economic, social and security challenges, the Juba Agreement has prospects for success.

The paper suggests the possibility that the parties to the peace process will be able to confront the challenges facing the peace process due to the parties' keenness to move forward with implementing the agreement and the broad popular and international support it has received. But the sustainability of peace requires the parties to the peace process to have sufficient awareness of the dangers of slipping into war again, and that the movements that signed the agreement take the critical economic and political conditions of the country into account.



Hamad Omer Hawi

Professor of Political Science, and former Dean of Graduate Studies, Bahri University in Sudan. He holds a PhD from the University of Juba in 2004, where he headed the Department of Political Science. He has published extensively, including English chapters "Consequences of the Secession of Southern Sudan on the Region," in *Post-Referendum Sudan National and Regional Questions* and "Identity Formation in Post-Secession Sudan" in *State Building and National Identity Reconstruction in the Horn of Africa*.

Challenges of the Democratic Transition in Sudan following the December 2018 Revolution

This paper discusses the process of democratic transition in Sudan in the wake of the December 2018 revolution. While the revolution aspires towards a comprehensive transformation, the Sudanese environment collides with a complex and contradictory reality. The paper identifies the most important challenges facing transition process and determines the minimum possible and practical conditions that the revolution needs to achieve to facilitate a gradual democratic transformation. The paper concludes that achieving democratic transformation according to revolutionary slogans and comprehensive concepts, and within the described period, is an unrealistic demand. The transition may be achieved in the distant future when there is greater energy from the revolutionary youth and awareness.

In sum, it is still too early to say whether the transition has failed or succeeded when some goals are still far from being achieved, dealing with certain issues seems to deepen fractures, and the overall experience is proceeding very slowly. However, some achievements have been made in a relatively short period and despite the complex political, social, economic, and security reality that the transitional government inherited. The results of some endeavours and initiatives are yet to be seen.



Hassan Elhadj Ali

Professor of Political Science at the University of Khartoum. Previously Director of the Higher Academy for Strategic and Security Studies in Khartoum. He received his doctorate in political science from the University of North Texas in the United States in 1992. Editor-in-chief of the Journal of Islam and Contemporary World Studies between 2007 and 2010, and the Journal of Middle Eastern and African Studies between 2005 and 2007. He received the Academic Excellence Award from the University of Khartoum in 2013, and Arab Prize for the Advancement of Research in Social Sciences and Humanities (formerly the Arab Prize for Humanities and Social Sciences) in 2013. He authored *Arab Transitions: An Institutional Approach to Interpretation and Privatizing Security: The Growing Role of Private Military and Security Companies* and co-authored *The Political Scene of Southern Sudan and the Risks of Secession in the Islamic World*.

Compound Hybridity: The Impact of the Ruling Coalition on the Transitional Path in Sudan

This paper studies the impact of the hybrid alliance of various forces governing the transitional period in Sudan. Since the alliance reflects different strategic military and security options, perhaps conflicting in some cases, several questions arise that this research seeks to address: To what degree are the components of the alliance compatible? How do the ruling elites manage the diversity of strategic options? Will the alliance lead to democracy or not? The paper assumes that the stability of the transitional period depends on the coalition's management of the various strategic choices and the duration of the transitional period. The longer this period is, the more likely it will become unstable.

The paper yields some important results: First, the hybrid alliance that governs the transitional period is contingent on the balance of strategic goals between the main parties, and on the balances of strategic goals within each party. There is interdependence between these two levels. Second, the length of the transitional period has exposed issues that reflect the differences between the parties to the coalition, pushing the country into a state of shifting alliances according to evolving political identities. Third, the risk/benefit equation of holding elections indicates that the duration of this period may extend for years ahead, leaving the transitional period wide open.



Hassan El-Saouri

Professor of Political Science at Al-Neelain University in Sudan. Previously Head of Department, Secretary of Academic Affairs, Dean of Faculty, then Vice President of the university, and Director of Dongola and Al-Neelain Universities between 1986 and 2008. He received a PhD in Political Science from the University of Delaware in 1985. He has published more than 15 books, including *Sudan's Democracy to Where* (1987), *The Future of Democratic Transition in Sudan* (2007), *Darfur: The Struggle for Power or Over Sudan* (2010), and *Sudan among Regional and International Powers* (2019). He published extensively in many Sudanese periodicals on political thought, international relations, war and peace-building, and Nile water issues.

