



**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH  
SUDAN  
NATIONAL DIALOGUE  
STEERING COMMITTEE**

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**CENTRAL EQUATORIA SUB-COMMITTEE**

**REPORT**

FOR

YEI RIVER STATE,

JUBEK STATE,

AND

TEREKEKA STATE.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

**ARCSS:** Agreement on Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan

**AU:** African Union

**CBOs:** Community Based Organizations

**CPA:** Comprehensive Peace Agreement

**CSOs:** Community Social Organizations

**EPCSS:** Episcopal Church of South Sudan

**IDPs:** Internally Displaced Persons

**IGAD:** Inter-Governmental Authority on Development

**IMF:** International Monetary Fund

**JMEC:** Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission

**ND:** National Dialogue

**NGOs:** Non-Governmental Organizations

**SPLA/M:** Sudan People's Liberation Army/ Movement

**SPLM-IG:** Sudan People's Liberation Movement-In Government

**SPLM-IO:** Sudan People's Liberation Movement-In Opposition

**UN:** United Nations

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## **PART ONE & PART TWO**

### **1. Executive Summary**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

The Central Equatoria Sub-Committee of the National Dialogue was in the field for 45 days, beginning in Yei River State in October 2017, and proceeding to Juba, Capital of Jubek State. The team continued with consultations in Terekeka State and finalized the assignment by conducting meetings in Ganji and Lokiliri counties of Jubek State and in Tali County in Terekeka State in March 2018. The estimated total number of the people consulted, in 37 meetings, is 3,200, inclusive of all sectors of the communities targeted.

The mandate of the Sub-Committee was to guide the process of the National Dialogue, listen and document the concerns raised by the participants and ensure an environment of inclusivity, transparency, freedom of speech and full participation in the consultations.

The stakeholders were asked: What, in their opinion, are the causes of the political and communal violence in the country that has caused unnecessary deaths, displacement into the bush, refugee camps as well as the suffering from hunger and disease? What, in their opinion, is the solution to bring the Republic of South Sudan back to peace, stability, and development?

The process of consultations was highly successful, due to the cooperation and support from Governors of Yei River State, Jubek State and Terekeka State. The Sub-Committee would like to convey its gratitude for the popular reception accorded to the team by the Governors of these three States. Each of the State Governments formed a committee to mobilize, coordinate and facilitate the work of the Sub-Committee. In each State, the committee was provided with transport, security escort to counties and lecture halls. Their support extended to contribution of fuel, feeding and accommodation of the team in Morobo, Kaya, Lainya and Tali Counties. The participants were very keen to meet with the National Dialogue Sub-Committee and they responded enthusiastically.

### **1.2 Members of Sub-Committee for Former Central Equatoria State:**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Position</b>
Hon. Gen. Clement Wani Konga	Chairperson
Hon. Jackson Abugo Gama	Deputy Chairperson
Hon. Stephen Abraham Yar	Member.
Hon. John Ruach Jal	Member.
Hon. Eng. Donald Gideon Azo	Member.
Hon. Eng. Emmanuel Edward Adiyako	Logistics Support Staff
Alexander Doku Pomuresuk	Finance Supporting Staff
Acolyte John Dominic Lazaro	Documentation Supporting staff Documentation and Secretariat
David Morbe	Supporting Staff for Documentation and Secretariat
Jenifer Alfred	Supporting Staff for Media
Laku Pitia	Supporting Staff for Media
Scopus Modi	Supporting Staff for Media
Mustafa Osman	Supporting Staff for Media

### **1.3 Stakeholders Consulted in Yei River State**

- 1.3.1 Senior Members of Military & Security Organs, Members of State Executive & Legislature.
- 1.3.2 Community Leaders, Elders, Chiefs and Senior Citizens.
- 1.3.3 Members of the Youth, Women Associations, Community Social Organizations (CSOs) and Community-Based Organizations (CBOs).
- 1.3.4 Representatives from Counties and Councilors.
- 1.3.5 Members of Business Communities, Chamber of Commerce, Market Women and Farmers Associations.
- 1.3.6 IDPs, Voluntary Returnees.
- 1.3.7 People with Disabilities, Wounded Heroes, Widows, and Orphans.
- 1.3.8 Members of Kajo-Keji Community.

### **Groups**

- 1.3.9 Meeting with Members of SPLM/A-I.O in Yei River State.
- 1.3.10 Meetings in Lanya with Members of State Executives and Councilors.

### **1.4 Stakeholders Consulted in Jubek State**

- 1.4.1 Executive and Assembly Members.
- 1.4.2 Organized Forces and Security Organs.
- 1.4.3 Chiefs, Elders, Traditional Leaders.
- 1.4.4 Women and Youth.
- 1.4.5 Juba County and Municipality Members.
- 1.4.6 Juba County and Municipality Members.
- 1.4.7 Juba County and Municipality Members.
- 1.4.8 Members of Business Community.
- 1.4.9 People with Disabilities.

### **1.5 Stakeholders Consulted in Terkeka State**

- 1.5.1 Executives and Assembly Members.
- 1.5.2 Organized Forces and Security Organs.
- 1.5.3 Chiefs, Elders, Traditional Leaders.
- 1.5.4 Women, Youth and Civil Society Organizations.
- 1.5.5 Members of Terekeka County and Municipality.
- 1.5.6 Members of Business Community.
- 1.5.7 War wounded veterans, people with disabilities, widows and orphans.
- 1.5.8 Opinion leaders, intellectuals.
- 1.5.9 Political Parties of Terekeka State.
- 1.5.10 Religious Leaders and Members of Faith-Based Organizations.

### **1.6 Summary of Emerging Issues in Former Central Equatoria State: Yei State, Jubek State and Terekeka State:**

- 1.6.1 Unification of the SPLA as one Army of South Sudan was not done.

- 1.6.2 Lack of Services from all the Ministries.
- 1.6.3 Lack of Retirement Age Limit for government employees.
- 1.6.4 Promotions in all sectors are not equitable and uniform.
- 1.6.5 Proliferation of firearms, which the government is unable to control, is a big problem.
- 1.6.6 Employment opportunities are not equitable in all the sectors.
- 1.6.7 Widespread rape of girls and women, looting and killings in former Central Equatoria State, particularly in Yei River State.
- 1.6.8 Immigration and borders are being controlled by one tribe only.
- 1.6.9 Widespread child abduction cases without intervention by the Central Government.
- 1.6.10 Economic crisis, random killings and looting in the country.
- 1.6.11 Salary delays are a big problem.

### **1.7 Main Issues Identified in Central Equatoria States of Yei River, Jubek and Terekeka:**

- 1.7.1 **Land grabbing:** This issue of land has become a big problem in former Central Equatoria State and needs serious intervention from National Government.
- 1.7.2 **Tribalism:** Tribalism has become the main source of conflict in South Sudan that has affected the whole country.
- 1.7.3 **Accountability:** There is lack of accountability in the country. Most government officials are corrupt and steal from public funds, but they are not accountable for being dishonest.
- 1.7.4 **Governor David Lokonga** is a contributor to the destruction of Yei River State. His allegation that “all the *bodoboda*<sup>1</sup> boys are rebels” alienated most of the youth and encouraged them to join the SPLM-IO in the bush.
- 1.7.5 **Pastoralists** are seen as the main source of conflicts in former Central Equatoria State, particularly in Yei River State.
- 1.7.6 **Borders:** Issues of borders between Terekeka and Bor, Terekeka and Jubek are seen in Terekeka State as serious enough problems to warrant intervention from Central Government.
- 1.7.7 **Power Struggle** has also become the main source of conflict in South Sudan.
- 1.7.8 **Tribal Army:** The so call Mathiang Anyoor<sup>2</sup>, are seen as the main source of conflict in Yei River State and in other parts of Central Equatoria, for example Bongo and Lobonok in Jubek State.
- 1.7.9 **The Jieng Council of Elders** is accused of being the main contributor to all the conflicts in South Sudan.

