

# Sample options for transitional governance arrangements

DRAFT FOR CONSULTATION

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**CONFLICT  
DYNAMICS<sup>®</sup>**  
INTERNATIONAL

# Overview

- Purpose of this document
  - To share sample options for transitional governance arrangements to feed into ongoing and future consultations and processes
- Options built from Sudanese perspectives gained through ongoing consultations
  - Including from review/analysis of 2019 Constitutional Charter for Transitional Period (and 2025 amendments), Sudan Founding Alliance - Transitional Constitution of Republic of Sudan (2025) and Roadmap for Political Process
- This document organizes the perspectives into potential options based on experience of governance in Sudan and recent dynamics

# Baseline – key provisions of 2019 Constitutional Declaration

Political accommodation strand	Key provision(s)
<b>Political structure</b>	Three tier federal system of government (federal, regional/state and local)
<b>Executive</b>	Two level executive: (1) 11 member Transitional Sovereignty Council (TSC); and (2) cabinet with Prime Minister (PM) and 20 ministers
<b>Legislature</b>	300 member transitional legislative council (TLC); 40% of positions reserved for women.
<b>System of election and selection</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• TSC selected from amongst member of transitional military council and civilians (mainly Forces of Freedom and Change).</li><li>• PM appointed by TSC; PM appoints cabinet</li><li>• 67% of TLC selected by Forces of Freedom and Change; 33% selected by parties not signatories to Freedom and Change Declaration</li></ul>
<b>Public participation</b>	No explicit provision; inferences throughout the declaration
<b>Customary arrangements</b>	No explicit provisions; inferences throughout the declaration

# Governance arrangements proposed or being implemented – March 2026

- Internationally recognized government (Government of Hope) and Government of Peace and Unity established in May 2025 and April 2025 respectively.

<b>Government of Hope</b>	<b>Government of Peace and Unity</b>
Headed by 11 member Transitional Sovereignty Council	Headed by 15 member presidential council
Prime minister heads a 22 member cabinet of ministers	Prime minister heads a 16 member council of ministers
10 regional governors appointed by Head of Sovereignty Council and Juba Peace Agreement signatories	8 regional governors appointed by Sudan Founding alliance (they are members of presidential council)

# Sample options for consultation

Options for transitional governance arrangements



# Considerations for developing options

Transitional governance arrangements can be developed based on consideration of:

1. **What exists and can work:** How can TGA leverage what is already agreed, but take into account current dynamics? E.g. PM role previously agreed but in recent past has been subordinate role.
2. **Formal path for broad civilian participation:** What governance arrangements could facilitate broader civilian participation, beyond the executive branch? E.g. The Transitional Legislative Council
3. **Match purpose and complexity:** Since these are transitional arrangements for a fixed period, how can they be designed to get working quickly and to be easy to implement? E.g. very difficult to have district-based governance structures with elections in a short transition period.
4. **Safeguarding civilian character:** What arrangements can be used to lower the risk of 'military capture' of the arrangements, especially the executive?
5. **Independence across arrangements:** How can arrangements be designed to not have one branch (e.g. Transitional Legislative Council) dominated by another (e.g. Executive)?

# Five options

**OPTION 1 – CIVILIANS AND POLITICAL ALLIANCES FORM TLC > TLC APPOINTS PM > PM FORMS CABINET**

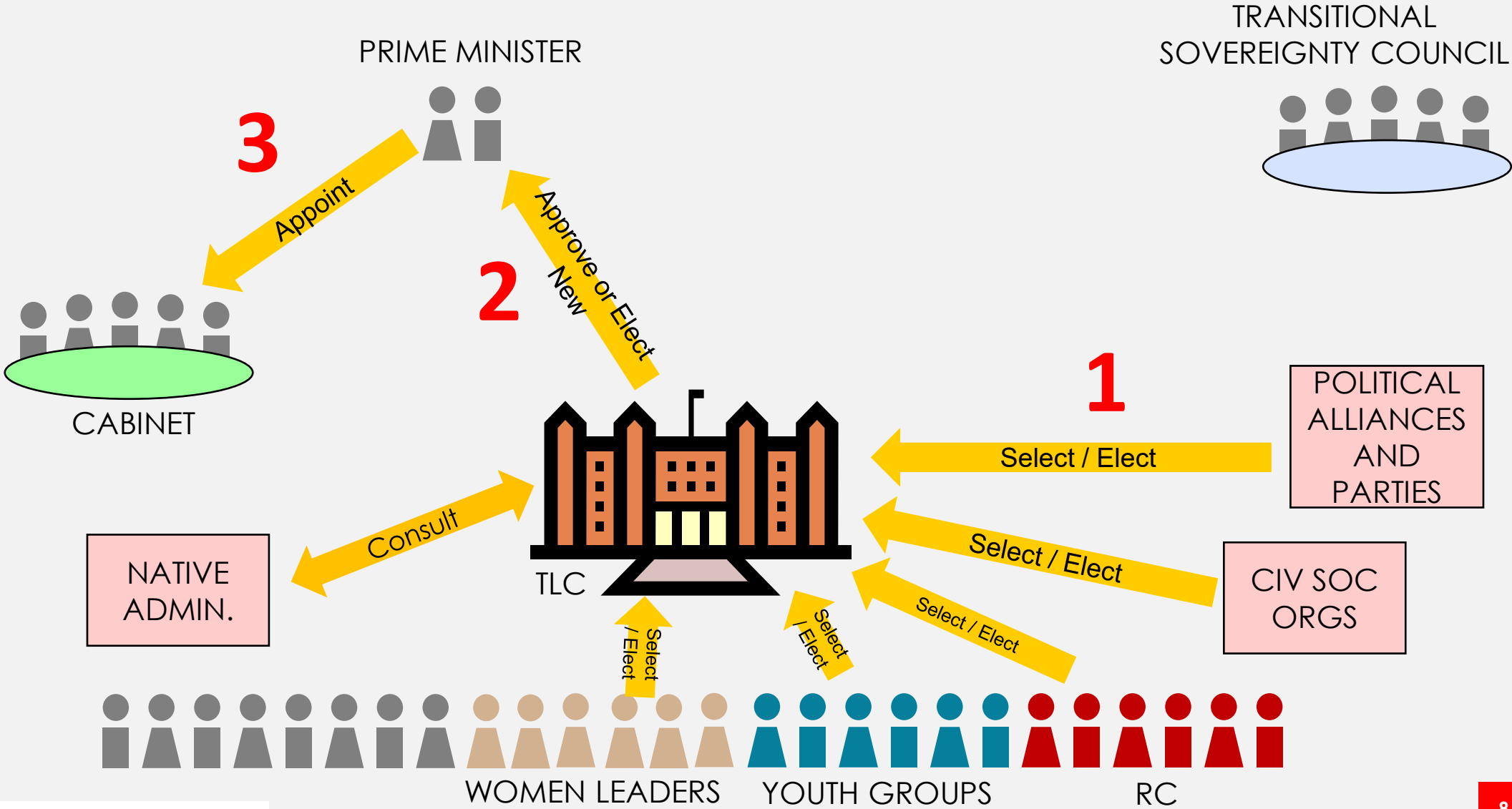
**OPTION 2 – CIVILIANS AND POLITICAL ALLIANCES APPOINT PM > PM APPOINTS CABINET > TLC CONSTITUTED LATER**