The Sudanese Revolution and the Challenges of Democratic Transition

This paper explores the outcomes of the December 2018 Sudanese revolution, clarifying the challenges facing the political elites in the country's transition to democracy. Its importance lies in examining how these leaders faced the problems of the transition, and its assessment of the revolution's chances of success in establishing and consolidating a sustainable democratic system in Sudan. To what extent can the political elites overcome the problems of transition from a military to democratic system?

In answering this question, the paper concludes that the absence of a consensus among the political elites has led to three major problems: First, the failure to establish transitional governance institutions through which the mechanisms of democratic transition are defined. Second, the transitional constitution bypassed civil and military institutions, which had dire repercussions on attempts to establish the rule of law, and led to insecurity, opening a path for the military to tighten its control. Finally, the political isolation of some revolutionary forces, as the antithesis of democratic behavior based on the right of everyone to political participation. The transition will continue to falter as long as these problems are not corrected.



Kamal Djalab

Algerian Researcher and Professor of Constitutional Law and Institutions at the University of Djelfa in Algeria. He received a doctorate in public law from Blida 1 University in Algeria in 2012. His research focuses on constitutional law, rule of law, and the constitutional judiciary. He has several published books and research papers that explore topics such as the authority of the Algerian Constitutional Council in interpreting the constitution, the German Federal Constitutional Court, and the principle of separation of powers in the Algerian Constitutional Council. He directs the Environmental Law Laboratory and manages a research project on constitutional justice and the rule of law in Algeria. He is a member of the Academic Council of the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences at the University of Djelfa.

The Constitutional Path and Democratic Transition in Algeria

This paper examines the effectiveness of the constitutional path in launching the process of democratic transition according to the demands of the 2019 popular movement in Algeria. It monitors the milestones of the path adopted by the government as its only approach to responding to the movement's demands. The research argues that the constitutional path to achieving the desired reform stumbled due to the will of the government, which executed the constitutional procedures alone and did not do enough to overthrow the existing undemocratic constitutional system. The constitutional trajectory in Algeria lagged behind the demands of the movement, and government initiatives remained locked in a formal constitutional path that only sought to reproduce the former system with a shiny new coat, retaining the same core values that characterized the old regime. If the approach to the constitutional solution that the government adhered to after Bouteflika's resignation is the safest path for democratic transition, then the effectiveness of this constitutional path in supporting reform will remain linked to the will of the government to reach a consensus on the necessity of demolishing the existing constitutional system and then re-creating a constitutional system with new rules that embody the principles of modern constitutionalism and fulfill the demands of reform.



Karar El-Tohami

A former Sudanese diplomat and ambassador who headed the China Department of the Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His academic interests combine his specialization in medical services and pharmacy with interest in Sudanese affairs. He worked as Head of the Political Studies Division at the Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Sudan in 1985 and chaired the Committee of Experts on Migration and Development at ESCWA.

Problems of Transition in Sudan: The Shortcomings of the Revolution and The Contradictions of Democracy

This paper explores political transition through theoretical approaches to some historical transition models and the social and structural push factors that produced the challenges of that transition and its outcomes. It addresses the historical development of the Sudanese political model, the political mood and the exhausting choices of the Sudanese elites that overthrew the hopes of more than one attempt at democracy. Looking ahead, the paper suggests reshaping political actors, raising institutional and public awareness, and changing the structure of the parties in the current scene. It puts forward the idea of taming the army to be part of the democratic structure, neither ruling nor without authority, by building on the theory of concordance presented by Rebecca Schiff. This could be synthesised with the political reality through the establishment of a tandem authority based on the military, civil society and the ruling elites in a consensual constitutional space in order to build democracy rather than destroy it.



Khalid Menna

Research Professor at the Center for Research in Applied Economics for Development in Algeria. He holds a PhD in Economic Sciences from the University of Algiers III in 2015. He participated in and chaired several research projects in development, economic policy, banking and investment. He published several research papers in Arabic, French and English, including, *"Du plan au marché en Algérie : Les Blocages d'une économie rentière et les difficultés de l'investissement privé"* in partnership with Fatima Zahra Oufriha, published in 2017, and "A Decade of the Algerian Economy: Is It Really Lost?" with Samer Mehibel in 2016.

