



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN
NATIONAL DIALOGUE STEERING
COMMITTEE



Proposal on the Reorganization of the South Sudanese State

Prepared by The Secretariat of National Dialogue Steering Committee

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PREAMBLE:

The people of South Sudan have gathered and have expressed their views through grassroots consultations, Regional Dialogue Forums/Conferences and the National Dialogue Forum/Conference. Moreover, the elites have gathered and spoken through the IGAD High Level Revitalization Forum, which has resulted into the Revitalized Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan that was finally signed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 12 September 2018. The two processes – SSND and HLRF – have a strong synergy; that has enabled us to address the five main points highlighted in this document. The people have been consulted with respect to the following:

- i. Redefine the basis of their unity as it relates to nationhood;**
- ii. Redefine citizenship and belonging;**
- iii. Restructure the state;**
- iv. Renegotiate social contract; and**
- v. Revitalize their aspirations for development.**

As we were working on this document, on some suggestions on the reorganization of our young South Sudan State, a new peace agreement between the elected serving government of South Sudan and those who revolted against it was signed in the Sudanese capital, Khartoum, on 5 August 2018; which agreement now seems to alter the political time table of the election system of South Sudan by at least thirty-six (36) months.

To the extent the Khartoum Peace Agreement may affect the time table of the implementation of the recommendations of the National Dialogue process, by pushing them back, as long as thirty six months, the duration of the peace agreement and; since it is inconceivable that the devastated live of every South Sudanese cannot possibly wait for thirty six months without rehabilitation, the first section of this document that follows, is a shortened rehabilitation

recommendations to the transitional government, which will lead the implementation of the Khartoum Peace Agreement.

PEACE, GOVERNANCE AND PROSPERITY FOR ALL:

The ongoing crisis in South Sudan has resulted in huge human and material losses for all those affected. Going forward, the Government and the people of South Sudan need to embrace the opportunity to learn lessons from the past, to build the nation and restructure the country, in order to achieve peace, good governance and provide prosperity for all its people.

Peace and stability are essential conditions for development of the country. Therefore, this requires stoppages of all hostilities, to enhance the healing of the wounds that we have inflicted on ourselves.

Following from the above, the Government's first priority, during this time of moving from conflict to peaceful environment, is the achievement of peace, such that at the end of the three-year period, South Sudan will, hopefully, be a united and peaceful nation, on a sustainable pathway to good governance, economic prosperity and good life for all of its citizens.

Building on the foundation of peace, the Government's main areas of focus and priorities in this period of transition from war to peace and socio-economic rehabilitation should be:

- a. achieve security for the people;
- b. realize good governance;
- c. strengthen and improve any existing economic foundations;
- d. strengthen justice and the rule of law;
- e. enable the delivery of basic social services to the people;

- f. provide relief and rehabilitation for the displaced people and for the returning refugees;
- g. at least start the rudimentary construction of physical infrastructure;
- h. conduct national population census and;
- i. invite international, regional and independent bodies to conduct the next general elections;

It is hoped and envisaged, that the Government will create a basis for a continuing dialogue and a guiding framework for the international community, in targeting its support to the people and government of South Sudan.

To ensure an Action Plan that is reflective of the difficult economic and financial situation that currently faces South Sudan, priority intervention need to be properly costed. The Action Plan need to be underpinned by a realistic assessment of the Government's systems and capacity to implement priority actions at all levels. Where systems and capacity are lacking, the Government needs to actively seek to work in partnership with development partners, donors and friendly governments, to strengthen these systems, while enabling alternative delivery modalities in the interim as necessary.

OUTLINE AND STRUCTURE OF PRIORITY ACTIVITIES:

What follows is a very brief outline of some of the urgent actions for addressing the challenges and opportunities during this period, from conflict to peace transition.

Following from the above, the eight main pillars specified below, represent a first attempt at identifying the guiding structures of an Action Plan and its priorities. These actions will be refined, based on participative discussions and an assessment of their feasibility, in terms of available financing and implementation capacity:

1. National Security and conflict resolution:

The proposed Transitional Government of National Unity should work to safeguard the safety and security of every citizen. It should also undertake concerted steps to reform and downsize/right size the security forces as a pre-requisite to balancing its budget and re-orienting spending towards development priorities.

2. Economic and financing management reforms:

South Sudan is a country with huge agricultural potential and credible mineral resources, including oil. In order to strengthen the future economic potential of South Sudan, the proposed transitional government should undertake a series of reforms, to improve the economic environment, stabilize government expenditures and improve financial management and accountability, through the implementation of the following:

- a. rehabilitation of economic infrastructures at the start of the recently announced normal flow of petroleum into markets and investment in increased oil recovery techniques;
- b. reforms, to strengthen the collection of non-oil revenues;
- c. elimination of distortion in the foreign exchange market;
- d. adoption and progressive implementation of a Master Plan for agriculture and formulation of national plans for achieving food security of the nation;
- e. improving trade through accession to East African and Sudanese markets;

- f. cleaning the public service payroll, controlling non-essential operating expenditures -example (extensive travel and medical treatment abroad);
- g. strengthening procurement procedures and processes etc.;
- h. audit and accountability; requiring timely accountability for the use of public funds, supported by regular audits and penalties for abuse and misuse.