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<sup>1</sup> *Bodoboda* is a motorbike commonly used as taxi in South Sudanese towns.

<sup>2</sup> *Mathiang Anyoor* is an army unit supportive of the government; but is seen as being entirely manned by the Dinka and therefore “a tribal militia”.

## **1.8 Recommendations of Stakeholders Consulted in Former Central Equatoria State: Yei River State, Jubek State and Terekeka State:**

### **1.8.1 Security Reforms**

- 1.8.1.1 SPLA** should be a national army of South Sudan, independent of any political party and not as it is now affiliated to the SPLM Party.
- 1.8.1.2 Representation** of the sixty-four tribes in the national army is necessary to balance the force from being dominated by one or few tribes.
- 1.8.1.3 Equitable Employment:** Government should recruit proportionally from all the tribes in the country to avoid imbalance with forces composed mostly of tribes supporting their ethnic communities, often breaking military rules and creating tribal militias in the country, thus fueling tribal conflicts.
- 1.8.1.4 Unification of the SPLA** factions into one South Sudan Defense Force (SSDF) to fairly defend the people and the country, not just leave them as splintered brigades who function on tribal lines and in unethical manner.
- 1.8.1.5 Age Limit:** The SPLA/M Ministry of Defense should set out clearly a law for the national army. It should clearly spell out the age limit for serving in the national armed forces, after which their pensions are paid and retired from the forces to leave vacancy for the youths to upgrade their ranks in the army.
- 1.8.1.6 Efficient Service:** The SPLA/M have to provide efficient services to all the army units, by paying their salaries in time, providing uniforms, feeding and healthcare; hence reducing crimes caused by the army when these services are not provided in time.
- 1.8.1.7 Promotions** in the SPLA/M must be equitable and based on merit.
- 1.8.1.8 General Disarmament** must be carried out evenly and thoroughly throughout the country.
- 1.8.1.9 Mathiang Anyoor:** This army unit is unprofessional. It is fueling conflicts, looting, rapping, and killings in the state. We demand for its immediate removal from the barracks of Yei River State.

### **1.9.1 Institutional Reforms**

- 1.9.1.1 Equal Employment Opportunities:** The public sector of South Sudan should have equitable opportunities for citizens. Employment should be based on merit and qualification. Resources should be shared equitably and equally throughout the nation.
- 1.9.1.2 Revenue** collected locally should be managed by the states. While 40% of the locally raised income should be given to the national government, 60 % should remain in the state for development.

- 1.9.1.3 Resources and budget allocations** of the national government should be distributed proportionally, based on the population of each state.
- 1.9.1.4 Foreign investors** who come to south Sudan must first present their intended activities at the level of the state where they intend operate; they can then be referred to the National Government by the concerned state.
- 1.9.1.5 Local Government and Law Enforcement Agencies** at the state level should be granted powers of structuring local administration and governing the citizens in the state without interference from the National Government.

#### **1.10.1 Public Service**

- 1.10.1.1 Promotions** in the public sector should be at least after two to three years to allow for application of pensions and new recruitments in all government institutions.
- 1.10.1.2 Public Service** should provide job descriptions for all employees in government institutions.
- 1.10.1.3 Pensions:** Payment of pensions should be made at the level of relevant state for retiring employees who have served in government institutions.
- 1.10.1.4 Scholarship** programs applications should also be advertised at state levels, not only at the national level.
- 1.10.1.5 Jobs in the public sector at national level** should be awarded on the bases of relevant academic qualifications and experience in the field.

#### **1.11.1 Social Issues**

- 1.11.1.1 Land** should belong and be owned by the community. Laws governing ownership and titles should be clearly recorded at both the national and states levels.
- 1.11.1.2 Community land border issues** should be resolved at the inter-states level and based on the 1956 borders.
- 1.11.1.3 Pastoralist and cattle owners** from other regions should leave Equatoria Region. Those groups who committed crimes of looting, child abduction and cattle raiding in the Equatorial Region should be brought to justice at the national level.
- 1.11.1.4 Empowerment** of traditional leaders to solve cases of traditional nature, such as marriages, should be effected at the state level.

#### **1.12.1 Governance and Sovereignty**

- 1.12.1.1 Confederal system** of governance must be implemented by the National Government. This should be based on the three regions of Greater Equatoria, Greater Upper Nile and Greater Bahr-El-Ghazal.
- 1.12.1.2 The Constitution** of the nation should be amended according to the will of the citizens, for effective respect of the law and governance. It should be translated into all the national languages of our ethnic communities.

**1.12.1.3 The local chiefs** should be given the necessary training to understand the level of crimes and the laws governing the citizens according to the national constitution.

**1.12.1.4 Salary for Chiefs:** The chiefs should be paid salaries and facilitated with transport to reach all parts of the locality under their jurisdiction.

#### **1.13.1 Political Issues**

**1.13.1.1 Decree Appointments:** The President of South Sudan should stop appointing governors and members of parliament to power by decrees. Such positions should be filled through elections by the citizens, so that democracy is followed to minimize corruption in political appointments.

**1.13.1.2 Equitable Employment:** There should be equal and proportional representation of the three regions in political posts at the national level inside South Sudan as well as in the Foreign Service, where at the moment only one tribe dominates.

**1.13.1.3 Peace & Healing:** There should be a process for peace, reconciliation and healing, beginning from the top political leaders to the citizens for genuine forgiveness in South Sudan.

**1.13.1.4 Hate speeches** at top political level have to be prohibited by law to avoid passing hatred on to the next generations of South Sudanese

#### **1.14.1 Developmental Aspects**

**1.15.1.1 Even Development:** There should be equitable development programs delegated by the National Government to the states level to boost even development of the country.

**1.14.1.2 Women** should be given 50% of development programs to empower them to contribute to building South Sudan for future generations.

**1.14.1.3 New States:** Priority should be given to newly created states, to build their capacity to govern effectively. They should elect their own governors, who should not be appointed by presidential decree.

**1.14.1.4 Foreign Investors,** NGOs and companies coming to South Sudan should be deployed equally to states for even development of South Sudan.

#### **1.15.1 Way Forward for Smooth Transition, Fair and Free Elections**

**1.15.1.1 ARCSS** should be fully implemented as called for by IGAD. This is the only way forward for resolving all the conflicts and bring about a lasting peace for South Sudan.

**1.15.1.2 JMEC:** The parties to the agreement (ARCSS) should be accountable to JMEC in all cases of delay or deviation.

- 1.15.1.3 Constitutional Review Commission:** The commission for the amendment of the national constitution must be fully funded to speed up the process. The concern is that without constitutions, the elections will not be possible by 2018 as planned.
- 1.15.1.4 Full implementation of ARCSS** is the way forward for constitutional amendment. There is concern over the delays in the Constitutional Amendment process.
- 1.15.1.5 Election Monitors** should include the UN and foreign observers, while the management of the elections is handled by the UN for credible results.
- 1.15.1.6 Development Funds:** Funds designated for national development projects should be managed through the UN and the IMF.

#### **1.16.1 Strategy for the Return of IDPs and Refugees**

- 1.16.1.1 Repatriation and Resettlement:** The government should make proper agreements and arrangements with all parties involved in the care of refugees and internally displaced South Sudanese for smooth repatriation from the camps in the neighboring countries as well as the resettlement of the internally displaced citizens.

#### **1.17.1 Arrangements for Armed Forces**

- 1.17.1.1 Warring Parties:** All the warring parties (SPLA IG/IO and Others) should assemble their forces in cantonment areas, where selection into the national army and training can take place.
- 1.17.1.2 Size of Security Organs:** All security organs must be balanced and limited to numbers manageable by government's resources.
- 1.17.1.3 Exclusive Forces:** The Police, Prisons, Wildlife and Migration departments at states level should be exclusively staffed by sons and daughters of each state.
- 1.17.1.4 Reconstruction and Compensation:** The Central Government should bear responsibility for the destruction caused by the war at the state level. There should be government's reconstruction of the destroyed buildings and compensation for properties of the citizens looted by the SPLA soldiers.