**OPTION 3– CIVILIAN AND POLITICAL ALLIANCES FORM EXECUTIVE COUNCIL > EXECUTIVE COUNCIL APPOINTS PM > TLC FORMED LATER**

**OPTION 4 – EXECUTIVE COUNCIL APPOINTS REGIONAL GOVERNORS > GOVERNORS APPOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES > REGIONAL ASSEMBLIES FORMED LATER**

**OPTION 5 – CIVILIANS AND POLITICAL ALLIANCES FROM REGIONAL ASSEMBLIES > ASSEMBLIES ELECT GOVERNORS > GOVERNORS APPOINT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES**

# Option 1 – One Stage



# Option 1 – Features

STRAND	TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS
<b>Political Structure</b>	→ State/region-based federal system
<b>Systems of Election and Selection</b>	→ Civilians (women, youth, resistance committees, etc.) and political alliances, organized civil and political movements (eg Sumoud) select representatives to the transitional legislative council → Transitional sovereignty/presidential council plays an oversight/quality assurance role
<b>Executive</b>	→ Transitional legislative council appoints interim prime minister → Prime minister selects/appoints a cabinet; legislative council confirms the newly appointed interim cabinet
<b>Legislature</b>	→ Bicameral/two chamber legislative body established → Diverse civilians and political formations nominate representatives who will make up the transitional legislative council → Quotas for women, youth and other marginalized groups within each constituency → States/regions nominate their representatives to the TLC
<b>Public Participation</b>	→ During remaining transition, TLC engages people in consultations through Committee-led sessions held regularly in states
<b>Traditional and Customary Arrangements</b>	→ TLC consults native administration when making laws; native administration also engages through public participation mechanisms (above)

# Option 1 – Pros and cons

## TECHNICAL ADVANTAGES

Diverse constituents selecting their representatives to legislative council ensure inclusion and participation. It will also ensure accountability since the representative is answerable to constituents who nominate/elect him or her

Nomination/appointment of PM by legislative council will improve accountability since PM is answerable to parliament, which is in turn answerable to constituencies that nominated the members

Formation of TLC (and thereafter constituting committees) provides more opportunities for participation and inclusion by constituencies that may not have had opportunities to participate in transitional arrangements thus far