3. Good governance:

This document contains a wide suggestion for the reform and reorganization of the South Sudanese state, but, during the time of its existence, the proposed Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU), should maintain peace, stability and achieve socio-economic development in South Sudan. It should endeavor to fulfill key international responsibilities and provide core public goods and services- including security to the South Sudanese people.

Concerning foreign policy, the proposed TGNU needs to conduct its foreign relations on the basis of principles of respect for sovereignty and respect for equality of nations and non-interference in the affairs of its neighbors and promotion of mutual interest for the good of the people of South Sudan. The state of South Sudan expects reciprocity of the above, from all its neighbors and friends.

It must be sincerely hoped, that the proposed TGNU shall exist for no longer than the three years stipulated by the peace agreement, from the date of its establishment.

4. Peace and reconciliation amongst communities:

The proposed Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU), in partnership with organizations dedicated to peace and reconciliation, should make special efforts to dispel ethnic mistrust and eradicate the ethnic hatred that has been heightened during the previous internal fightings. These efforts could follow the below sequence:

- a. peace agreements signed;
- b. mediated and reconciliation of communities is an important component of the peace and social harmony. The proposed TGNU should consult relevant stakeholders in South Sudan, on the possibility of adopting a South African model of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), with branches at all levels of our system of governance. Undertaking of such steps will prevent the country from relapsing into conflict;
- c. relief and rehabilitation of affected communities and people trapped on all sides of the conflict;
- d. the transitional government needs to unequivocally work with local and international partners, to ensure rehabilitation and the delivery of relief assistance to areas ravaged by the conflict;
- e. restoring sustained peace and social harmony will entail preparation of specific operational measures that will create peace dividends for the people. The proposed TGNU needs to take immediate steps to estimate reconstruction needs; in conjunction with partners, reconstruct and repair physical infrastructures that were destroyed or damaged during the years of the conflict.

5. Basic social service delivery:

Basic social service delivery is the mandate and the responsibility of any Government, although it currently receives significant support from a range of non-governmental and international partners. The proposed TGNU should work closely with these partners, to strengthen its systems and enable delivery of:

- a. health services: expanded access to basic health;
- b. education services- work particularly to achieve universal primary education for every child of South Sudan;
- c. expanded and improved water and sanitation infrastructure;
- d. increased community participation-involving civil society, to enable people to implement self-help projects; e.g. clinics, schools, feeder roads etc.;
- e. in addition to relief assistance, the transitional government needs to give priority to the rehabilitation of those areas that have been severely affected by the fighting, as well as the section of the population that has been uprooted and displaced by the conflict;
- f. reintegrating the returnees into their communities; this will require counselling of traumatized individuals and communities, using a combination of traditional and modern techniques of counseling;
- g. resettlement of returnees, through the provision of basic services and skills. This would, in turn enable the returnees to be engaged in human dignity enhancing productive economic activities, instead of dependency on humanitarian assistance handouts and emergency relief supplies; and
- h. rehabilitation of basic social services, e.g. primary schools and primary health care facilities, for example.

6. Physical infrastructure development:

The TGNU's number one priority, in terms of physical infrastructure, during its three years of reign, needs to be an improved and expanded road network system. It is recognized that there are limits, as to what can be achieved within a three-year period, in this, rather both labor and capital-intensive field, given constraints on financing and implementation capacity. However, its aims need to be prioritize.

7. National population census

South Sudan has been an independent state for at least 14 years, if one includes the six-year interim period of the CPA, during which time South Sudan was in charge of all its affairs, since before the vote on the national referendum, which overwhelmingly decided its independence from Sudan. The country cannot continue to depend on estimation for its national population figures and must conduct its first national population census, before conducting the next national elections.

FINANCING AND IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS:

The challenges the country will face in implementing this program are enormous. This is because South Sudan is currently facing a very difficult economic and fiscal situation. The recent decline in oil prices and production output, because of the civil war, has put pressure on the exchange rate and has caused many challenges in financing the government budget.

However, a peaceful resolution of the current conflict and a sustained peace throughout the country, can be expected to lead to an improvement in government revenues. We also expect the attainment of peace to generate

further expenditure needs, particularly in the short to medium term, in order to implement the activities, set out in this document.

For a successful implementation of this agenda, we recognize that the country needs considerable support- both financial and technical – from the international community. There is no question in our mind, that a successful implementation of the peace program will clear our path to sustainable peace.

The proposed TGNU will, therefore, need carefully, to cost the priorities set out in this document and propose a sequenced approach to implementation, taking into account the cost implications and feasibility of funding.

Implementation of this plan, will require a partnership between our national government, any friends left for us in the international community and local and international organizations. Frank and honest discussions need to be conducted with all the country's friends and partners, to agree on roles and responsibilities, as well as measures that can be taken, to strengthen Government capacity and accountability.

While it is hoped that this framework will promote peace in the whole country, it will also address the critical questions of equity, in access to resources, enhance opportunities for sustained economic growth and prevent relapsing to conflict in South Sudan.

In addition, it is envisaged and hoped, that this framework program will use increased peacetime oil revenues toward the development of our agriculture. It will go a long way in the achievement of poverty eradication and the achievement of sustained peace in South Sudan.

KEY THEMATIC ISSUES/TOPICS THAT NEED URGENT REFORMS

The National Dialogue Steering Committee has now almost completed its main work, which was to listen to the entire community of South Sudan – 64 ethnic

groups or more of them and has recorded from them what they know and what they think has gone wrong in our country. All the rich reports from our communities are now available. They will be kept as a reference and as record for posterity and for future research. There is also a summary document of these reports as a separate document of this national dialogue process.