The Political Economy of the Democratic Transition in Algeria

For more than three decades, Algeria has witnessed several political crises ignited by mostly economic factors. This paper is concerned with the economic considerations of the political transition process given that one of the most important demands of the 2019 popular movement is to free the economy from the dominance of rentierism and to provide the opportunity for young people to exercise their political and economic rights. This paper has made it clear that the current economic system cannot lead to this emancipation if it does not address the issue of the rentier economy at its roots. Over the past twenty years, the policies adopted by the government have contributed to deepening the economic crisis by wasting the opportunity for economic progress, and, on the other hand, by consolidating practices derived from the literature on rentier economies. The current wager is on changing the rentier logic that has long characterized the Algerian economy and ridding it of all its lingering sediments, especially corruption and bribery, ushering in real openness, both in economic and political terms. This requires changing the current sources of economic growth based mainly on the large exploitation of oil resources, intensive import by a small group and the informal economy.



Marafy Al-Bahi

Postgraduate student at the Department of Political Science, University of Khartoum. She graduated from the Faculty of Social Economics of the same university. She has participated in several training programs, research projects and workshops since the beginning of the Sudanese transitional period at Al-Ayyam Center and the University of Khartoum Professors' Initiative. She is the Vice President of the Political Science Students Association at the University of Khartoum.

Rapprochement with the Military: External Impact on the Trajectory of Democratic Transition in Sudan

This paper analyses the impact of external intervention on the democratic transition in Sudan, focusing on the impact of external military links. It concludes that external intervention is multi-directional, varying with the diversity of the strategic interests of external actors, with each actor working on securitizing aspects of the democratic transition to serve their own interests. External influence is exercised through various methods such as economic or military support, mediation and so forth. The analysis demonstrates that external interference affects the dynamics and even the duration of the transitional period. The presence of a military-civilian alliance contributes to exacerbating these effects. The paper concludes that securitization theorists are right in their assumption that the phenomenon of security is relational, so that state issues cannot be addressed in isolation from its complex regional environment, where influences overlap and interdependence between regional units and the main actors persist.



Mashair Al-Ameen Al-Dawlab

Assistant professor at the Faculty of Economics and Social and Environmental Sciences, UMST, and head of the Women, Family and Society Studies Unit at the Sudanese Development Institute. She received a PhD in political science from the University of Khartoum in 2020. Her research focuses on women's issues, development studies and international relations. She is a member of the International Studies Society and on the editorial board of *Dirasat Mujtama'iyya*.

The Social Engineering of Women's Issues in the Transitional Period in Sudan

This paper focuses on the role of women in Sudan's December 2018 Revolution and presents the sections of the transitional period's documents of relevance to women's issues. It seeks to assess the effectiveness of top-down social engineering with respect to women's issues by analysing the measures and legislation adopted at the upper levels of the government hierarchy. Much of the relevant legislation was adopted unilaterally before the transitional legislature had been convened and without any real community dialogue. As a result, many on the ground have argued that it is an attack on the values and culture of Sudanese society. The paper's most important conclusion is that the top-down measures are fundamentally undemocratic because they were implemented before elections had been held. The social engineering policies pursued by the transitional government have tried to effect cultural change without paying any attention to representation or political participation, which are among the most important indicators of democratic transition.



Mohamed Naimi

Moroccan researcher and Sociology Professor at the Institute of Social Development in Rabat. He received a doctorate in political science from Mohammed V University in Morocco in 2019. He is also a Researcher at the Rabat Social Studies Institute, and a member of the work team at Marsad America Latina. His research interests center on the internal and external dynamics of social movements in Morocco and the role of social movements in the democratic transition in the Arab world and Latin America. He has published several research papers, including "The Limitations of Rational Choice Theory in the Sociology of Social Movements: The Cases of the February 20 Movement and the Rif Movement in Morocco," published in the *Omrans* Journal in 2020.

Social Movements in Sudan and Algeria and their Implications for Democratic Transition Demands

This paper takes a comparative perspective to study the role of social movements in the dynamics of the Sudanese and Algerian democratic movements. Theoretically, the studies of democratic transition in relation to the sociology of social movements will be put to the test of the Arab reality through the experiences of Sudan and Algeria. The paper's practical significance lies in the lessons that can be learned from the Arab world. The paper finds that the existence of the Sudanese Professionals Association - as an independent union - contributed to a large extent in the transition of the Sudanese movement from spontaneous to structured and in mobilizing other social movements, civil society organizations and opposition parties. This is something that noticeably absent in the Algerian experience, as the movement remains unstructured. The presence of a strong political opposition in Sudan and its involvement in and support for the movement has given the latter political legitimacy and enabled it to crystallize and negotiate the demands of a democratic transition with the military establishment and embark on a transitional phase. Missing this has prevented the formulation of agreed political demands and stunted Algerian democratic transition.