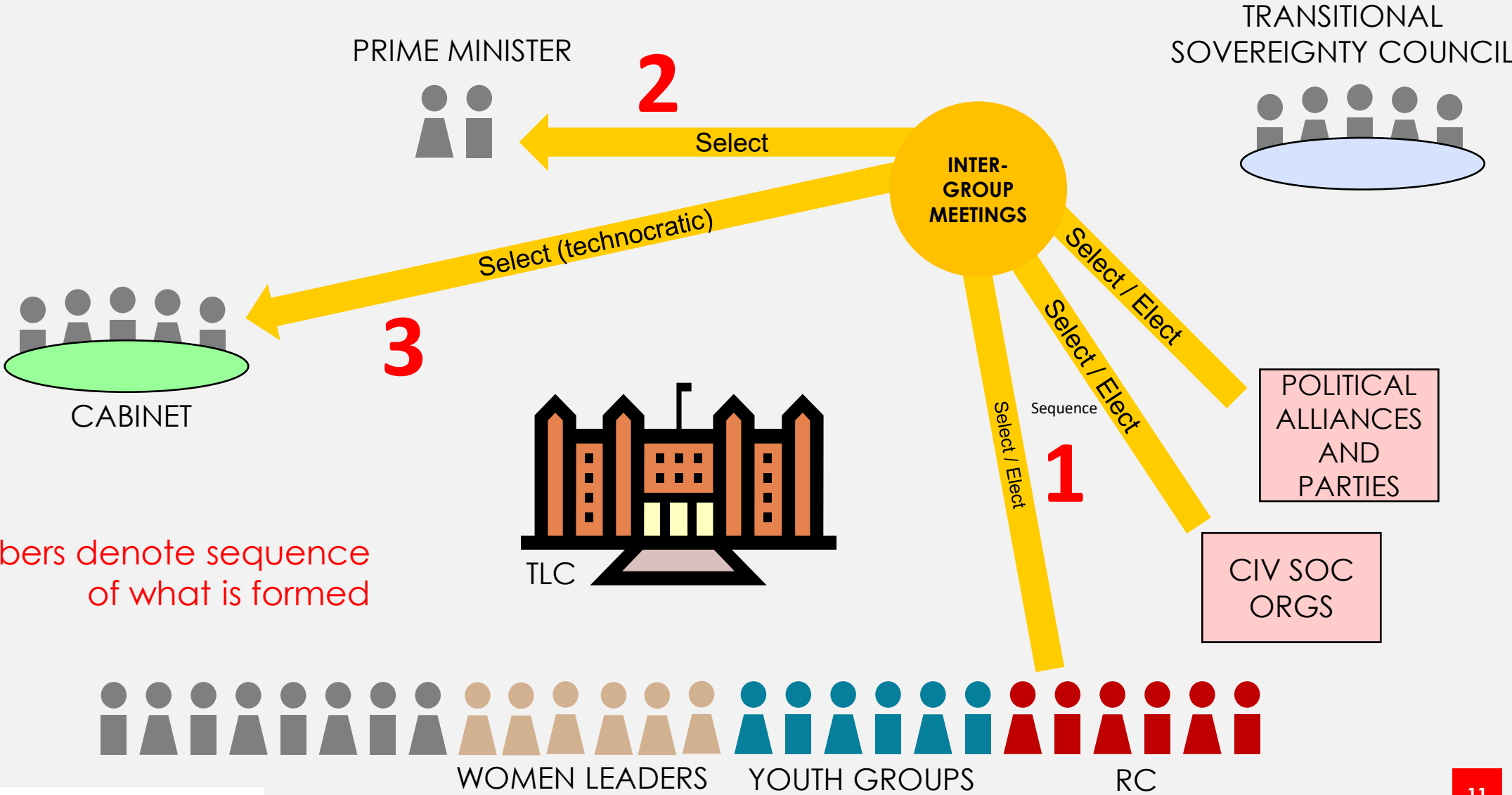
## TECHNICAL DISADVANTAGES

In the current context, sovereignty council and the military may be unwilling to fully cede powers to constitute legislative council to civilians and political actors

Considering the fragmentation within the civilian constituencies, arriving at consensus on representatives will likely prolong process of establishing/constituting TLC

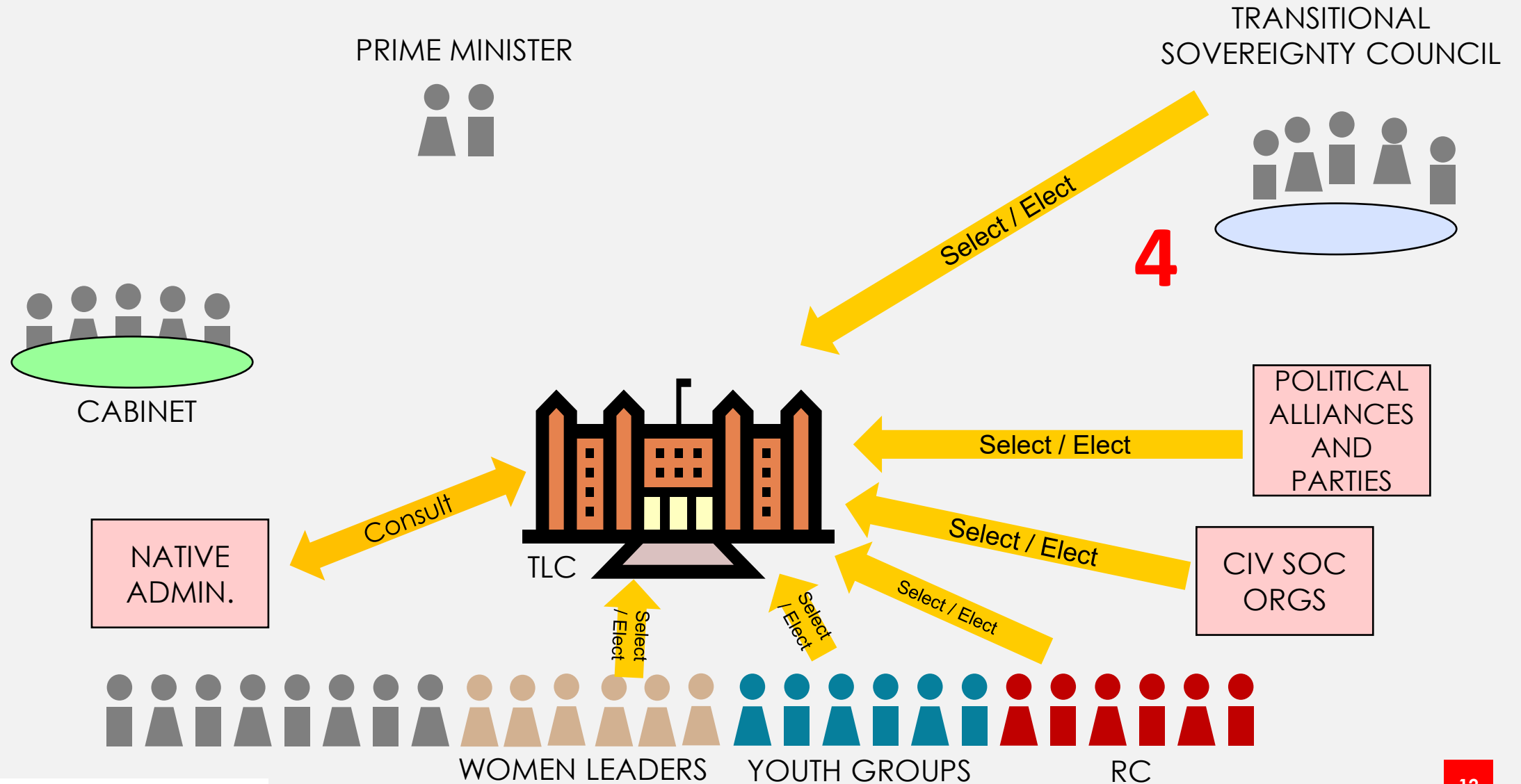
In the absence of very clear guidelines on process of public participation, there is high likelihood that participation will be symbolic, and views of public may not ultimately inform decisions taken