It was not expected, however, that the communities of South Sudan would sit to organise and restructure the system of governance for themselves and their state. And yet, the state of South Sudan needs restructuring and reorganising. This is a most difficult task and yet, the most difficult responsibility that the first ever democratically elected president of South Sudan, wants the National Dialogue to achieve. This National Dialogue Steering Committee must now sit down, take the political bull of South Sudan by the horn and suggest how to restructure our young state, in order for all of us to be worthy of the name of our now traumatised youngest state of our world.

All the structures of the South Sudanese state need reform and restructuring, but not all of them have the same impact of destruction and devastation on our population, when they fail to function. The National Dialogue Steering Committee hereby, therefore, recommends to the National Dialogue final bodies – the three regional conferences of our original South Sudan colonial provinces of Bahr el Ghazal; Equatoria and Upper Nile, some ideas on reform and restructuring. We hope that the regional conferences and the national conference will pass and recommend these reforms to the president of the republic and to the national government.

The National Dialogue has chosen on the following few areas of reforms of our political system, to concentrate minds, not only as the most crucial, but also as the most urgent reforms in our country. We recognise that all other areas of our state and government need reform too, but it is the hope of this National Dialogue Steering Committee and its concluding conferences, that if our country and its political leadership find their way to carrying out successfully, the

recommendations contained in this document, they should be able to do the same with all the other structures of our government.

The few issues on which this paper concentrates on recommending reforms are: Political parties; centralization of political power in the hands of the executive; judiciary; the use of public office for personal gains and the attack on independent media. We concede that our country needs a lot more reforms. But these few examples are critical. Let us begin with those:

A. THE NATIONAL ARMY AND SECURITY SERVICES

Our national army, the South Sudan People's Defence Forces and the National Security Services need urgent reform. The army must have a specific target number; this body recommends that our national army, with all its branches, need not to exceed one hundred thousand officers and soldiers. Our army needs to be reoriented and retrained into thinking of themselves as mere monitors, protectors and defenders of our currently six external borders and nothing else. Rigorous training and inculcation of discipline, so that the national army does not become an enforcer of peace over the life of the ordinary citizen of the state, seems most urgent. A well trained and well-disciplined army enjoys the confidence of its citizens, rather than feared by them.

B. POLITICAL SYSTEM

It is clear, that South Sudan will not be politically stable, until it evolves strong political structures, based on a multi-political party system. As our current ruling party, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) has a single-party political system, in a weak; poor; and multi-ethnic community, like that of South Sudan, has not worked. Sooner or later, as we have already witnessed in our

country, a single ruling political party becomes the property of the cronies that run it, rather than a public institution.

However, multi-political parties are no guarantee against political corruption. But they all, at least each need to watch being criticized by the other parties and by their membership and public. Political parties, in a multi-party political systems do, therefore, check and guard themselves against corruption and against public criticism.

The country also needs to protect itself against groups organising as political parties, while in fact, are only recruiting their own ethnicity into their membership, of these so called political parties.

To ensure that political parties do not only rely on their own ethnicity for membership, the political party law needs to change, to ensure that at least one third of its officially registered membership hails from each of the other two greater regions of South Sudan; the greater colonial provinces of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile.

A political party leader from Bahr el Ghazal, for instance, should not rely on registering the legal number required for them to register as a political party only from Bahr el Ghazal. Such a political leadership from Bahr el Ghazal, for instance, must be required by law, to register at least one third of the legally required membership for legal regulation from each of the other two greater regions of South Sudan, Equatoria and Upper Nile, to qualify as an officially registered political party in South Sudan.

Political parties must also pay a reasonable monetary deposit into the public treasury, to be held as a bond for good conduct, during the political life of such a political party.

Membership of the political parties is also important. No political party that is not able to register at least 1,500 members, at least 500 members from each of all of the three greater regions of South Sudan – 1,500 members from all the three regions, should be allowed to register as a political party in South Sudan any more.

And perhaps, if a new political party law is adopted, under these suggestions, perhaps all the current political parties should all be required to reregister!

In the recent era of politics in South Sudan, we have witnessed briefcase political parties that have not made any contribution to the political life of our country at all. This applies, even to the individuals who formed these parties.

That a political party calls itself a political party, because it only criticises the government in power, must come to an end, if South Sudan is to survive as a free and democratic country. All must agree, that without a proper and legal practice of politics, South Sudan is at a severe risk of becoming a failed state. If it is not already one.

Political parties, as they are known worldwide, are multi-membership organisations, with written credible political, social, administrative and economic agenda. No political party is credible, if all that its leaders do, is to criticise the political system that is running the country; if they have no alternative political agenda to what they are criticising. The South Sudanese public need to begin to judge their political parties and political leadership by these parties' political programmes.

The suggested large membership from the three main regional provinces of South Sudan, Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile is a requirement suggestion based on limiting the number of political parties that could emerge in the country and is at the same time providing a credible presence of the parties that would register in the country, after having fulfilled that numerical and also spread geographical requirement.