Mohamed Si Bachir

Professor at the National School of Political Science in Algeria He earned a Professorship of Higher Education from the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research in 2019. His research interests span democratic transition, public policy, crisis management and Maghreb integration. He has published extensive research in Arabic, including "Libya and the Future Stakes of the Western Mediterranean Security Complex;" "The Problem of Power and Security in the Western Mediterranean;" and "The Arab Maghreb Union."

The Security/Military and Political Dialectic in the Algerian Democratic Transition

This paper examines the problematic relationship between legitimacy and the security/military and political dialectic. It asks, to what extent can the security/military and political factors be entry points to push towards, or to curb, the process of democratic transition Algeria? In this context, the paper addresses issues such as obstacles to opening up the political class and civil society and the resistance to change. The paper concludes that the construction of the modern Algerian state constituted a pressure factor to adopt a political culture that was confined to a dialectic bearing only the hallmarks of legitimacy, which is the priority of one of two factors: the security/military or the political. This dialectic affected legitimacy, as confrontations that Algeria has witnessed since 1954 have always linked that legitimacy with the priority of the security/military over the political. It also emphasizes the need to consider the experiences of the October 1988 uprising and the 2019 movement to formulate a change model that establishes a democratic transition and eliminates this dialectic within a consensual framework, building a non-rentier economic model.



Mona Hedaya

Researcher at the ACRPS Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies. She received a master's degree in Conflict Management and Humanitarian Action, awarded with distinction, from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Her research interests focus on understanding conflict, conflict mediation and forced displacement issues with a special focus on the Arab world and she has presented several research papers in these areas. In 2020, she published her first book, *Refugee Women: Adaptation of Syrian Refugee Breadwinners in Istanbul (2011-2018)*.

Centrality of the Eastern Region in Sudan's Peace: Current Tensions and Conflict Prevention

Eastern Sudan is passing through a critical stage, in which local fault lines intersect with tensions in the Horn of Africa and regional and international ambitions. The paper traces these issues to understand and analyse the conflict in the region. The country's east represents the geographical entrance to the Sudanese peace-building process, and the establishment/reinforcement of peace in this region is linked to a reciprocal relationship with the security and stability of the Horn of Africa. Accordingly, the paper offers preliminary ideas that may contribute to healing the rifts in terms of preventive diplomacy.

The paper is based on a range of primary sources, literature, and personal interviews with Sudanese academics, diplomats, and other actors, in addition to the outputs of two workshops within the Track II Peace Dialogue project. It frames aspects of the analysis and ideas presented according to a set of theories and hypotheses that intersect with the conflict studies discipline, following a composite approach, as is customary for studying complex conflict environments.



Reda Boudjana

PhD student in statistics and applied economics and Researcher at the Research Center for Applied Economics for Development in Algeria. He has participated in many research projects on economics, innovative industries, unemployment and immigration issues. His most recent published research paper is "Good Governance as an approach to fight corruption and achieving economic growth: An Econometric Study of a Sample of Arab Countries by Using a Panel ARDL Approach," published in 2019 in partnership with Brahim Bergougui.

The Political Economy of the Democratic Transition in Algeria

For more than three decades, Algeria has witnessed several political crises ignited by mostly economic factors. This paper is concerned with the economic considerations of the political transition process given that one of the most important demands of the 2019 popular movement is to free the economy from the dominance of rentierism and to provide the opportunity for young people to exercise their political and economic rights.

This paper has made it clear that the current economic system cannot lead to this emancipation if it does not address the issue of the rentier economy at its roots. Over the past twenty years, the policies adopted by the government have contributed to deepening the economic crisis by wasting the opportunity for economic progress, and, on the other hand, by consolidating practices derived from the literature on rentier economies. The current wager is on changing the rentier logic that has long characterized the Algerian economy and ridding it of all its lingering sediments, especially corruption and bribery, ushering in real openness, both in economic and political terms. This requires changing the current sources of economic growth based mainly on the large exploitation of oil resources, intensive import by a small group and the informal economy.



Sultan Barakat

Sultan Barakat is the founding director of the Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies, a leading regional research centre established in 2016 (www.chs-doha.org). He is a Professor at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, Doha, Qatar and an Honorary Professor in the Department of Politics at the University of York where he founded the Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU) in 1993 and led it until 2016. He previously served as a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution's Center for Middle East Policy and as the Director of Research at the Brookings Doha Center.