#### **1.18.1 National Peace, Healing and Reconciliation**

- 1.18.1.1 Healing and Reconciliation** should take place when guns are silent and total peace is restored in the country; then the healing and reconciliation can take place between the SPLM-IG and the SPLM-IO.
- 1.18.1.2 Human Rights:** There should be respect for Human Rights among South Sudanese, regardless of politics and ethnic affiliation. The national body for Human Rights should be headed by a UN appointee.

**1.18.1.3 Hybrid Court:** The government should speed up the establishment of Hybrid Court outside the country for fair trial for crimes committed by South Sudanese nationals during the conflicts.

**1.18.1.4 There should be rigorous enforcement** of the law by the law enforcement agencies to protect the rights of citizens and aliens alike.

#### **1.19.1 Power Struggle**

**1.19.1.1** The Republic of South Sudan should be supervised by the African Union (AU) for a specific period of time to avoid the grabbing of power by military means.

**1.19.1. 2** AU should use force to punish leaders who want to take power by force.

#### **1.20.1 Conclusion**

**1.20.1.1 Federal System of Government:** Generally, all the stakeholders consulted in Central Equatoria Region stand for a Federal System of Government based on the three regions, which they believe will transfer political power and resources to the grassroots and avoid manipulations by Central Government to centralize power and resources, in spite of the decentralization policy.

**1.20.1.2** The National Dialogue Steering Committee is now to oversee further consultations at Regional Level on issues and recommendations raised at the Grassroots Level and cluster the results for further discussions later in the year at the National Level. In fact the Grassroots National Dialogue consultations seem to have motivated the communities to start owning the National Dialogue for peace to address community to community violent conflicts. The earlier the Regional Conferences are held, the more that would encourage community to community peace and reconciliation conferences, which in turn shall enhance the Revitalization process for the ARCSS.

#### **1.21.1 Declaration**

**1.22.1.1** The above voices are from stakeholders, as mandated by the National Dialogue Steering Committee.

## **PART TWO:**

### **Detailed Report of the Grassroots Consultations**

#### **YEI RIVER STATE**

##### **2.1 Introduction:**

The National Dialogue Sub-Committee started the journey in Yei River State. Meetings with senior personnel from the military, security organs and other organized forces were chaired by the Chairperson of the National Dialogue Committee to Yei River State, His Excellency Gen. Clement Wani Konga.

The senior military, security organs and the organized forces present were encouraged to present their views on what has affected them in carrying out their national duties in the state.

**Hon. Jackson Abugo**, a representative and Deputy Chairperson of the National Dialogue Sub-Committee, thanked the senior members of security forces of Yei for the large turnout at the venue of the National Dialogue. This was followed by introduction of the leadership of the National Dialogue Sub-Committee. Hon. Abugo explained that there were 10 Sub-Committees of the National Dialogue, which were formed at the national level, to reach out to all the former 10 states of the Republic of South Sudan. The team coming to Yei River State, he said, was covering the former Central Equatoria State, which has been divided into three states. Hon. Abugo further stated that the Yei River State's Sub-Committee of the National Dialogue was tasked with listening to the people and gathering facts from thirteen counties of Yei River State. The Sub-Committee wanted to hear from the people what they think is the reason why the people of South Sudan are fighting amongst themselves. The Sub-Committee, he said, was to further go to the grassroots level of the state to listen to their grievances.

The members of National Parliament representing Yei River State and who joined the four members of the Sub-Committee, are Hon. Ismail Mathew Muktar, Hon. Simon Lumori Philip, and Hon. Simon Guya.

The purpose of the National Dialogue, it was explained, is to find out why the country has been at war with itself for the past four years, during which the country has considerably regressed politically, economically, developmentally, socially, and in the delivery of social services to the citizens. It was for that reason that the President of the Republic initiated the National Dialogue.

The percentages of participant groups, all from the former Central Equatorial State, are as follows:

Women: 25%, Youths: 25%, Political Parties: 12%, Teachers: 5%, Traditional Leaders 5%, Organized Forces: 5%, Traders: 5%, CBOS (Community-based Organizations): 6%, Farmers Association: 5%, Church Leaders: 5%, Persons with Disabilities: 2%.

**Hon: Clement Wani** concluded with the following statement: "We are here to listen to you".

## **2.2 Meeting With Members of the Military, Security Organs and Organized Forces in YRS**

**Maj. Gen. Yoasa Lujang Kamba**, Commissioner of Police, Yei River State, was the first to speak in the forum. He began by saluting the National Dialogue Sub-Committee for Yei River State. His remarks were as follows:

**2.2.1 Promotions of rebel officers are to blame:** Private officers, who had been in the government forces, rebelled; then accepted back into the national army with higher ranks awarded to them by rebel leaders in the bush, a promotion above their colleagues who did not rebel. This practice has caused many more rebellions in the country.

**2.2.2 Cases of Rape:** Robbery and theft have been rampant echoed throughout Yei River State. The people of the state suffered the effects of the army committing these acts. Rape in broad daylight, has also been reported by young girls. These criminal acts were carried out by soldiers of the organized forces. These actions have destroyed the relationship between civilians and the army in the state.

**2.2.3 Murder Cases:** The people of Yei River State have gone through series of murders. These killings have angered the people and forced them to rebel, because no justice was served on the murderers, who are in the army. This is what has led to the continuing fighting in the country.

**2.2.4 Obstruction of Police:** The police in the state are not given full powers to operate as security organs of the state. The commissioner stressed this point, stating that the police in the state are not given guns for protecting civilians and their properties. Orders, he said, came from the national level. Ranks were not given on merit. Cooperation between the army and the police, in carrying out duties for protection of civilians, did not exist, he said.

**2.2.5 Unauthorized gunmen** in civilian clothes were a serious cause of insecurity amongst the civil population in the state.

**2.2.6 Protection of the Constitution:** In his final remarks, addressed to the National Dialogue representatives, the Police Commissioner said “the police are to protect the constitution of the country; but how can the police protect the constitution and the rule of law, when the state is flooded with guns?”

**Col. Malong Agra** saluted the National Dialogue Committee from Juba and said that he exercised his powers as the person in command of Division Two known as Mathiang Anyoor. The army, he said, was ready and waiting for such event as the National Dialogue. He commented on:

**2.2.7 Deployment of one tribe in the army all over of the country:** The National Army is dominated by one tribe, that is the Dinka tribe. This has increased the conflict because the army and the local population here cannot bond easily. This leads to hatred and killings, hence the continuing conflicts in the country.

- 2.2.8 **Cantonment and Training:** The National Dialogue should accept grievances of the people as to why they went to the bush and rebelled against the government. If they are ready for the National Dialogue, let the Government create cantonment areas and train them as National Army.
- 2.2.9 **Mobilization on False Promises:** The mobilization, carried out on false promises of promotion to high ranks in Yei River State by Abraham Wani, has attracted a large number of youths to rebel against the Government; that has led to the continuing conflict and attacks at all the borders of the state.
- 2.2.10 **Inclusive Army:** The National Dialogue should champion the creation of a National Army, composed from members of all the 64 tribes of the country; but each unit should be assigned to their home area to reduce soldiers' misconduct towards civilians.
- 2.2.11 **SPLA-IO:** The National Dialogue Sub-Committee for Yei River should proceed to the grassroots areas where the SPLA-I.O in Yei River State are operating, find out their leaders in command to express their grievances against the government, so that the issue can be resolved peacefully to stop the conflicts at the state level.
- 2.2.12 **Speeding up the Dialogue:** The Army has stood firm with the government in carrying out its duty towards protecting the people and their properties from the hands of the anti-peace groups; so the army is asking the National Dialogue Committee to speed up the process and to find an urgent solution to these problems affecting the nation.
- 2.2.13 **Need to Meet with the Grassroots:** The National Dialogue Sub-Committee which has come to Yei River State, should go down to all the counties making up the state to see the conditions and hear the views of the people down there, so that their voices can be heard and used for the peace process.
- 2.2.14 **Lack of cooperation:** The conflict in Yei River State is getting worse because the relationship between the army and the civilians is weak. The Army operates with up to date information when following the trail of the enemy; but the civilians here are not responding to security agents to help arrest the enemies of the state.
- 2.2.15 **Giving the rebels a chance:** Let the National Dialogue give the rebels the opportunity to come out of the bush with their guns, surrender to the government for peace while their grievances are catered for by the government, so to stop the conflict.
- 2.2.16 **The peace process in the state,** started by Bishop Elias Taban of EPCSS with the SPLM-IO in Yei River State, has yielded fruits. People have come out of their hiding to start their normal life activities in some towns of Yei River State. This calls for backup from the National Dialogue Sub-Committee for the state to finish the already started grassroots peace process to convince the rebels to come out for peace and take them to the cantonment areas allocated to them.