C. THE SPLM AS A RULING POLITICAL PARTY:

South Sudan today, has a ruling party; the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). This is a party that is an off shoot of the national liberation struggle. It is the product of the national liberation army, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). We all know that the army was a real liberation movement that has succeeded against all odds, including internal odds, even

within itself. The SPLA has liberated the country. That army, which has now appropriately changed its name to South Sudan Peoples Armed Force (SSPAF), had achieved the success of the struggle of the people of South Sudan and has attained the young country's national independence.

We all need to bow our heads in respect and appreciation and to salute them. Although the SPLA, the liberation army of South Sudan has now inflicted horrendous pain on all the people of South Sudan by its behaviour. Nevertheless, for whatever it is worth, the SPLA must remain the nucleus of the independent army of South Sudan.

However, armies are composed of individual citizens. No individual citizen of any country, can remain in public service for ever. Old age itself, imposes it's own conditions on individual human beings.

It is, therefore, recommended, that the one hundred thousand strong national army of South Sudan being recommended in this document of the National Dialogue, be re-organized, reformed and managed by the existing cadre of the SPLA liberators of South Sudan.

It is also being recommended here, that the reorganisation process for our national army, also needs to organise a pension system for all the serving and living members of the SPLA, so that the children and the families of the long serving men and women of the current army of South Sudan, can benefit and have a future to look forward to.

As for the SPLM, this national political movement, which had successfully articulated the liberation struggle for South Sudan for all the twenty-one years of the war of liberation to a great success and has now ruled this young newly independent country for its short fourteen years, the SPLM leadership needs to admit publicly, that with its success of the liberation struggle, the people of South Sudan were happy to accept the SPLM as its single ruling political party, even to the exclusion of all the other political parties. Unfortunately, the SPLM needs to admit, publicly, that it has failed the people of South Sudan, in the manner in which it has not formulated what the structures of the new South Sudanese state should

have been, right at the time of independence in 2011. What the people of South Sudan are currently experiencing, are due to the political failure of the SPLM.

During the six years of the interim period, following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), with Northern Sudan in 2005, the SPLM could have formulated and implemented, as an alternative political system for South Sudan, to what pertained in the old Sudan, how the SPLM wanted to run South Sudan as a separate entity from the Islamic Northern Sudan!

Building the separate political system of South Sudan could have been achieved under the budget of the central government of Sudan, during the six-year interim period (2005-2011). Because the SPLM was an integral part of that central government of Sudan for six long years and was entitled to use some of that budget of the central government, to accomplish things for South Sudan, before the independence of South Sudan was voted for by its citizens six years later. The CPA says that South Sudan needed to have its own political system, separate from the Islamic system of Northern Sudan.

The CPA said that Sudan should develop two political systems; the Islamic system in the north and a non-Islamic democratic system for South Sudan. As the ruling party of South Sudan, the SPLM failed to do this.

Never the less, the people of South Sudan were willing to give time to the SPLM, South Sudan liberation political vanguard, to move South Sudan away from the maligned state into which Northern Sudan had reduced South Sudan by the time of the referendum. So, what is the record of the SPLM as the ruling party of South Sudan, after it has liberated the people?

The people of South Sudan have said much to the sub-committees of this National Dialogue. Those strong and frank utterances of the people of South Sudan, form the final report of this dialogue.

What this paper is recommending, therefore, is that the SPLM, the ruling party of South Sudan, should voluntarily repudiate its role as a ruling party of South Sudan; end the necessity for that party to continue to be financed out of the public state coffer. A splintered SPLM, as the entire world now knows it, is no

longer a unifying party for the whole country. It needs not to be materially backed by this suffering young state.

The state of politics in South Sudan and of its entire public affairs, is such that those who have some responsibility to suggest how to get out of this horrendous situation the SPLM leadership has placed our country, need to think outside the usual and traditional political box. Political thinkers need to come out of that situation and to think of how to ease the plight of the ordinary citizen of South Sudan. Members of the National Dialogue Steering Committee need to think outside the political box, in order that what they recommend can be hoped to help resolve the situation.

For nearly fourteen years now, from the time of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with Northern Sudan, the defacto former colonisers of South Sudan for some nearly six years, the one single political party, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, SPLM, has thrown to the side-line, its responsibility to lead and run the country politically. From the point of view of any ordinary citizen of South Sudan, the SPLM has failed. This view includes many members of the SPLM itself.

Fourteen years of SPLM rule, with the horrendous waste of precious South Sudanese lives and public resources, means that there is very little room out there, in the country called South Sudan, to give another chance to the SPLM, to continue to run the country on its own. Nor should the SPLM be asked again, to choose its own partners in government, from amongst the other political parties of South Sudan.

While it is sometimes better to ask the same individuals to correct their own mistakes, this is usually done to an individual or a political party that recognizes and accepts its faults. The SPLM, unfortunately, is not that type of a political leadership or a party.

The SPLM declared policy is that the country is not ruled by a single party but by a multi-party liberal democracy. To justify this contention, the SPLM political leadership has included a number of parties in the government that it has been leading in South Sudan since the CPA in 2005. However, the influence of such

other political parties in the management of the affairs, of the country is not showing, because the SPLM in effect throttles these parties influence in government.

The country has seen, how internal critics of the SPLM have tried to blame only their individual leader at the head of their party structures, when things have gone wrong. This is as though this SPLM party is suggesting that only an individual-their leader runs the system on his own. The country and the entire world knows that this is not the case!