# Option 2 – Two Stages: Stage 1



Note: Numbers denote sequence of what is formed

# Option 2 – Two Stages: Stage 2



# Option 2 – Features

STRAND	TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS
Political Structure	→ State/region-based federal system
Systems of Election and Selection	→ Civilians (women, youth, resistance committees, etc.) and political alliances, organized civil and political movements (eg Sumoud) consult and select interim prime minister → Transitional sovereignty/presidential council plays an oversight/quality assurance role
Executive	→ Interim Prime minister appointed directly by civilians and political actors → Interim Prime minister selects/appoints interim cabinet
Legislature	→ Bicameral/two chamber legislative body established in second stage of this option → Diverse civilians and political formations nominate representatives who will make up the transitional legislative council → Quotas for women, youth and other marginalized groups within each constituency → States/regions nominate their representatives to the TLC → TLC confirms interim PM or appoints new one
Public Participation	→ During remaining transition, TLC engages people in consultations through Committee-led sessions held regularly in states
Traditional and Customary Arrangements	→ TLC consults native administration when making laws; native administration also engages through public participation mechanisms (above)

# Option 2 – Pros and cons

## TECHNICAL ADVANTAGES

Appointment of PM by civilian constituencies and political actors confers on him/her near popular mandate

Diverse constituents selecting their representatives to legislative council ensure inclusion and participation. It will also ensure accountability since the representative is answerable to constituents who nominate/elect him or her

Formation of TLC (and thereafter constituting committees) provides more opportunities for participation and inclusion by constituencies that may not have had opportunities to participate in transitional arrangements thus far

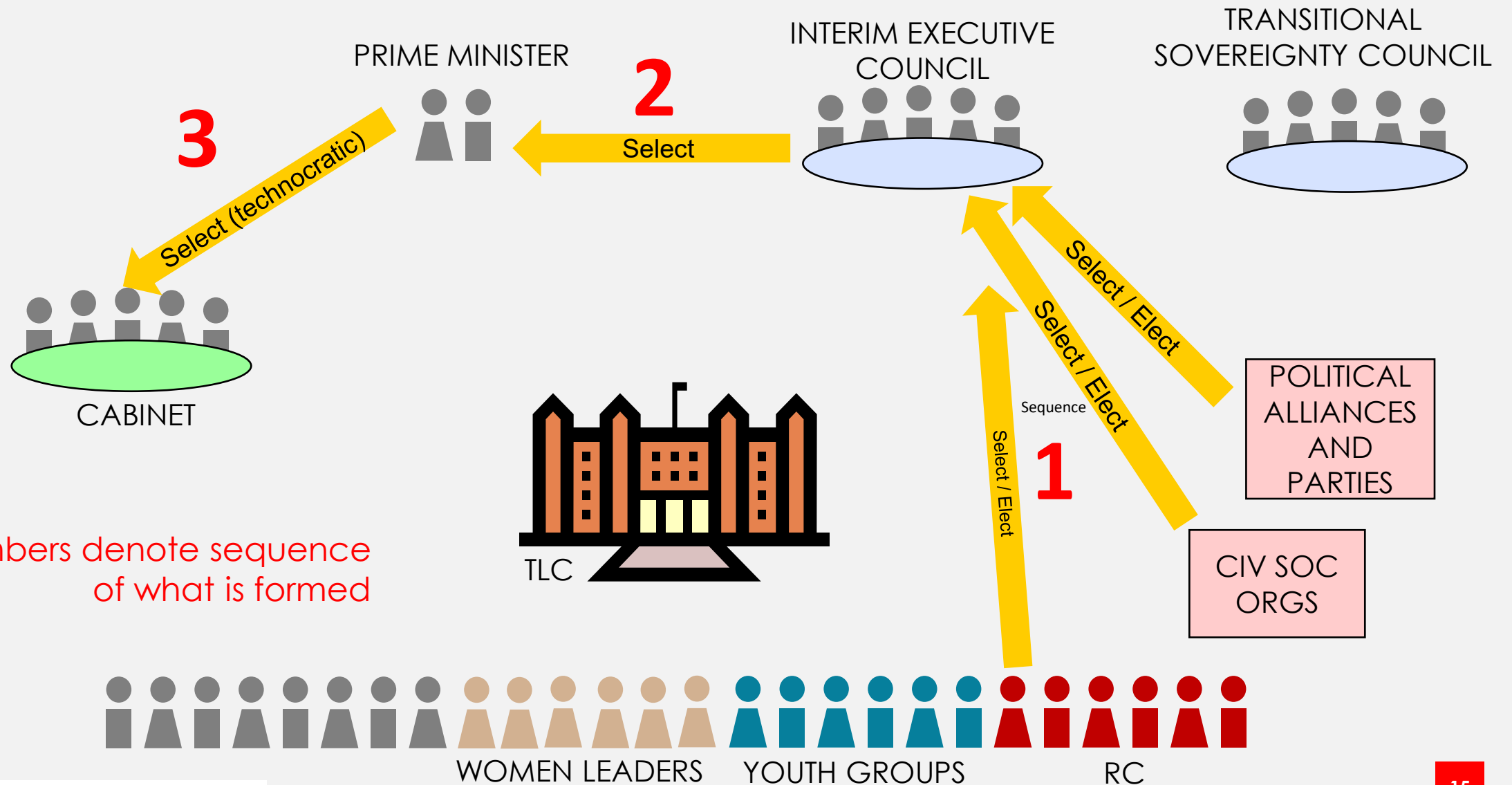
## TECHNICAL DISADVANTAGES

In the current context, sovereignty council and the military may be unwilling to fully cede powers to appoint PM to civilians and political actors