- 2.2.17 **South Sudan politicians** have to repent for crimes committed during the historical struggle for separation, which was the cry of the people. They need to resolve their differences as leaders ruling this country. The past must be left behind and we must develop the future, and not continue pointing fingers at one another, leading to power struggle for the presidency, which in turn leads to armed conflicts.
- 2.2.18 **Tribalism** in the Nation of South Sudan is the mother of all disputes. Generally, the spirit of tribalism is carried into practice at all sectors of the nation, with one tribe dominating in the army, economy, finance and civil service. These issues impact on lack of trust and misallocation of public resources with lack of accountability; hence the rebellion in the country.
- 2.2.19 **Reshuffling of top officials** is not done on merit but on connections, largely based on tribalism, often resulting in the appointment of incompetent ministers and civil servants.
- 2.2.20 **Mobilizations of the youth** are carried out in the towns of Yei River State by the rebels SPLA/M-IO, registering young men and women by deceiving them that they would provide them with training and jobs in their cantonment areas. This practice makes it difficult to differentiate rebels from civilians in Yei River State.
- 2.2.21 **Equality and fairness** for all citizens promote peace; but inequality and unfairness cause uprising and rebellion, leading to continued conflicts in the country.

### **2.3 Meeting With Members of the Executive and the Legislature of Yei River State**

The Second Session of the National Dialogue Forum was composed of members of the Secretariat of the State, MPs of the Transitional Assembly of Yei River State, Ministers, Director Generals and County Commissioners of Yei River State. The forum kicked off at 2 pm promptly, with the introduction of the National Dialogue Team, followed by remarks by Hon. Abugo and H.E. Gen. Clement Wani Konga.

**H.E. David Lokonga**, Governor of Yei River State, welcomed the participants to the National Dialogue Forum. The floor was then opened for any representative to speak freely as mandated by the Chairman of the National Dialogue Sub-Committee for the state.

**Hon Nafutali Gali**, Speaker of Transitional Legislative Assembly, Yei River State, made the following comments:

- 2.3.1 **There is no freedom of speech** for the parliamentarians to speak out openly on what the people say are the reasons the conflicts started and continues.
- 2.3.2 **The Government has forgotten** the delivery of services to the people as promised by the SPLM Party during the war. There are also repeated negative remarks against Equatorians, which are difficult to forget.

- 2.3.3 **Rule of law** is forgotten, by not respecting the national constitution for good governance in the country.
- 2.3.4 **The SPLM Party** must interpret the liberation philosophy democratically.

**Hon Jacob Aligo**, Acting Minister for Physical Infrastructure, Roads and Bridges commented:

- 2.3.5 **Leaders have not** resolved their differences along regional lines. The SPLM Party has failed to reconcile the people.
- 2.3.6 **Following the 1991 rebellion** in the SPLM/A, many innocent people were massacred on tribal bases and no proper reconciliation was done. So many people carried in their hearts the idea of revenging; and this has occurred again and again since 2013. These past conflicts will repeat themselves until we have proper national reconciliation and healing.
- 2.3.7 The implementation of the **Comprehensive Peace Agreement, CPA**, which led to the separation of South Sudan from Sudan 6 years ago, has failed to unite the people of South Sudan.
- 2.3.8 **The division in the SPLM Party** also resulted in the splintering of the SPLA into tribally armed loyalists who protect the interest of individual leaders, not the interest of the country. And so the conflict continues.
- 2.3.9 **The Equatorians** are said not to have fought in the liberation struggle; yet the SPLA/M entered Yei in 1987. Youths were taken to join the armed struggle. Why should Equatorians now struggle to be recognized by the SPLA/M Party?
- 2.3.10 **Community-based associations**, formed by elders on tribal bases, should be banned in this country, because they have negative influence on the youths and are fueling conflicts.
- 2.3.11 **Equal opportunities** should be given to all South Sudanese without discrimination of any kind.
- 2.3.12 **Tribalism should be banned** by law in South Sudan to avoid conflicts.

**Hon Adil Emmanuel**, MP, said that they have witnessed violations of the rights of the people of Yei River State by SPLA soldiers. The soldiers accused the people of being rebels, beat and killed them without bringing them to court. That is why people have run into neighboring countries of Congo and Uganda. He added the following comments:

- 2.3.13 **Lack of justice**, fairness and accountability in the army and other public sectors is a big problem. Public Service hiring for jobs should be strictly on merit; the same with promotions, all of which are currently done on tribal bases; resulting in mistrust and conflict.
- 2.3.14 **Lack of service delivery** to the people on transparent and credible bases by the government is a big challenge. Unfair development

polices and delays of payment of salaries cause grievances and result in conflicts amongst the people.

2.3.15 **Chronic bad governance** has not been fully investigated in South Sudan.

2.3.16 **Awarding of scholarships** should be transparent and fairly distributed to qualified citizens without discrimination.

2.3.17 **The SPLM Party** has moved away from being a national political party to being a splintered tribal organization.

2.3.18 **Federalism:** I strongly recommend a federal system of governance for South Sudan.

2.3.19 **Justice:** We badly need justice in this country.

2.3.20 **End the war:** We badly need the war to end, particular in Yei River State.

2.3.21 **Governance:** The government should review the system of governance in South Sudan.

**H.E David Longa**, Governor of Yei River State gave thanks for being given the opportunity to response to fundamental issues troubling South Sudan. He said “the people’s aspirations were achieved in the Referendum”; then proceeded to make the following comments:

2.3.22 **The Economic Sector:** There is mismanagement of national resources without accountability.

2.3.23 **Privet Sector:** People need development through Privet Sector. We expected investors to come and invest in the country and give people opportunity for employment. Contrary to expectations, the desk for reception of investors and issuance of official documents has been through grabbing. Every investor comes with the so-called “shareholders”. These shareholders are the ones enjoying the resources of Privet Sector. There is serious corruption there.

2.3.24 **Policy for foreign investment in South Sudan** should be made transparent by the government, otherwise investment becomes corrupted.

### **Security Sector**

2.3.25 **The size of SPLA is not known.** The size of all the organized forces in the country is not known. And they are allocated a large percentage of the budget every year. That money goes into the pockets of individuals; that’s not fair!

2.3.26 **Barracks should be constructed** all over the country for the army. That way, we would be able to know the numbers and ensure that social services such as education and healthcare are provided to their families.

2.3.27 **Deaths and retirements** in the armed forces remain unrecorded. It is important that rigorous recording must begin here, so that we know who is dead or alive or needs to be retired with appropriate retirement package.

- 2.3.28 **New greedy officers** have taken over the SPLA with their new high ranks; thus pushing away the liberators and causing conflict in the armed forces.
- 2.3.29 **The SPLM** has registered a lot of successes in the past and the records are there to see; but the problem has been in the leadership of the movement and the party. The SPLM should be reconstituted from the grassroots up to the top to remove corruption.
- 2.3.30 **Other Parties:** When the SPLM reconstitutes itself, it will discover that other parties have come up and there will be competition for votes to form a government. Basically, that's all I want to say about the burning issues that have made South Sudan unstable.