This National Dialogue, hereby proposes, that the SPLM voluntarily ends its one-party rule over the people of South Sudan; accepts that if this recommendation becomes endorsed by both the regional conferences and the national conference of the National Dialogue and becomes one of the recommendations for implementation, that the SPLM leadership, reorganises itself as one of the political parties of South Sudan; but it needs to end the financial support now being provided it by the government of the Republic of South Sudan.

The SPLM can enlist the financial support of its own membership. When and if that happens and the SPLM wins the next general elections of South Sudan, in spite of everything bad that we know has happened to South Sudan, under the rule of the SPLM, then, this party, which liberated the people of South Sudan is entitled to continue to rule the country. If not, then the SPLM needs to also accept, that losing an election for a party that has ruled its people for nearly the first fourteen years of its independence, cannot write itself off, or be written off by its own people, because of one election defeat. The SPLM needs to regroup and to rethink its strategy and to reorganize for a future, to win again, another time.

The phenomenon of a single party rule, is anyway, a post-colonial affair in Africa. It is a phenomenon that was adopted, when Africa and much of the developing world was in search of a none capitalist method of development strategy, away from the west European colonisers, who had imposed the capitalist system of social and political development on all the colonised people. Socialism itself, has, unfortunately, now become very much discredited, because it was

misapplied in the few socialist states of post-colonial Africa. It is, therefore, better, if not easier, for South Sudan, to revert to the system of individual choice, which only capitalism guarantees for the individual and for the society. With credible adjustment, capitalist system of social development, seems better than any other socio-political system. Capitalism, as a phenomenon of socio-economic development, allows both the individual and the system itself the choice.

However, because of the scarcity and shortage of private individual resources or capital, the young South Sudanese state cannot give up its role of fair and equitable distribution and redistribution of public resources that will ensure social equity and balanced development in the country.

It is incredible, how the socialist SPLM political movement, which still call themselves comrades, have misapplied capitalism in South Sudan to a total abuse. Let the SPLM leadership step outside the fence of their destruction. This will help both them and their country-South Sudan, to rehabilitate itself.

The process of foreign economic assistance to the country must also keep and apply the same balance in allocating social economic assistance coming to the country from abroad. The state should not permit foreign non-governmental organizations, for instance, to choose where they want to work in the country, rather than directing them to the areas of the needs of these agencies speciality and expertise.

The idea of a single party system in Africa was, anyway, a Communist inspired phenomenon. This is no longer an operating political system anywhere in our continent now and indeed anywhere else in the wide world. Much of socialist Africa has given it up. Multi-party democracy has more accountability of its political leadership than a single political party system. We need to look around us, in our region of East Africa, for the changeover, from a single party system and observe the difference that the multi-party system makes to national communities that are run through a political system of multi-political party democracy.

Although multi-party system has not necessarily ended corruption in Africa, a strong multi-party system, with strong competing political parties, have reduced

political, administrative and financial corruption quite considerably in much of multi-party Africa. In the political circumstances of South Sudan, it is the only alternative to the current political system that currently obtains.

As the party that has liberated our country and people, if the current rulers of South Sudan, who are, anyway, the ones who appointed this national dialogue, to help the political system pertaining in our country find a way out of the political failure that has afflicted our country, if the SPLM accepts these recommendations, it should be possible for the country, to allow the SPLM party time, to disengage from the current control of the affairs of South Sudan as a single party; end its financial dependency on public coffers and work out its own political process, with which to carry on as a political party, running for power again, like any other political party in the country. What is strongly being recommended here, is to end the SPLM dependency on public coffers and to let it reorganise itself as part of a multi-party political system of South Sudan.

It is noted, that the current government of South Sudan, under the SPLM political patronage, is part of the political agreement that has been worked out by the Horn of Africa regional organisation – the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD).

The interim period for peace process is some three-years, which is now being processed. Those three years should also be considered and spent as three years of a changeover of a political system in South Sudan, from a single party SPLM rule, to a multi-party democracy. Three years is a reasonable time period for a changeover of the political system being proposed here. It gives the SPLM a good time for a change over to a multi-party political system for our country.

It is hoped, that the multi-political party system being proposed here, would enable the many warring political leaders of the SPLM, to end their war efforts and normalize the political process in the country and to let our refugees return home, to live a normal life, as citizens, who could then take part in the political process, including the change of government and political leadership through the election process, rather through the barrel of the gun.

D. THE JUDICIARY

One of the most regressive effects of political independence of South Sudan has been the lack of a free and independent judiciary. The process of appointing judges into the courts in the country need some scrutiny. As the saying goes, justice delayed is justice denied. If nothing else, the process of delayed resolution of cases in the South Sudanese courts has left so much resentment in the way our courts function. The court system needs an overhaul, if not a total change.

Before appointing a judge to whatever position in the judiciary, their qualification and period of experience are the usual requirements. These need to be well scrutinized. If there was an acceptable excuse for the decisions that were made in the past, about who was qualified to be a judge at the time of independence, based on the fact that the young and emerging independent state of South Sudan was entitled to have some of its less qualified legal personnel in place, not only in the judiciary but all over the political system, to be guided by the few experienced and qualified personnel who were there, it is most regrettable to note here, that where the judiciary stands today, is no better than any of the other departments of the South Sudanese state. This need to change.

Like medical doctors and indeed all other professional personnel of other public departments, public confidence in the judge is the first requirement for the public acceptance of our court decisions. This has to improve fast and quick.

