

## [The Black Book Haunts Al Bashir's New Cabinet](#)

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Abdullahi Osman El-Tom

Following his kangaroo elections last month, May 20, 2010, Al-Bashir appointed his Ministers and State Ministers. He is yet to work out his suite of advisors. Given the turbulent years that Sudan has gone through in its recent past, it may be worthwhile to see if Al-Bashir's post-election cabinet reflects these challenges. The years 2001 and 2002 witnessed the publication of the seminal work, 'The Black Book: Imbalance of Power and Wealth in Sudan'. The publication ushered in its 5:95% thesis, namely that since its independence, Sudan has been ruled by 5% of its Northern Region population and that within the Northern Region, power has been controlled by a mere three elite ethnic groups. The Black Book traced top government and semi-government officials, sourcing them to the regions of their prime ethnic groups to prove its point.

In the following analysis, let us see whether Al-Bashir has learnt anything from the Black Book. I will restrict my exercise to full Ministers as my information about State Ministers is not complete. Even here, we have to assume parity between Ministers for Chickens, Rabbits and Goats and Ministers for Defence, Oil and Finance. In the absence of a reliable census, I will proceed as though regional distribution of Sudan's population has remained the same since publication of the Black Book.

### 1. The Black Book: Regional Distribution of National Ministers 1989-2000

Regions	Eastern	Kordofan	North	Darfur	Central	South	Capital
Population	11%	12%	5%	20%	20%	16%	15%
No Ministers	2	11	89	19	18	22	10
% Ministers	1%	6%	52%	11%	11%	13%	6%

Black Book, Tables 17 and 88.

According to the above Table, the Northern Region with its 5% of Sudan's population, occupied 52% of national Ministerial positions for the years 1989 to 2000. Let us now examine Al-Bashir's new cabinet with the same rigour. I regret my computation ignores two cabinet members whose Regions are not known to me.

### 2. National Ministers, Appointed May 20, 2010

Regions	Eastern	Kordofan	North	Darfur	Central	South	Capital
Population	11%	12%	5%	20%	20%	16%	15%
No Ministers	1	6	10	5	2	9	0
% Ministers	2.8%	17.1%	28.5%	14.3%	11%	25.7%	0%

The Black Book also claims that the 15 or so ethnic groups of the Northern Region do not share control over the Sudan equally. Rather, only three ethnic groups, the Jaalyeen (Al Bashir's), the Shaigiya (Taha's) and the Danagla exercise absolute hegemony over the Sudan. Well, Al-Bashir's new cabinet bears a remarkable

resemblance to its ugly predecessors. In my computation, a whopping nine out of the 10 Northern-based Ministers come from the three elite ethnic groups, with the Ministerial posts divided equally among them. To further augment the hegemony of the three elite ethnic groups over the Northern Region and of course over the whole of Sudan, the same hegemonic ethnic groups retain the positions of the President and 2nd Vice President of the nation. These two positions are not computed in Table 2 above and the reader is urged to factor that into the overall distribution of power in Sudan.

I must end by giving Al-Bashir some small praise, if for no other reason than to encourage him further in the right direction. He is to be commended for reducing control of the 5% (Northern Region) over national ministerial positions from 52% to 28.5%. To achieve that in over two decades of ruling the Sudan is mean spirited and too little too late, but nonetheless commendable.

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Appendix:

3. Sudan Government New Cabinet, May, 20,2010  
Region and Ethnic Distribution  
President, Vice Presidents and Ministers

No Name Ministry/  
Portfolio Region  
Of Origin

- 1 Al Bashir President North
- 2 S. Kiir 1st VP South
- 3 Osman Taha 2nd VP North
- 4 Bakri Hasan Saleh Presidential  
Affairs North
- 5 Luka Biong Minister for Council  
of Ministers South
- 6 Abdel Rahim Mhd. Husein Defence North
- 7 Ibrhaim Mahmoud Hamid Interior East
- 8 Ali Ahmed Karti Foreign Affairs North
- 9 Mhd Bishara Dosa Justice Darfur
- 10 Ali Mahmoud A/Rasoul Finance + Economy Darfur?
- 11 Kamal A/Latif A/Rahim Development North
- 12 A/Rhaim Almutaafi Agriculture Central
- 13 Awad El jaz Industry North
- 14 Azhari Tigani Awadaseed Guidance Kordofan
- 15 Kamal Mhd Ibaid Media + Info North
- 16 Jalal Yousif Digair Int. Cooperation Kordofan, DUP
- 17 Lual Ashoul Deng Oil South
- 18 Peter Adouk Niaba Higher Education South
- 19 Farah Mustafa A/Ila Education Darfur
- 20 Kamal Ali Mhd Irrigation North
- 21 Usama A/alla Mhd El Hasan Electricity + Dams North (Shaaigi)
- 22 Iesa Bushra Mhd Science + Tech. Kordofan
- 23 Samoal Khalfala Qureish Culture ?
- 24 A/Alla Tia Jumaa Health Kordofan