**Hon Jacob Garsuk**, MP from Kajo-keji, commented:

- 2.3.31 **People are stressed out**, as they are suffering from diseases of rape, killings, robbery and looting. Most people have run away to refugee camps in Uganda.
- 2.3.32 **Pastoralist have to leave the lands of Equatoria** because there are no similarities between activities of cattle herders and agriculturists; and this leads to conflicts.
- 2.3.33 **Kids in the army:** Let the government of SPLM make efforts to transform the national army into maturity, rather than continue to bring kids who do not understand their duty to the people, whose property they loot for survival.

**Hon Layila Huda Michael**, Minister for Local Government and Law Enforcement, commented:

- 2.3.34 **Oppression by SPLM Government:** People of South Sudan have forgotten why they separated from the North. We were oppressed and dominated by the Arabs. Now the SPLM Government is the one carrying out all the oppressions in South Sudan.
- 2.3.35 **No respect for the Law:** The SPLM Party is not implementing the laws and the constitution. Most laws are broken by top political leaders; the result is conflicts in the country.
- 2.3.36 **Fair representation:** The governing party, SPLM, should have representation of all the 64 tribes of South Sudan at the leadership and grassroots levels.
- 2.3.37 **Misunderstood Liberation:** South Sudanese have misunderstood the meaning of liberation. These are the same particular groups of people who are pointing fingers and accusing Equatorians of not having contributed to the war of liberation. This attitude is provocative to Equatorians.
- 2.3.38 **Nationality is not given equally and fairly** to all the citizens. When Equatorians go to migration offices for documents, they are suspected of being Ugandans or Congolese because Equatoria borders Uganda and Congo. Top positions in migration offices are all held by members of the Dinka tribe. How will justice be done to all the ethnicities of the nation?

2.3.39 **Democracy is not observed.** The rule by the people for the people is not working in this nation because decisions are taken by one person and implemented for the whole country. This leads to corruption and nepotism; hence the conflicts continue in the country.

**Hon Awete Esther John**, MP representing Greater Lanya County, commented that “the military is the biggest problem in the country, because it’s biased and builds on tribal roots and is affiliated to personal loyalty, which makes the army hard to be controlled by the Government of South Sudan”. She added the following comments:

2.3.40 **Promotions in the army are not based on service merit.** High ranks are awarded to soldiers closer to the top leadership and officials. Those who are not related to the top leadership and officials are overlooked; and this leads to conflicts in the army.

2.3.41 **Equatorial top army officials are not given due respect** by fellow soldiers from other regions, nor given the chance to launder money like army officers from other regions.

2.3.42 **Power struggle** by the two tribes, Dinka and Nuer, in South Sudan have to be monitored by one of the world’s super power countries to resolve their differences at once to give the country a chance for peace.

2.3.43 **All soldiers loitering** in Yei River State with guns and in uniform have to be taken to the barracks, rather than just leaving them to continue scaring people around the town.

**Hon Catherine Juan**, Minister of Agriculture, blamed the ruling party, SPLM, for lack of transparency on the implementation of the agreements, signed with the warring parties, and not telling people where the country is heading on the peace process.

**Hon Jenifer Yobu**, MP in the Transitional Assembly of YRS, commented:

2.3. 44 **Work ethics:** Top political leaders have corrupted work in the offices by linking work place to their homes, friends, relatives; thus changing the office work ethics from professionalism to personal workspace.

2.3.45 **Chain of command** is not respected by government officials in South Sudan. Often, it is the top officials who allow the order to break down.

2.3.46 **Service delivery** to the public by the government is insufficient. The public demand services like hospitals, schools and good roads.

2.3.47 **Unfair** allocation of services provokes people to rebel in this country.

**Hon Silvano Bata**, Deputy Speaker, YRS Transitional Assembly, Welcomed the National Dialogue Committee to YRS, for having come to listen to grievances from the grassroots. Here are some of his views:

- 2.3.48 **Federal system of governance** should be granted to the people of South Sudan in order to reduce the movement of conflicts from State to State. With federal system, every State will be responsible for its security, generate resources and appropriately allocate them for development of their States.
- 2.3.49 **Three Greater Regions:** The federation should be based on the old three regions of South Sudan.
- 2.3.50 **Powers to Governors:** State governors must be given full powers and authority to generate and allocate resources and services to the people in their own states' Capitals, Counties, Payams, and Bomas; thus making states develop evenly and be strong.
- 2.3.51 **Law & Order:** State Commissioners of Police should receive their orders from the Governor of the State they are in, for the maintenance of Law & Order, rather than from the Central Government. It makes reporting and responsibility direct and simple.
- 2.3.52 **Soldiers are the eye and protectors** of the country and the people. They and their families should be given medical care and paid promptly.
- 2.3.53 **Retirement and Pensions:** The constitution of the country should be amended on working age limit for the civil service; this will create employment opportunities for the youths to have a chance in serving in the civil service. Retiring civil servants should be given due pension packages.
- 2.3.54 **Foreign Policy:** Foreign Policy of the country should be clear on which states of the country are willing to engage with which investors from either socialist or capitalists oriented economies, so that investment is directed to the right states.
- 2.3.55 **The National Dialogue Sub-Committee**, which has come to the grassroots, should present the views collected transparently to the National Dialogue Leadership for the resolution of the conflict in the country.

**Hon Lokoto Daniel**, MP, spelt out his views to the National Dialogue Sub-Committee to YRS in the following statements:

- 2.3.56 **Lack of good governance** is the result of the ruling party, SPLM, not following the constitution. The leading officials of the party have taken the law into their own hands and led the country into conflict.
- 2.3.57 **Review the Constitution:** A committee should review the constitution and all articles governing South Sudan. Although the right articles appear to be there in the constitution, they are not well articulated and therefore need to be reformed and implemented to stop people taking the law into their own hands.
- 2.3.58 **Reform the Army:** Reformation process must begin for the security and armed forces to be professionalized.
- 2.3.59 **State's Resources:** Resources generated locally by a state should not be taken away from that state.

2.3.60 **The 32 States:** The government has created 32 states; but most of them have no adequate resources to run them; so they should be abolished.

2.3.61 **Inter-marriages** between Dinka men and the Equatorian women should be safeguarded by the law, because these marriages are characterized by a lot of suffering. The children produced are taken away and the mother is sent back home without children. This practice cannot heal the pain in the hearts of Equatorian women.

**Hon Lokudu**, MP in the State Legislative Assembly of YRS, stated that while we start with the National Dialogue, the conflict was going on in the villages. He summed up the issues as follows:

2.3.62 **Tribal Army:** The SPLM Party has destroyed the unity of the 64 tribes of South Sudan by adopting tribal armies, which are sent to all the States of the country to commit crimes of killings, lootings, raping, and robbing local people; that's the reason for the continuing conflict.

2.3.63 **Need for boundaries:** The SPLM government should by all means support the federal system of governance in South Sudan; so that we can have state boundaries to maintain proper governance and accountability; transparency is then witnessed by the people.

**Hon Joice Kiden**, MP in the Legislative Assembly of YRS, commented that:

2.3.64 **The Police in Yei River State** are disarmed by the army. There is need for collaboration with the rebels in the bush because they are all Equatorians. Disarming the local police by the Dinka in the army makes many local policemen rebel and join the rebels in the bush and continue the conflict in YRS.

2.3.65 **Trained youths abandoned:** In 2006 there were youths trained to join the police force in Alero, 7 miles on the Kaya Road. Their training ended without being commissioned. The few who joined the police had remained private, while their Dinka colleagues got promotion to high ranks.

2.3.66 **The Army** is not supported as in other countries. The government has recruited a very large number of soldiers, but they are not provided with services. They are not paid promptly; this is why they start looting.

2.3.67 **There is marginalization of women** by men in the public service positions and in political posts. Men have taken all the top positions, leaving women vulnerable and helpless.