Fourteen years of judicial experimentation is far too long. It must change. There is a strong belief out there, that the South Sudanese judiciary is too politicised, because politicians want court decisions that favour them, their relatives and or their political cronies at all times. This needs to change. It has to be hoped, that our judges will not continue to allow their political views to colour their legal judgement of cases before them. This will be the worst break down of the rule of law in our young country.

E. THE MEDIA

The media of South Sudan must be the worst any independent country in Africa has. And media in Africa as a whole, does not have much credible standing, worldwide anyway! This is due to endless reasons.

While it is not up to the state to manage an independent media of an independent country, because South Sudan had been ravaged by war for such a long time, it was hoped that the media of this young republic should have been a development project of the state, like the economy and business. As it was, unfortunately, the political leadership of our country turned the media into an individual mouth piece for each politician. The result is what we see. The media of South Sudan is now either a mouth piece for individual politicians, both in the government or in the opposition, or it is now a frightened institution that dares not speak out. Many of the young and enterprising South Sudanese journalists, have either already lost their lives, suspected in the hands of the state, or have fled the country into refuge abroad, where they now behave as either foreign agents to those who want to undermine the sovereignty of the young state, or have become, in their own right, the enemies of our young state, putting out falsehood about their own country, over some of the world's most unreliable social media networks.

It is difficult to write a media development project, as part of the reforms that this national dialogue process should recommend to the state. It is, however, clear, that South Sudanese media is one of the most urgent projects of reforms our country needs.

F. INDEPENDENT BUSINESS

One of the worst impacts on the politics of South Sudan, is the manner in which those who were managers of state affairs have used personal cronies in the young market of South Sudan and have corrupted the South Sudan young

entrepreneurs, using them as personal business agents. It was right for the state of South Sudan, to set up a project for the encouragement of private business.

South Sudan had gained its independence at the time its national revenue from oil earnings was large enough for the state to provide funding for a simultaneous development of all its sectors, public and private. Done honestly and diligently, this could have succeeded. Now, with oil resources depleted and wasted, it is time to think differently about how to encourage private business in South Sudan.

It can be done, by first cleaning up the rampant corruption in the public and private systems of our country. Leaving no one in doubt, that not only will the state not condone corruption anymore, but that a newly reformed state of South Sudan will go after all ill-gotten wealth in the hands of whoever and will retrieve that public wealth, through the use of law and other policy measures.

Going after ill-gotten wealth, using law and order, is one of the most important ways of encouraging foreign business and investment into the country. It is a win-win card in the hands of our state and the few foreign business friends of our country. If any of them still wants to invest in South Sudan. The key is bringing public corruption under control. A strong and sincere political leadership of our country can do this. It has been done elsewhere in the world and it has worked; there is no reason why South Sudan cannot do it too.

G. OUTLAWING PUBLIC OFFICIALS FROM BECOMING TRADERS AT THE SAME TIME

Some of the practices that our public officials and politicians have brought into our country from wherever abroad they were refugees during the long war of liberation have seriously damaged the civil service of our country and need to be outlawed. No corrupt public servant should be tolerated, who is managing a public service institution of the state and remaining a trader in the public business place at the same time. Individuals need to choose, either becoming business persons or public servants. They must give up one.

In the event of choosing to become a public servant, such individuals need by law, to declare what they own, in terms of business, property or land and bank accounts. Such ownership need to be placed in trust of others, that they must declare as business agents for their businesses. The institutions of state that enforce the laws of the land must ensure that such individual public servants, including politicians, do not take advantage of their public positions in our young state, to at the same time practice business. This should be illegalised, punishable by law.

The responsibility of correcting what has befallen South Sudan in less than the first fourteen years of its independence, must not be laid at one door. There are many who share the responsibility for this failure. But, to the extent that the SPLM was always more equal than others, in terms of the responsibilities that they held as the ruling party, it is necessary at this moment, that the leader of the liberation of our country, the SPLM movement, shoulders the consequences of this enormous national failure. This is not to say, by any means, that others, who served with the SPLM, or under the SPLM political leadership, who may not have been members of the SPLM, are not also to be held accountable for their own misdeeds while they were public servants.

Since the practice of a true liberal political democracy is the only political system that provide level field of competition and accountability, the National Dialogue Steering Committee makes this recommendation of establishing a multi-party democracy, in which no one has an unfair advantage over the others.

H. INVESTIGATING THE ATROCITIES OF WAR

Another important matter, for which the first popularly elected President of our country needs to take responsibility for and should order investigation into, are the civil war atrocities. It is obvious, that much of the atrocities of this devastating civil war, were committed with some horrendous viciousness and

considerable impunity. Many of the South Sudanese refugees, who have dotted our region of East Africa with their presence, will not return home to South Sudan, unless a proper redress of the causes of their flight from our country are addressed.

It is important, therefore, that the president of the republic sets up a South African style "Truth and Reconciliation Commission". This has to be something very different from this National Dialogue! It will not be easy to find credibly independent minded individual South Sudanese for such a commission now, because all South Sudanese are all now suspects, and are themselves suspicious of one another. How does a Nuer trust that a Dinka can investigate atrocities on him or vice versa?

South Sudanese political and social elite have, unfortunately committed themselves to either side of their current predicament. But membership of such a fact unearthing body; the membership of the Truth Commission, does not need to be confined to South Sudanese alone. The East African region, of which South Sudan has now become a member, can provide membership for such a commission.