Considering the fragmentation within the civilian constituencies, arriving at consensus on representatives will likely prolong process of establishing/constituting TLC

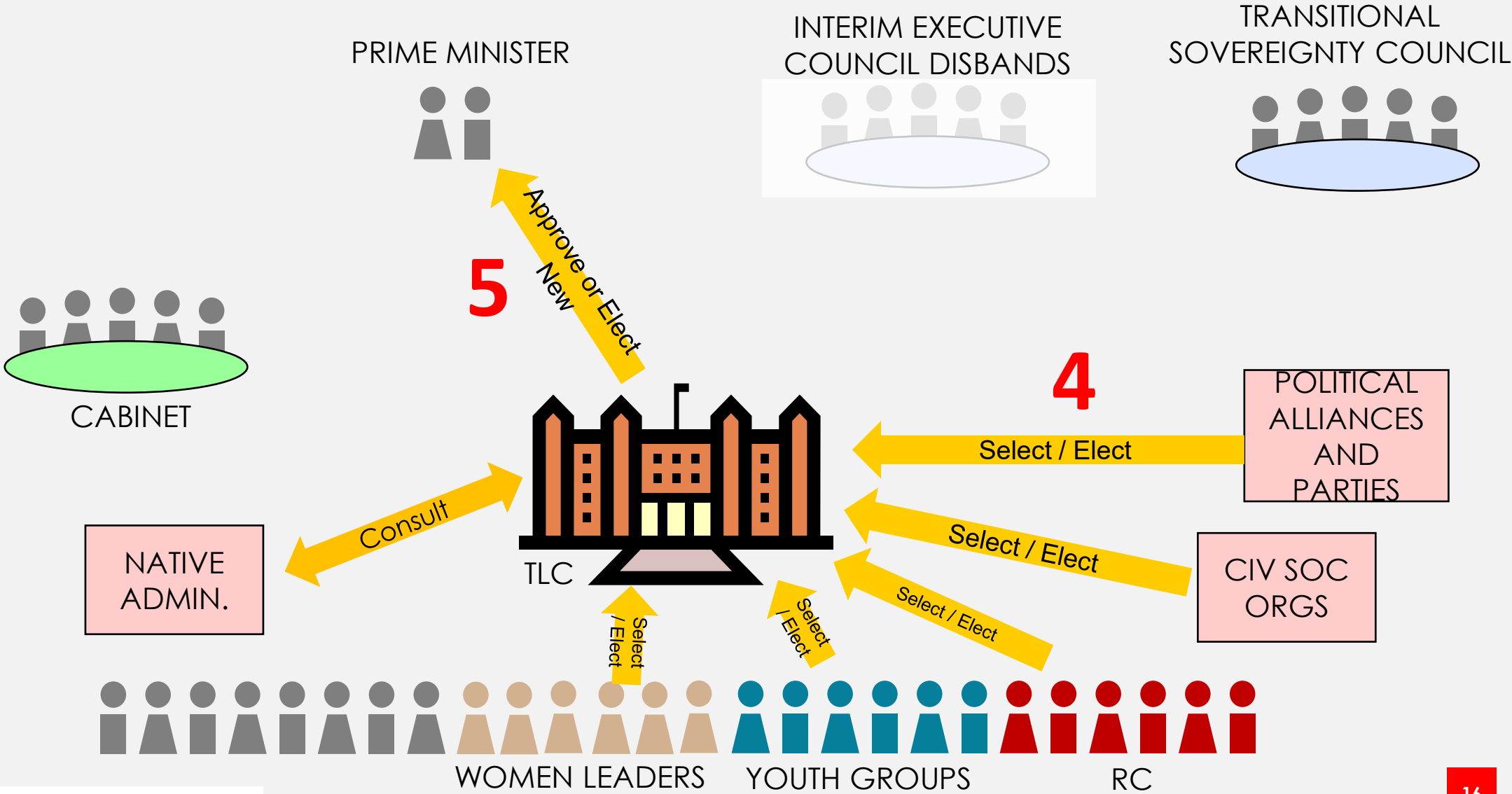
In the absence of very clear guidelines on process of public participation, there is high likelihood that participation will be symbolic, and views of public may not ultimately inform decisions taken

# Option 3 – Two Stages: Stage 1



Note: Numbers denote sequence of what is formed

# Option 3 – Two Stages: Stage 2



# Option 3 – Features

STRAND	TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS
<b>Political Structure</b>	→ State/region-based federal system
<b>Systems of Election and Selection</b>	→ In the first instance, civilians (women, youth, resistance committees, etc.) and political actors, organized civil and political movements (eg Sumoud) consult and select an interim executive committee. The committee's duration is limited → Executive committee selects and appoints interim prime minister → Transitional sovereignty/presidential council plays an oversight/quality assurance role
<b>Executive</b>	→ Interim Prime minister appointed time limited executive committee → Interim Prime minister selects/appoints interim cabinet
<b>Legislature</b>	→ Bicameral/two chamber legislative body established in second stage of this option → Diverse civilians and political formations nominate representatives who will make up the transitional legislative council → Quotas for women, youth and other marginalized groups within each constituency → States/regions nominate their representatives to the TLC → TLC confirms interim PM or appoints new one → Executive committee disbands
<b>Public Participation</b>	→ During remaining transition, TLC engages people in consultations through Committee-led sessions held regularly in states
<b>Traditional and Customary Arrangements</b>	→ TLC consults native administration when making laws; native administration also engages through public participation mechanisms (above)