**Hon Agrey Cyrus Kanyikua** listed the following issues:

2.3.68 **Business by the Forces:** The army is carrying out business in the public service. The top army officers are using the money intended for the soldiers to start businesses in the towns. They are doing their own business in the market; hence the delays in

paying salaries to the soldiers, paving way for conflicts in the country.

2.3.69 **Corruption** at the top level of the government is not questioned by anybody. The level of corruption in government is not being recorded in the books of laws by the government. Diverting public funds and other resources to personal benefit is leaving the poor yearning for service provisions. This syndrome is the cause of conflict when people demand their rights.

**Hon Muki Batali**, YRS Adviser on Security, stated that “the problem of South Sudan is leadership”, which dates back to the Anya-Nya Liberation Movement, then to the SPLA/M liberation period, and is continuing today. He observed:

2.3.70 **The Dinka and the Nuer have** had grievances against each other since the beginning of the liberation struggle in the bush. Their conflict was witnessed by killings of innocent tribesmen and women in 1991, 2005- 2013, 2016. These two tribes have never come together for reconciliation to share their grievances and find amicable solution for their conflict and this has led the whole country into conflicts all these years.

2.3.71 **The SPLM as the ruling party** in the country has to amend its constitution and reform itself.

2.3.72 **The chairman’s** position in the SPLM Party should be held by someone other than the president of the country. This will give chance for resolution of conflicts in the party, independent of President’s wishes.

**Hon Henry Kala Sabune**, MP, YRS, commented:

2.3.73 **Tribal Army:** The current army is established on tribal bases. They only listen to commands from those of their tribes; hence the killings and looting of civilians.

2.3.74 **Dinka Army:** The army has a plan to push all the Equatorians out of their land and use the land for grazing their cattle. This is what has provoked Equatorians to take up arms to defend their territory from the Dinka Army.

2.3.75 **Division at the top:** Divisions at the top of the armed forces is the cause of conflicts in South Sudan. The President is not appointing his subordinates fairly to the top positions in the army; this has brought division in the army and the running away of some generals into the bush for rebellion.

**Director General, Amule Felix** commented:

2.3.76 **Centralized system:** The system of governance in South Sudan is not properly defined and adhered to. The decentralized system, of creating states and taking governance to the people, is not democratically applied by the leaders. Administration is still currently centralized and controls all the resources of the states. This is puzzling to the people; hence the conflicts to seek justice.

**2.3.77 Nepotism in place of work:** The current government of the SPLM Party is characterized by corruption in employment of wrong people to the wrong positions by relatives. This has made it impossible to provide basic services evenly to the people since relatives only cater for their own families and villages.

**2.3.78 Agreements Dishonored:** The SPLM government has failed to implement all their agreements signed in Addis Ababa and Arusha. This has frustrated the citizens on the future of South Sudan; hence the fighting with the aim to remove the bad government from power and lead the people towards democracy.

#### **2.4. Meeting with Community Leaders, Elders, Chiefs, Traditional Leaders and Senior Citizens of Yei River State<sup>3</sup>**

**David Bala**, an elder of Yei, commented that Yei has been a free and peaceful land, free from conflicts throughout history. But what has brought conflict to Yei are:

**2.4.1 Tribalism:** The spread of tribalism in South Sudan has brought these continuous conflicts. Domination of all the 64 tribes by one tribe, which is more powerful than all the other tribes, has caused this bitter struggle by the other tribes for fair governance of the country.

**2.4.2 Army of Dinka Youth:** The army of Dinka youth as soldiers in Yei River State has raised questions and suspicions in people's minds as to what has happened to the Kakwa youth? The answer is that they have either run to safety or have joined the opposition to defend themselves from this oppression; hence conflicts and exodus out of Yei River State to the neighboring countries.

**Clement Taban**, Paramount Chief of Pojulu County, blamed the soldiers for ignoring leadership decisions. He observed:

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<sup>3</sup> *Amongst the Nilotics of South Sudan, particularly the Jieng (Dinka), Traditional Leaders, often known as Spear Masters or Masters of the Fishing Spear, were both spiritual and temporal community leaders. The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium recognized their importance and appointed most of them chiefs, thus strengthening their already inherited importance. However, later administrations of Sudan and South Sudan appointed many chiefs who, though capable, were not from traditional families; in the eyes of the communities, they were "chiefs" of an alien government, feared but hardly respected. This is similar in other South Sudanese communities; thus the somewhat confusing terms of "chiefs and traditional leaders".*

- 2.4.3 Unnecessary killing of people in Yei has become the rule rather than the exception.
- 2.4.4 We accept the National Dialogue; but we need a federal system of governance, based on the three regions of Greater Bahr el-Ghazal, Greater Equatoria and Greater Upper Nile.
- 2.4.5 People should go and work in their home state.

**Khemis Noah Kisanga**, an Elder of Yei, said that the dialogue, initiated by the President, should have started from the top leadership of government and the warring SPLM/A-IO to reconcile and call for forgiveness from the citizens of the nation to bring peace; but not fueling conflicts by more reservations than implementations. He commented further:

- 2.4.6 **Powerless Assembly:** The State National Assembly is not given powers to discuss motions against the SPLM Party, to carry out reforms in the constitution and rule of law and to affect changes at the top leadership. This is what has failed good governance in this country. Only personal decisions are implemented; hence the conflicts.
- 2.4.7 **Excessive Presidential Powers:** The president of the party has centralized authority and has given it all to himself by issuing decrees, controlling all the resources of the country and marginalizing all his top advisors. This practice has raised the voice of the people for change of power by force; hence the conflicts.
- 2.4.8 **Different Cultures:** The different ethnic cultures of South Sudan do not mix easily. The Dinka are pastoralists. When they are in Equatoria with their cattle, they destroy the crops of the Equatorians. So, this divergence in culture always sparks conflicts in the communities of South Sudan.
- 2.4.9 **Lack of Transparency.** There is lack of transparency regarding agreements that have been signed. People are not clear about what was agreed to be implemented for peace, justice and reconciliation. Citizens get confused, angry and revolt.
- 2.4.10 **Citizenship:** People are not accorded citizenship equally. People boarding Uganda and Congo are assumed foreigners by the Dinka, who occupy top positions in immigration offices. These border people spend a lot of their time proving they are South Sudanese. Many Equatorians get angry and rebel.
- 2.4.11 **Tribalism** has divided the people in the army, public service, and in social life. This uneasy unity kept creaking until it broke apart in the 2016 fighting in Juba and subsequent expansion of the conflict into Equatoria.
- 2.4.12 **Federation:** The federal system of governance is now the demand by the Equatorians. This has been the cry of the people since the liberation wars from the Arabs till today. It is easy to govern under the governor of the state. If this demand is not acceded to by the ruling party, the conflicts will continue.

2.4.13 **Corruption in the government** of South Sudan is witnessed by the citizens. Money and assets of the country have been lost through corruption. Development projects have been unfairly distributed amongst states. All this calls for reforms which, if not carried out, will continue the conflicts.

2.4.14 **Age limits in the public sector** must be provided for in the constitution of South Sudan. There is very high unemployment of the youths because there is no age retirement limit in the public service, as people who should have been retired continue to occupy top positions.

**Alice Seyema** commented that:

2.4.15 **The SPLA/M Party** has to transform its soldiers and catered for by the government. The South Sudanese army is not unified as one national army to defend the country's constitution. This has caused rebellion of top army officers and assuring the continuation of rebellion in the country.

2.4.16 **Reallocation of soldiers:** The soldiers deployed in the villages of Yei River State must be removed from the villages because they are the ones causing more conflicts between the army and the local people.

2.4.17 **The National Dialogue** should reach the people in the villages, so that they too understand the peace process in order to cease their hostilities.

2.4.18 **Red army soldiers** should be removed from the government armed forces because they are young and carry out their orders in a wrong manner, negatively impacting on the people.

**Santino Deng** commented that:

2.4.19 **The National Parliamentarians** are to blame for not amending the constitution of the party into laws that prevent people from taking excessive powers into their own hands. These powers that are issued as decrees have caused the conflicts in the country.