The idea is to expose the truth of what has taken place in our country, in order that such a truth sets all of us free! If there is incontestable truth about war crimes having been committed by clearly identifiable individuals, whoever those individuals may be, then this recommendation is not restricting proper criminal investigation of such claims.

Too many of the innocent citizens of South Sudan have lost their lives in this atrocious civil war. Our refugees, who now number in their millions, if the United Nations and other international bodies and media, who have made such claims are to be believed, these refugees will not return to our country, unless they believe war crimes have been dealt with in a fair and honest way. And yet, our country cannot claim that this evil war, which has sent away over two million of our innocent citizens has been properly ended. It is on that basis and the acceptance of collective public responsibility, that these recommendations are made here.

I. DECENTRALIZATION

Finally, it is recognized, that the type of decentralization that has operated in our country has not worked. Even the fewer ten states that the liberation movement of South Sudan had inherited from Northern Sudan had not worked. The South Sudanese governors of the ten states, before the states were multiplied into thirty-two states, had really offered no services and security to the citizens, while they were operating. The governors that were appointed to these ten states that we inherited from colonial Northern Sudan anyway, were mere rulers, not service providers to the citizens. Except for a very few, the governors were as bad as the Northern Sudan appointed governors, from whom they took over.

It is hereby recommended, that for a start, our young republic of South Sudan reverts back to the three colonial provinces of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile. We should restore the district administrative units of our colonial past as follows:

1. Bahr el Ghazal, with its seven districts as they stood before independence as:- Aweil; Gogrial; Lakes; Eastern Lakes; Raga; Tonj; and Wau, with their colonial district capitals. Naturally, minor adjustments that are reasonably justified, due to increased population etc., are permissible.
2. Equatoria should revert back to its colonial districts of Juba; Kapoeta; Maridi; Tombura; Torit; Yei; and Yambio.
3. Upper Nile reverts back to its districts of Akobo; Bentiu; Bor; Kodok; Malakal; Nasir; Pangak; and Renk. You can call these states or regions, whatever names or titles you wish. The idea is to rethink the type of administrative reforms from here, because these were the only administrative formations that South Sudanese political rivals did not contest.

If one is thinking of a workable functional federal system of governance, one needs to begin from here – the three colonial regions of South Sudan. The three governors of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile need to be elected through a universal suffrage, in the same way as the president of the republic and the parliament. These elected three governors, can only be replaced through a process

of elections and not by any dismissal or appointment; except, only if any one of them is accused of committing a crime punishable under the law, while they are in office. In this case, their deputies act for them until the election of a new governor.

An elected governor of any of the three regional provinces of South Sudan, should be entitled to contest elections for the seat of Governor for one additional term of five years. No governor should serve more than ten years consecutively, no matter how good they may be in their office. This should allow political leadership to circulate amongst the country's political elite and prevent the sense of permanent rulers amongst communities.

To foster a sense of equality amongst the regions of the country, it is proposed that after the end of the period of the implementation of the Khartoum peace agreement, the country should begin to experiment with the leadership of the country, the presidency of the republic, by rotating it amongst the political leaders of the three greater regions of South Sudan; the former colonial provinces of Bahr el Ghazal; Equatoria and Upper Nile. This proposal is outlined in some detail in another document.

This is a twelve to fifteen-year cycle of the presidency of the country. The young republic may then find time to debate in a cordial manner, the type of decentralization it wants for its long-term future.

J. THE NATIONAL LEGISLATURE

The next elected parliament of South Sudan, which replaces the current one, should be confined to elected members only, through a universal suffrage. No one should be appointed to that parliament.

The Khartoum agreement, whose implementation is currently under planning by the parties who signed it, needs to be ended at its agreed time of implementation of 36 months and should not be extended.

The sovereign are the people of South Sudan – the electorate that elects both the parliament and the head of state. To delude the representation of the sovereign, in order to accommodate political trouble makers of the country, need to come to an end. Parliament should make use of the expertise that may not be

obtained in an elected parliament, by obtaining such expertise through appointing them as technical teams to the specialized parliamentary committees.

Since parliament is the symbol of sovereignty, its specialized committees should make good use of investigative skills, to question any wrong doing in the country, in order to curb corruption; mismanagement in public places and to prevent crime being committed with impunity, even in the name of enforcing law and order.

Except for the non-commissioned officers, who are normally nominated for promotion amongst the serving ranks and file of the civil police force, all the police officers should be in one national list and not under separate regional or provincial lists. Any trained police officer must become part of the list of the rotating command and service structure of the national police force. These national police officer corps must be transferable by cycle, between the three former colonial provinces of South Sudan. The transfer of a police officer to a district, within the three former colonial provinces of South Sudan, should be the responsibility of that province commander; director; or commissioner of police in that province; whatever title is adopted for such a post. It is the local head of the police in the province, who knows where, in his region, he needs an additional police officer and not the central government of South Sudan or its politicians.

All the public officials of all the other ministries or departments of state are the responsibility of that public department. Public officials are transferred and rotated in the country as a matter of need and not as a right to one's own area or province of origin. Or, even as a way of punishing or rewarding the official being transferred.

Public officials, their function and promotion must be monitored and supervised by the public service department or commission. No public servant should be ignored or neglected. There need to be established a public system of promotion, or demotion, for that matter, which should be followed in developing a credible and accountable public service system in the country.