Professor Barakat specialises in conflict management, post-conflict recovery and transition, and humanitarian response. He regularly engages in providing guidance to the United Nations, the World Bank, European Union, International Labour Organization, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and a variety of governmental and non-governmental institutions. Most recently, he has led Track I and Track II mediation efforts in Afghanistan, Yemen, and Syria. Between 2008 and 2014, he was a founding Expert Panel Member of the Global Peace Index. He is member of the Advisory Board of the Humanitarian Policy Group at the Overseas Development Institute in London, a member of the joint UK's Economic and Social Research Council, and Commissioning Panel for research on poverty reduction. He is a regular expert commentator in international media.

Centrality of the Eastern Region in Sudan's Peace: Current Tensions and Conflict Prevention

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Yasser Derwiche Djazaerly

Professor in the Department of Humanities at Fitchburg State University in the United States. He received his PhD in German Studies and Interdisciplinary Humanities from Stanford University in 2004. His interests range from German and French literature to Middle Eastern affairs. He has published his research extensively, including most recently, "Syrian Refugees in Germany and the Renewal of the Debate over Immigration Policies" in the Hikama journal in 2021.

Geopolitical Transformations and the 2019 Uprising in Algeria

This paper analyses the impact of geopolitical changes on the 2019 movement in Algeria, demonstrating that reform and external factors have helped the Algerian government to overcome this movement. The key to the success of this policy is the flexibility of the ruling regime internally and externally. Such flexibility enables the regime to claim that it has responded to the demands of the movement while at the same time providing its international allies with justification to stand by it because it has reformed. The paper adds that the failure of the Libyan revolution has led to a historical change in the political geography in North Africa and the Sahel, hugely affecting Algeria. This change represents both an opportunity and a double-edged challenge to the Algerian regime. The first challenge is the growing role of armed groups on Algeria's southern borders, requiring military confrontation, and the second is the imbalance of power in North Africa after the fall of Gaddafi. There are also two points of opportunity. First, the world powers are in greater need of a strong army in Algeria to face the challenges that they failed to tackle in Mali, which ensures international support and cooperation with the Algerian army. Second, the regime can use the challenges it faces to its advantage by urging popular loyalty in these "turbulent" times.

Moderators

Abdel-Fattah Mady

Professor of political science at Alexandria University, chair of the Democratic Transition project, and editor-in-chief of the *Hakama* Journal at the ACRPS. Previously a Visiting Researcher at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, DC, Visiting Professor at the University of Denver, Expert at the United Nations Development Program, and Director of a research program at the Cordoba Institute for Peace in Geneva. He obtained his PhD in political science from Claremont University for Graduate Studies in the United States in 2005. His research interests focus on political systems, democratization, the Arab-Zionist conflict, and research methods. Among his most recent works is *Pitfalls in Tahrir Square: Why the Egyptian Revolution Stumbled* (2020).

Abdelwahab El Affendi

Provost, Acting President, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (DI). Dean of School of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Institute from 2017-2020. He received a PhD in Political Science from the University of Reading in 1989 and founded the Democracy and Islam Program at the University of Westminster (1998-2015). He has also worked as a London-based Sudanese diplomat, and journalist and journal editor in the UK. El-Affendi was visiting fellow/professor at the Christian Michelsen Institute (Bergen, Norway, 1995 and 2003), and the Universities of Northwestern in Chicago, Oxford, Cambridge, and the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization in Malaysia.

Abdou Moussa

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, his research interests focus on human rights, democratic transformation and public policy reform in Egypt and the Arab region. He has consulted on sustainable development and policy to projects affiliated with the United Nations Development Program and the Canadian International Development Agency. He has participated in various conferences, and published peer-reviewed research, including “Sinai between Globalized Jihad and Localized Oppression.” He has also translated academic texts, including “Development, Capitalism and Democracy,” by Adam Przeworski.

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Haider Saeed

Head of the Research Department at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies the editor-in-chief of *Siyasat Arabiya* Journal. His most recent publication is a contribution to the second volume of the book *The Islamic State organization: "Daesh"*, and editing *Arab Shi'is: Citizenship and Identity*, both published by the Arab Center. He also contributed to the UNDP "Iraq Human Development Report" 2009 and 2014.

Hamid Ali

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Mehdi Mabrouk

Professor of Sociology at the University of Tunis, and director of the branch of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies in Tunis. He is a researcher specializing in youth and migration, and a human rights activist. He served as a visiting professor at Cambridge and the University of Human Sciences in Bari. He is a member of the Euro-Mediterranean Observatories for Migration Victims. He has published in Arabic and French several articles and books on the elite, immigration, youth and citizenship.

Mohammad Hemchi

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Saleh Ziani

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Sidahmed Goudjili

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