2.4.20 **The government is the cause** of conflicts in South Sudan through appointing incompetent people to the public service positions and into the army units.

2.4.21 **The government** has divided the people of South Sudan into two by pointing out its supposed enemies to the public, removing them from power and continuing to spy on them. This has pushed some people to the extreme and into rebellion.

**Ayom Alier**

2.4.22 **Army Leaders in Business:** There is corruption in the government; this encourages top army officers to enrich themselves by diverting soldiers' salaries to their own businesses. That's why so many soldiers are taking up arms against the government.

2.4.23 **Power Struggle:** The power struggle between the ruling party and other political parties has caused the continuing conflicts in the

country. These parties have mobilized, trained and armed the youths to attain power by force for them, personally, not in the interest of the country.

2.4.24 **Confusion by Ex-SPLA Soldiers:** Top ex-soldiers of the SPLA are coming to the grass roots to deceive the youths and use them for their own power struggle targeting the government of South Sudan.

**Abraham Wani**, until now in the bushes of Otogo County, YRS, commented thus:

2.4.25 **The Governor's the Problem:** In Yei River State, the Governor of the State is not helping in creating cordial relationship amongst tribes. He has demolished all community meetings of chiefs that used to bring people together to discuss matters affecting the youths in the State. This action has led to the slide back to tribally based community meetings. Controlling youths is hard; hence the conflicts cannot be easily resolved amicably.

2.4.26 **The President should issue a degree** for the removal of the Governor, David Lokonga, because the youth rebelled and went to the bush because he is believed to have been the one who brought the Mathiang Anyoor to Yei River State, carrying out his orders without question.

**Mama Marry Boka**, Women Representative, YRS, commented that the SPLM Party failed to reconcile with other political parties who were in the same liberation before them. She went on to say:

2.4.27 **Born to rule:** The Dinka said they were born to rule and this led to the creation of the three Greater Regions in early 1980s and the Dinka returned to their land.

2.4.28 **In 1983, Dr John Garang went to Addis;** and the Dinka fought with the Nuer there and no reconciliation was done.

2.4.29 **Grievance:** Then the Dinka said Equatorians did not fight in the liberation of South Sudan. This has upset Equatorians greatly. This grievance has led to the continuous conflict in the nation and will continue for generations to come if not taken seriously and a solution found.

2.4.30 **Elections through ballot box:** Change of power should be through the ballot box, not through force.

**Elizabeth Elikuti**, Women Representative, Morobo County, pointed out that the government has failed to deliver services promptly to the people and went on to say:

2.4.31 **Salaries** are not paid in time to public workers.

2.4.32 **Services** are not distributed fairly to all the states of the country; hence the conflicts.

- 2.4.33 **Unfair distribution of scholarships**, more to the Dinka youths than to other tribes in the country, is another cause of conflicts in South Sudan.
- 2.4.34 **The lack of good roads** inside the country and at the borders has led to loss of confidence in the ruling party. People are yearning to try another system of governance.

**Ayume Joel**, Youth Representative, Mugo County, commented on the government appointments to foreign embassies:

- 2.4.35 **Appointments from one tribe**: The government's appointment of members of one tribe to foreign embassies is unfair. These appointments to foreign countries are decreed by the President, even though those appointed are incompetent. The Equatorians are passed over in preference to Dinka people. These are all causes of conflict.
- 2.4.36 **Fair budget allocation** to all the 32 states is needed. Currently, states of Greater Equatoria are receiving smaller budget allocations compared to the others, even though they are the most productive states.
- 2.4.37 **Dishonoring agreements**: The government does not implement agreements they have signed for peace. The country has signed a lot of agreements with the warring parties in Addis, putting reservations on important articles they don't like, resulting in non- implementation and the continuing conflict.

**Aki Moses Emmanuel** pointed out that:

- 2.4.38 **The government has failed** to fully implement the CPA, which led to the separation of the country. Agreements signed in Addis and Tanzania have not been strictly implemented. The problems now are not being well managed by the government of the SPLM.
- 2.4.39 **The constitution** of the SPLM ruling party does not favor the citizens of the country at large, but only those individuals in the party and at high ranks in the army and other sectors nearer the top of the government.
- 2.4.40 **Political participation** in the constitution of the SPLM party does not consider the views of the citizens in decision-making on what sort of governance we want in the country. The party chairman rules over all, regardless of who is the final consumer of the decisions based on laws favoring individuals.
- 2.4.41 **The system of the current governance** does not favor the citizens. Too much power is in the hands of the chairman of the SPLM. He has powers of reshuffling the system without consultations and issuing decrees, which is dangerous at the current stage we are in.
- 2.4.42 **The youth** are not fairly represented in the constitution. They are not even considered in the national budget allocations. This unfair treatment is what makes the youths rebel against the government.

**Hawa Adam**, Women Chairlady, commented:

- 2.4.43 **The army needs to be trained** to be responsible. A modern army should know how to respect the law, especially in relation to civilians in the frontline. This will reduce misconduct by the army against civilians.
- 2.4.44 **The army of South Sudan should keep away from politics**. If the army keeps splitting up in support of different political parties, it will be difficult for them to obey the law of the country.
- 2.4.45 **There should be fair promotions** in the army, based on merit only, not through tribal or family connections. This will reduce conflict and rebellion in the country.
- 2.4.46 **Marginalization** in the SPLM ruling party has fully taken over the vision of the party. The party is no longer paying attention to citizens. When you link this marginalization in the party to what is happening in the army and in other public sectors, you can see why the country is in conflict.
- 2.4.47 **The SPLM Party has not paid any pensions** to the liberators of the country. The party has paid deaf ears to their demands for benefits from the struggle; hence the conflicts will continue in South Sudan.
- 2.4.48 **Yei was always a very peaceful place in Central Equatoria**. You could not find a Kakuwa fighting another fellow tribesman or woman. Schools were very many, compared to other states in the whole of South Sudan. This war, which has destroyed Yei and caused a lot of deaths, was brought here by the government. Let me ask a question: what is the reason for giving guns to young men? Thank you!

**Peter Slade**, Paramount Chief of YRS, said:

- 2.4.49 **The people of Yei are running away** because of the actions of the army. People are running and the children are dying.
- 2.4.50 **Land**: Our land is being taken by force. When you want your land back, they say you pay a bucket of blood for it. These things are happening now. They say to us, chiefs and the people, that we are all rebels.
- 2.4.51 **Military**: All the killings here were committed by the soldiers; that's why our youth have run away. You cannot stay in peace in a place where your mother, sister, brother and father can be killed just like that. Our children did not run to the bush as rebels for nothing. They run because of the massive killings that are taking place here.
- 2.4.52 **National Security**: Since the arrival of the National Security Forces, they have been trying their best to stabilize the situation. Yei is becoming normal again.
- 2.4.53 **In Yei we have so many tribes** but they never fight amongst themselves even when drinking alcohol; but now there is fighting because of other tribes who have invaded Yei. What is wrong with you people, why do you always want to fight?

**Recommendations**

**2.4.54 We need federalism** base on the three greater regions.

**2.4.55 Equal sharing of the resources** is what we need in South Sudan.

**Edward Logala** thanked the National Dialogue Committee who came from Juba to Yei. He listed the fundamental problems of South Sudan as follows:

**2.4.56 The Army:** Our army is not national. Our army belongs to individuals. Everybody has his own army. The army that was brought here to destroy us is not a true national army. This is one of major factors, which caused war to brake out in Yei.

**2.4.57 Promotions** in the armed forces and other public services have not been fair. There are people who joined the SPLM/A movement in 1986 and 1987, but up to now they have not been promoted; they have remained privet, while their colleagues are now Major Generals and Brigadiers. This is another problem causing instability in South Sudan.

**2.4.58 Land Grabbing:** Land grabbing in Central Equatoria, and particularly in YRS, has been one of the major issues that has caused war among the people of South Sudan. People's land is taken by force; when you ask why, you are risking your life! These are the things that cause fighting all the time.