Education, at its beginning base, is the first system of developing a human being to become a responsible and useful member of the public. Credible political systems ensure that their well-trained and well educated public servants are proud of the work they do for their country and people. A system of promotion of the new South Sudan public service system must monitor individual public service personnel and their regular promotion or advancement and provide credible reasons for the delay or prevention of seniority progress by any individual public civil official or security personnel.

As a member of the international and regional organisations, the country should take active advantage of the expertise provided by these international and regional bodies, to improve and develop the public service sector of the country. The notion that one knows everything, because one was a liberator, or because one is generally educated, need to change amongst our public-sector personnel and even amongst our politicians. There is no limit to acquiring knowledge. An expert in a particular field, may discover that things have changed in the field of their expertise or profession and that they need to orient themselves to new ideas in their own field of expertise and need to acquire new ideas and techniques there in.

The idea that a politician; a public servant; and a police or army officer knows it all and cannot be questioned, or made to account for any wrong doing, must also change. All the citizens of the republic of South Sudan must consider themselves questionable and accountable before the law of the land and before the political and the public system that governs their country. Provided that those rules and laws are applied fairly and justly to all, irrespective of their ethnicity, origin, or gender!

K. RETIREMENT PACKAGE FOR AN ELECTED HEAD OF STATE

If South Sudan is to survive as an independent sovereign country, it should see to it that one of the principles it must hold to, is a democratic political process, in which those who hold public office – from the president of the republic, to the

membership of the national parliament and the heads of regional administrations are all elected public officials. We have already witnessed what a deviation from the above stated principle does to the people of South Sudan and their country. More than 64 ethnic communities that currently inhabit South Sudan are all entitled to lead the country, if each of them fulfils the requirements and the qualifications for that office – qualifications and requirements that must also all be defined by law.

For the country to fulfil most of the above stated conditions, the country is also required to meet its obligations towards those citizens who feel qualified to lead the country and who come forward to put their names up for that purpose. Holding the elected position of the president of the republic is not an everyday affair. It is a special duty and service to one's country and one's people. The country should be prepared to shoulder and uphold responsibility towards its retiring or retired heads of state. Provided that the head of state was a popularly elected individual, through a legal and constitutionally regulated elections.

This section of this document proposes that a popularly elected head of state – the elected president of the republic of South Sudan, should look forward to enjoying a number of minimum post service benefits that do not allow him to become a destitute and be taken advantage of, both nationally and by foreigners within the country they had led in the past.

The presidential retirement benefits being suggested in this document, should include a reasonable financial stipend; means of private transport; and housing. There is a need for a body to be set up, to consider and suggest the type of retirement package that an elected president of our young republic can look forward to receiving.

Only those who leave an elected office of the head of state because they were charged with criminal offenses, or convicted under the law, should be denied such benefits, even if they were correctly and popularly elected to the office of the head of state before they committed the crime. Political misdemeanours are not to be

construed by the opponents as an excuse for denying an elected head of state their post service privileges.

It goes without a say, that those South Sudanese politicians, who become heads of our state, as a result of a successful military coup, or rebellion or conspiracy of any sort, should not be entitled to receiving the post service benefits of an elected head of state being proposed here.

South Sudan continues to pay heavily for the misdeeds of its political leaders. It cannot afford to reward political leaders who commit such bad needs, or who conspire to get to become heads of our country.

One of the most important political actions all the communities of South Sudan must guard against, is military coups or armed rebellion of any sort. It is obvious, that in an election process being proposed in this document, no one, no matter how large, or numerous they believe their ethnicity to be, can win the presidency of our country, without the full cooperation, participation and support of the majority of all the other ethnicities of South Sudan. A popularly elected head of state of the young republic of South Sudan, therefore, becomes a shared official by all of the people of South Sudan and must not be identifies with their original ethnicity or be ethicized for any reason whatsoever. The same cannot be said about anyone who has usurped the position of our head of state by conspiracy and plotting, or through military coups, or any other illegitimate method of attaining political power.

L. FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMACY

Perspectives from the grass roots consultations on foreign policy and diplomacy reflect both positively and negatively on South Sudan's international relations. Positively, it is recognized that the international community, in particular the neighbouring states and the Troika (United States, United Kingdom and Norway), played a major role in supporting the independence of South Sudan. They also assisted the country in meeting the humanitarian needs of the people of

South Sudan during and after the long civil war with the North and since the internal conflict that erupted in 2013 within South Sudan.

The mediation efforts of the IGAD countries and their international partners to end the civil war in South Sudan through the High-Level Revitalization Forum is much appreciated. However, these traditionally friendly countries are urged to continue to support the current peace efforts and exact greater efforts towards the successful implementation of the peace agreement and the consolidation of peace, security, development and prosperity in South Sudan.

The National Dialogue recognizes that the critical attitude of the region and the international community towards South Sudan emanates from their disappointment that South Sudan has not lived up to their expectations for building a peaceful, stable and prosperous newly independent country that they helped to bring about. They are therefore searching for radical reforms, including changes in the areas of governance, security, financial management and economic policies.

South Sudan's foreign policy is therefore required to adopt and pursue a more rigorous diplomatic initiative to mobilize and harmonize these perspective agendas towards enhancing the shared objective of diligently pursuing peace, security, stability, good governance, reconstruction and development in the country.

The Secretariat of the National Dialogue Steering Committee