# Option 3 – Pros and cons

## TECHNICAL ADVANTAGES

Appointment of PM by Executive Committee is likely to be more efficient; minimises squabbles that may arise if PM is appointed by legislative council or by civilian constituencies and political actors

Diverse constituents selecting their representatives to legislative council ensure inclusion and participation. It will also ensure accountability since the representative is answerable to constituents who nominate/elect him or her

Formation of TLC (and thereafter constituting committees) provides more opportunities for participation and inclusion by constituencies that may not have had opportunities to participate in transitional arrangements thus far

## TECHNICAL DISADVANTAGES

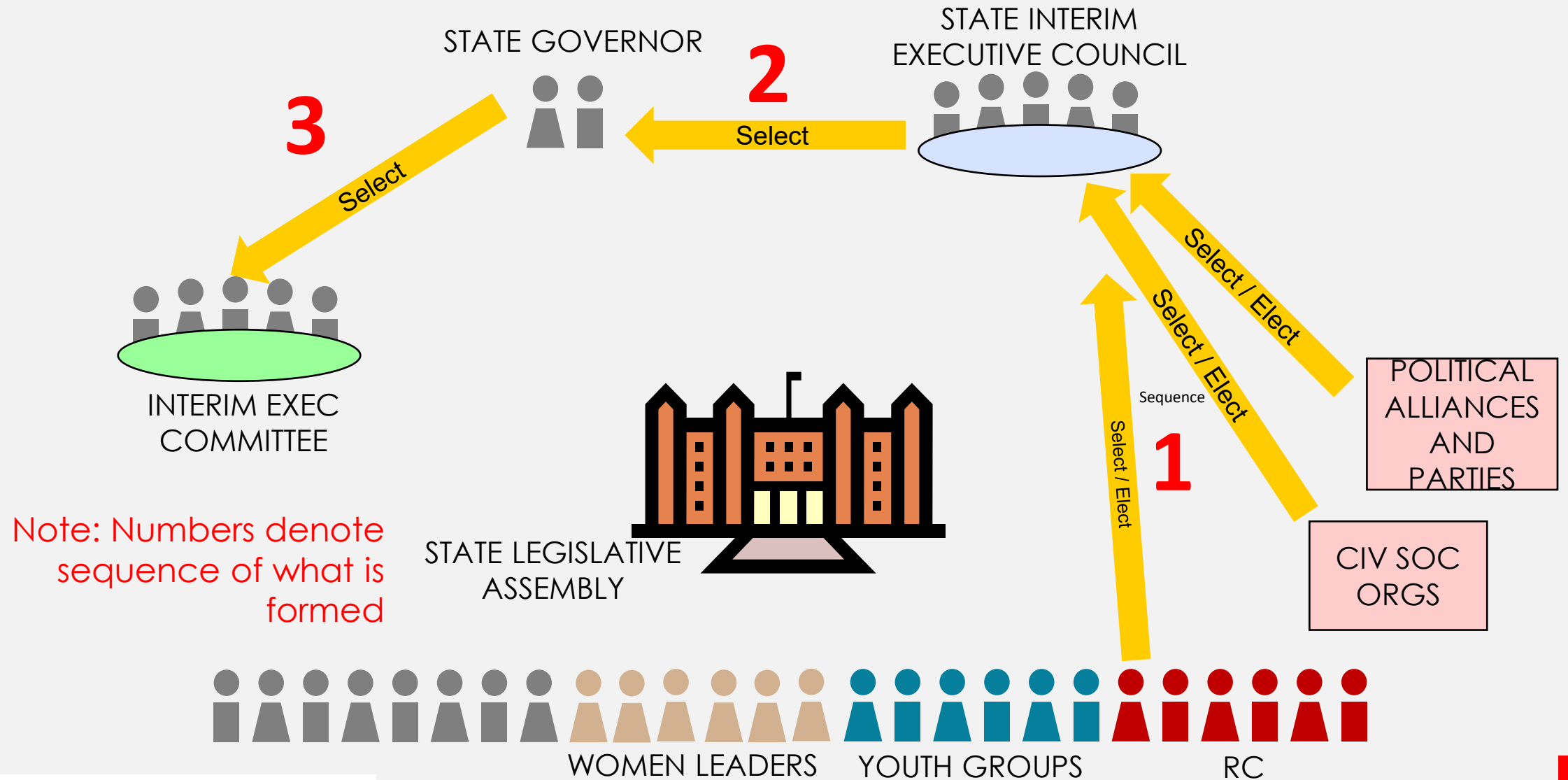
In the current context, sovereignty council and the military may be unwilling to fully cede powers to appoint PM to executive committee civilians and political actors

Interim PM appointed by Executive Committee may be less inclined to be answerable to legislative council or the people

Considering the fragmentation within the civilian constituencies, arriving at consensus on representatives will likely prolong process of establishing/constituting TLC