- 25 Ameera El Fadil M.hd Fadil Social Affairs Central(Umma)
- 26 Haj Majid Suwar Youth + Sport Kordofan
- 27 Shoul Ram Bang Transport South
- 28 George, B. Niomi Investment South
- 29 Elias Niama Lail Foreign Trade South
- 30 A/Baqui Jailani Mining North
- 31 Ahmed Babibkir. Nahar Tourism + Wild life Darfur
- 32 Joseph Malwal Deng Forestry + Urban Dev South
- 33 A/Wahab Mhd Osman Roads + Bridges North
- 34 Haleema Hasaballa Parliament Affairs Darfur
- 35 Dak Dobe Bishop Work + Employment South
- 36 Faisal Hasan Ibrahim Animal + Fisheries Kordofan
- 37 Joseh Lual Ashoul Humanitarian Affairs South
- 38 Yahia A/Alla Mhd Hamad Communication ?

#### 4. National State Ministers

No Name Ministry Region

- 1 Idris Mhd A/Gadir Presidency of R. North
- 2 Wail Mamir Kual Presidency of R. South
- 3 Amin Hasan Omer Presidency of R. East
- 4 Mhd Mukhtar Hasan  
Husain Council of  
Ministers ?
- 5 Ahmed Karamano  
Ahmed Council of  
Ministers Central  
Blue Nile
- 6 Kog Gat Louk Interior South
- 7 Grais Datero Foreign Affairs South
- 8 Kamal Hasan Ali Foreign Affairs
- 9 Paul Lol Wand Justice South
- 10 Mirial Awore Finance + Econ South
- 11 El Fateh Ali Sididiq Finance + Econ ?
- 12 Sammani El Waseela Development Central  
White Nile
- 13 Abas Jumaa Ibaidalla Agriculture
- 14 Mhd Ali Elhaj Aloba Agriculture
- 15 Pual Marial Dote Industry South
- 16 Khalil A/Alla Guidance North
- 17 Sanaa Mhd Awad Media and Info
- 18 Abosh jouk Ako Int. Cooperation South
- 19 Yahia Husein Babikr Int. Cooperation
- 20 Ali Ahmed Osman Oil
- 21 Khamees Kajo Kanda Higher Education Kordofan
- 22 Suaad A/Razig Education
- 23 Salah Yousif Irrigation
- 24 Sadiq Mhd Ali Sheilkh Electricity + Dams Central
- 25 Sami Yasin A/Dayem Science and tech

- 26 Ali Majouk Mumin Culture Darfur
- 27 Hasabalrasoul Babikir Health
- 28 Adil Awad Salman Social Affairs North
- 29 Abulgasim Imam Elhaj Youth +Sport Darfur
- 30 Faisal Hammad A/Alla Transport
- 31 Sadiq Mhd Ali Hasabalrarsoul Investment
- 32 Fadul A/Alla Fadul Int.Trade
- 33 A/Wahid yusif Ibrahim Mining kordofan
- 34 Mhd Abuzaid Mustafa Tourism +Wild Life
- 35 Mabrouk Mubarak Saleem Forestry East
- 36 Fadwa Shaway Deng Forestry South
- 37 Hamid Mahmoud El Wakeel Roads and Bridges
- 38 Amna Saleh Dirar Work + Employment East
- 39 Ismael Khamees Jallab Animal +Fisheries
- 40 Angilo Atak Animal +Fisheries South
- 41 Mutrif Siddiq Ali Humanitarian Affairs North
- 42 Tereasa Sirsio Ayor Communication South