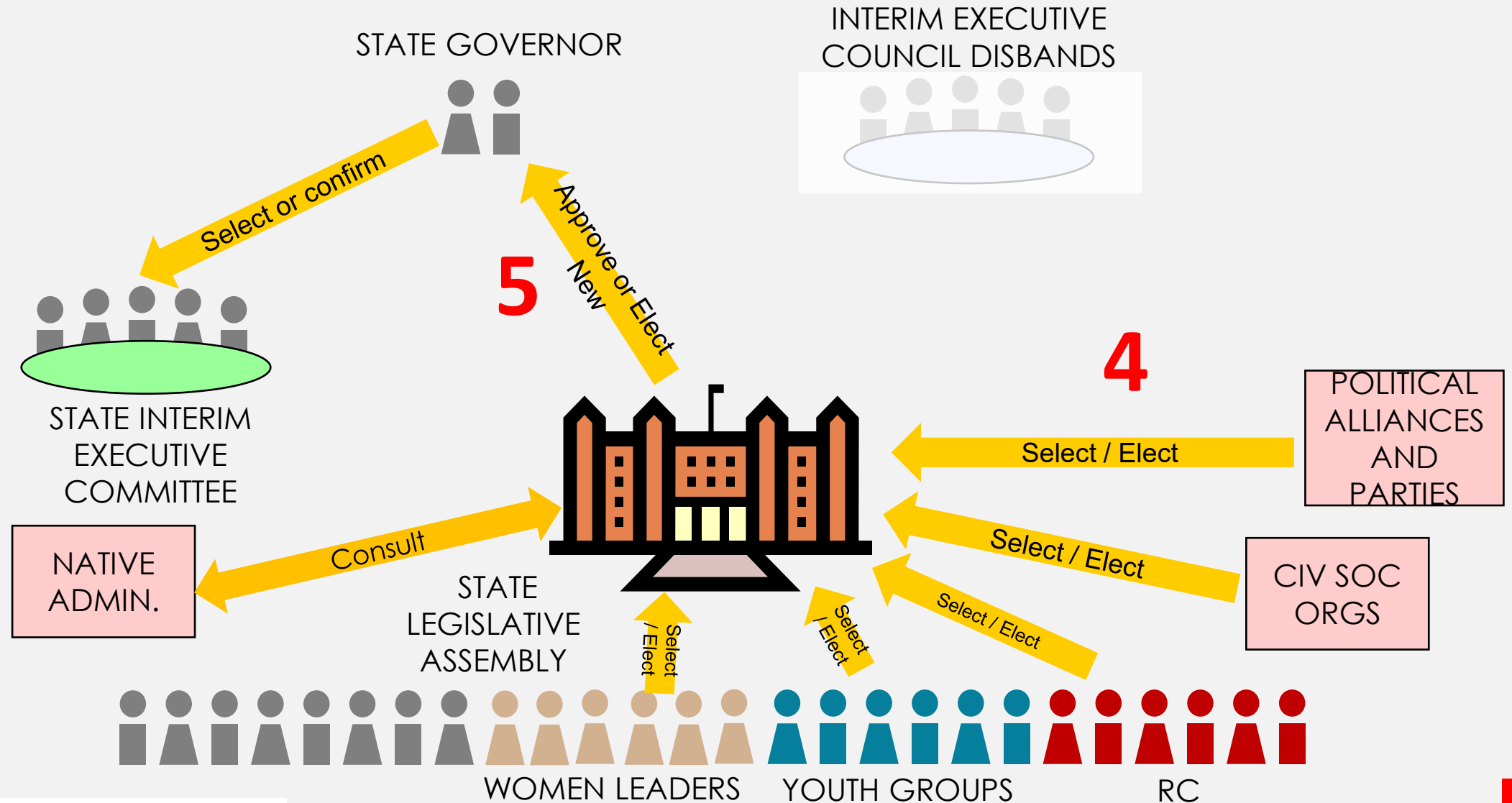
In the absence of very clear guidelines on process of public participation, there is high likelihood that participation will be symbolic, and views of public may not ultimately inform decisions taken

# Option 4 – Two Stages: Stage 1



Note: Numbers denote sequence of what is formed

# Option 4 – Two Stages: Stage 2



# Option 4 – Features

## STRAND

## TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

This option presents proposals for governance structures at the sub-national level (state/regional). This option is similar to option three, though modified to accommodate sub-national level context

### Political Structure

→ State/region-based federal system

### Systems of Election and Selection

- In the first instance, civilians (women, youth, resistance committees, etc.) and political actors, organized civil and political movements at state level consult and select state level interim executive council. The committee's duration is limited
- Interim council selects and appoints interim governor

### Executive

- Interim governor appointed time limited state/region executive council
- Interim governor selects/appoints interim state executive committee

### Legislature

- Diverse civilians and political formations at state level nominate representatives who will make up the transitional state legislative assembly
- Quotas for women, youth and other marginalized groups within each constituency
- State assembly confirms interim governor or appoints new one
- Executive council disbands

### Public Participation

→ During remaining transition, legislative assembly engages people in consultations through Committee-led sessions held regularly in sub-state level

### Traditional and Customary Arrangements

→ State assembly consults native administration when making laws; native administration also engages through public participation mechanisms (above)

# Option 4 – Pros and cons

## TECHNICAL ADVANTAGES

Appointment of interim governor Executive Council is likely to be more efficient; minimises squabbles that may arise if governor is appointed by legislative assembly or by civilian constituencies and political actors

Diverse constituents selecting their representatives to legislative assembly ensures inclusion and participation. It will also ensure accountability since the representative is answerable to constituents who nominate/elect him or her

Establishing legislative assembly (and thereafter constituting committees) provides more opportunities for participation and inclusion by constituencies that may not have had opportunities to participate in transitional arrangements thus far

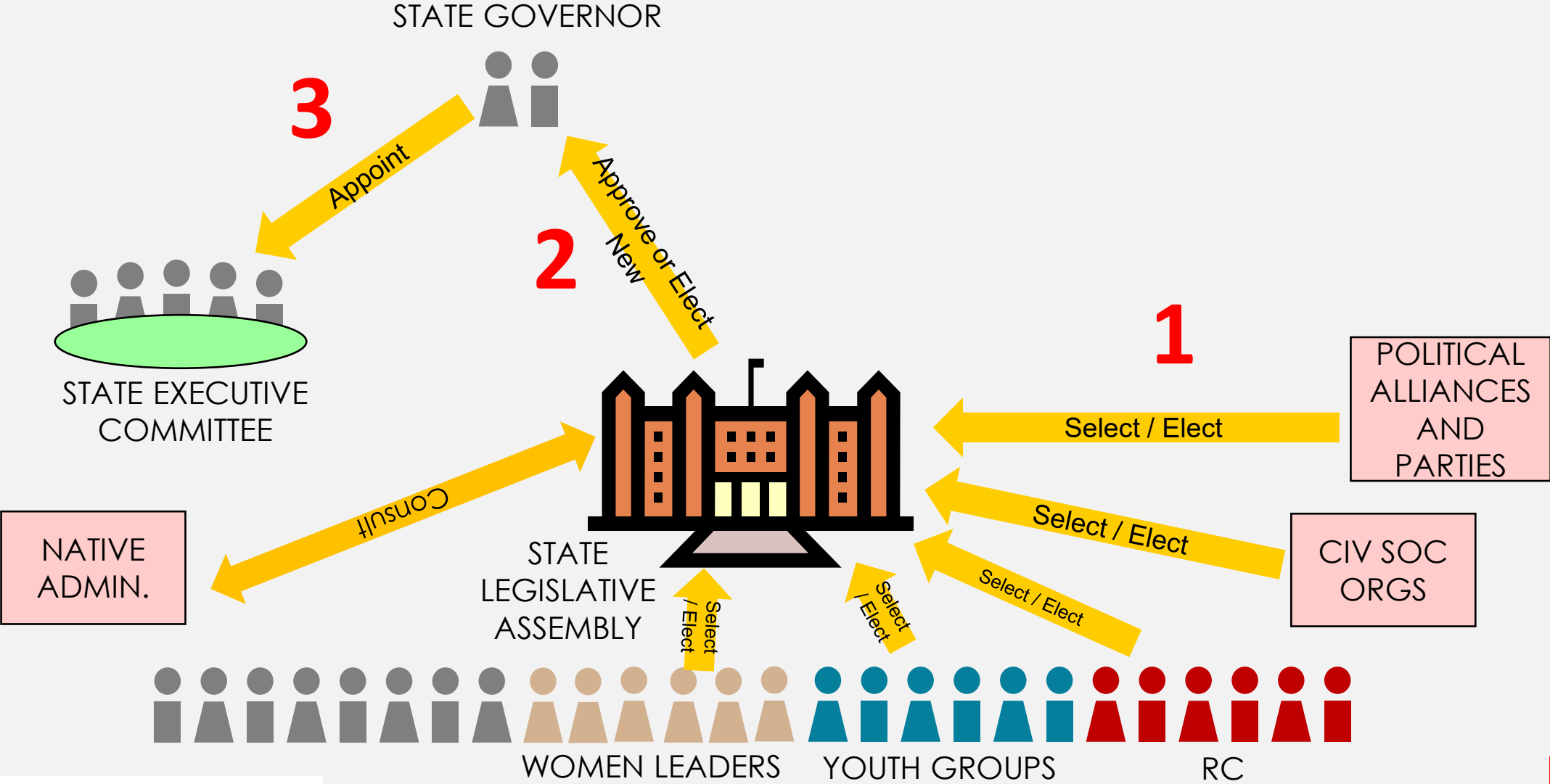
## TECHNICAL DISADVANTAGES

In the current context, sovereignty council and the military may be unwilling to fully cede powers to appoint governors to executive councils, civilians and political actors

Interim governor appointed by time bound Executive Council may be less inclined to be answerable to legislative council or the people

Fragmentation of civilian constituencies at national level also replicated at sub-national level. As such, arriving at consensus on representatives will likely prolong process of establishing/constituting TLC

# Option 5 – One Stage



# Option 5 – Features

STRAND	TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS
<p>This option presents proposals for governance structures at the sub-national level (state/regional). This option is similar to option one above, though modified to accommodate sub-national level context</p>	
<b>Political Structure</b>	→ State/region-based federal system
<b>Systems of Election and Selection</b>	→ Civilians (women, youth, resistance committees, etc.) and political actors, organized civil and political movements at state/regional level select representatives to the transitional legislative assembly
<b>Executive</b>	→ Transitional legislative assembly appoints interim governor → Interim governor selects/appoints executive committee; legislative assembly confirms the newly appointed interim cabinet
<b>Legislature</b>	→ Diverse civilians and political formations at state level nominate representatives who will make up the legislative assembly → Quotas for women, youth and other marginalized groups within each constituency
<b>Public Participation</b>	→ During remaining transition, legislative assembly engages people in consultations through Committee-led sessions held regularly in sub-states
<b>Traditional and Customary Arrangements</b>	→ Legislative assembly native administration when making laws; native administration also engages through public participation mechanisms (above)

# Option 5 – Pros and cons

## TECHNICAL ADVANTAGES

Diverse constituents selecting their representatives to state legislative assembly ensure inclusion and participation. It will also ensure accountability since the representative is answerable to constituents who nominate/elect him or her

Nomination/appointment of governor by legislative assembly will improve accountability since governor is answerable to assembly, which is in turn answerable to constituencies that nominated the members

Formation of assembly (and thereafter constituting committees) provides more opportunities for participation and inclusion by constituencies that may not have had opportunities to participate in transitional arrangements thus far

## TECHNICAL DISADVANTAGES

Fragmentation of civilian constituencies and political actors at national level also abounds at state level; arriving at consensus on representatives will likely prolong process of establishing/constituting legislative assemblies

In the absence of very clear guidelines on process of public participation, there is high likelihood that participation will be symbolic, and views of public may not ultimately inform decisions taken

# Next steps

- Gather further perspectives and reactions to these options
- Identify areas of convergence and divergence on options
- Refine options ... to arrive at those that can most effectively accommodate political interests
- Feed into ongoing consultation processes

**IMPORTANT TO NOTE: THESE ARE JUST \*SAMPLE\* OPTIONS; SEVERAL OTHER COMBINATIONS / VARIANTS POSSIBLE**