**Recommendations:**

**2.4.59 If we want this National Dialogue to go well,** we need a national army.

**2.4.60 Open the Roads:** We, the elders of Yei River State, need the roads to be opened, so that we can go up to the grassroots, promoting peace. If they kill us, so be it!

**2.4.61 Back To Barracks:** All the soldiers who are blocking roads should be taken to their barracks, so that people can move peacefully.

**2.4.62 Vehicles Needed:** We want the government to provide us with cars, so that we can be able to visit all the thirteen counties of YRS.

**2.4.63 Ready for Dialogue:** Finally, we as the elders of YRS, are ready to go on with the National Dialogue in all the counties of Yei River State. Thank you very much.

**Khamis Nuwa** thanked the committee which came from Juba; pointing out that the objective of the National Dialogue was not only to focus on the issues of Yei but also on issues that are happening in other parts of country. "We welcome the National Dialogue," he said and added, "but, if we are to define dialogue as involving two people who are in dispute, the people are:

**2.4.64 President Salva Kiir and his former Vice President Riek Machar.** These are the people who caused the problem. They should dialogue first.

**2.4.65 National Assembly:** The people who are supposed to resolve these issues between the two leaders are the members of the National Assembly, because the National Assembly is the custodian of the national constitution. If they find that the issues go against the constitution, they should be in a position to say so and stop it.

**2.4.66 Role of States:** If it comes to us in the states, we have states assemblies in all the states of South Sudan.

**2.4.67 Kiir and Riek:** My observation is that the causers of the problems in the country are the people that I have mentioned above. These two people should be brought together. First let them reconcile so that the everlasting peace will come to South Sudan.

**2.4.68 Culture:** If the government is ruling the country with the idea of domination by a particular culture, it will not work at all.

**2.4.69 Lack of implementation** of what we agree and sign to is another big problem in South Sudan. Lack of implementation of agreements is letting down the country.

**Recommendations:**

**2.4.70 Decentralized System of Governance:** I personally can see the best system of governance is a decentralized system. This will be the solution to our problems.

**2.4.71 Federal System of Governance:** In a federal system of governance, everyone will remain in their own state. No one should be able to go to other states with the idea of dominating others culturally. People who try to dominate others don't know that all the tribes of South Sudan have their own cultures; and all these cultures are not the same. There are differences. For example, the Kakuwa have their own culture, different from that of the Bari. If I go with my Kakuwa culture to the Bari community and want to rule over them with our culture, it would bring a very big conflict. That is why I prefer the federal system of governance or decentralized system of governance, so that you can rule your people within your culture. I strongly recommend these two systems of governance. It is the only way of resolving the problems that we have in this country.

**2.4.72 Yei People are Peaceful:** We the people of Yei, we don't have any problem with other people because we know that in this world, if you are leading your people with tribalism in mind, you will not succeed. Even if you were leading according to religious principles, you would still not succeed. But if you were to lead your people democratically, that is where you can succeed in your leadership. Thank you so much.

**Michael Modi commented:**

**2.4.73 Greediness** is the one thing that's letting us down, because we don't want to give chance to others to lead. Not knowing that this leadership chair belongs to every South Sudanese citizen is the problems we have. If we had this kind of greed during our war of liberation, we would never have achieved our independence. We, the people of Yei, need to work with love and work with everybody.

**2.4.74 Tribalism** is another thing destroying us. Some people have taken South Sudan as their football that belongs to their team only; but South Sudan is not a football. One day it will end with you if you are not careful.

**2.4.75 Some Advisers** are bad because they are there for their own interest. These advisers are contributors in all the conflicts that have happened in South Sudan.

**Recommendations:**

**2.4.76 This Tribalism must stop.** When we were in the struggle, there was no tribalism. Whether we were Kakuwa, Dinka, Bari, or any other tribe, we were just South Sudanese. Let this tribalism end! What we need as South Sudanese is to live together in peace under a federal system of governance. But we don't want this federal system to be centralized. Let it be decentralized.

**2.4.77 Confederation:** If a federal system doesn't work, we will need confederation in stead, so that each state would be autonomous with a President and a Vice President.

**2.4.78 Four Vice Presidents:** If any of the above is not acceptable, then we should have four vice presidents, one each for the three greater regions and one for the president. If we do it this way, the problems of South Sudan will be minimized.

**2.4.79 Good Advisers:** We need good advisers who can advise the president. Thank you.

**Alice Ciama commented:**

**2.4.80 Children in the Bush:** To those who brought the National Dialogue, I would like to ask you a question: Is this dialogue going to end here with us or is it going up to the villages, to those people who are in the bush? I ask because we have our children there in the bush.

**2.4.81 Injustice:** One of the fundamental things that have destroyed us is injustice. Justice is being applied selectively by the government. This application of justice will not take us anywhere.

**2.4.82 Soldiers:** Soldiers are trained, paid no salaries, then send to war. Soldiers with no salaries and no food are sent to Yei. Are we really building or destroying the country?

**2.4.83 Our children,** who joined the army, were trained and taken to other states, have not returned home up to now. Where are they?

**2.4.84 We in Yei are not happy.** We live in sorrow and fear and you should tell this to the president. We see our children being slaughtered like goats in front of us! We have not seen this kind of behavior before. That is why women and children run to Uganda.

**2.4.85 The young soldiers** that are brought here, were badly trained. These young soldiers are sleeping with their mothers! Why *ya jama!* (Why people!).

**2.4.86** These soldiers are scatter everywhere here in Yei

**Recommendations:**

**2.4.87 I have one thing to say:** For us to be in peace in South Sudan let the injustice be taken away! The government should treat all the people equally and with justice.

**2.4.88 Return our children:** We need our children who were taken from here returned to us.

- 2.4.89 National Dialogue:** Now you say we need dialogue. This dialogue is supposed to start with President Kiir and his former Vice President Riek Machar, so that they can bring the final peace to South Sudan. I need these two children of mine to be brought to one table and make them unite, because they have divided themselves into SPLM/A-IG and SPLM/A- IO; but they are all my children! Let them be united!
- 2.4.90 Tired of War:** We need to tell President Kiir that we, the women, are tired of war because we produced children for nothing. We need this war stopped! We don't want war anymore!
- 2.4.91 Deaths:** A lot of children and women of Yei have died for nothing.
- 2.4.92 Return the Arabs:** Are we capable of ruling ourselves? If we are not able to lead ourselves, let us bring back the Arabs!
- 2.4.93 Proceed to Grassroots:** You, who have come here for this National Dialogue, don't stop here. We need you to reach up to the grassroots, so that those who are in the bush should know that we are in peace with them.
- 2.4.94 Moral Issue:** We don't want the bad habit of the soldiers sleeping with their mothers, beating their mothers and taking properties of the people.
- 2.4.95 Take them to Barracks:** All those soldiers, who scattered in different places, should be collected and be taken to their barracks.
- 2.4.96 Protectors, not Killers:** Let the soldiers be well trained to protect civilians, not kill them.
- 2.4.97 Back to School:** The young soldiers who have been brought here should be taken back to school because they are still very young. They don't know the difference between right and wrong, bad and good. They are smoking opium, which is destroying them and making them kill people anyhow.
- 2.4.98 Opium should be banned:** We need the law to strictly prevent the use of opium by all generations.

**Santo Deng** started by thanking Maj. Gen. Clement Wani Konga and the National Dialogue Sub-Committee members for engaging with the Community Leaders, Chiefs, Traditional Leaders and Senior Citizens of YRS. He went on to comment:

- 2.4.99 Parliament's the Cause of War:** You are asking what brought the war? The cause of war in South Sudan is in the national parliament. The decentralization has been turned into tribal bases; so this is the cause of the problem.
- 2.4.100 Government is also responsible:** The government is responsible for the killing of civilians. The army has been politicized by politicians. The role of a soldier is to take orders and act upon them. This is the fundamental mistake of the government, which has become the source of conflict in South Sudan.
- 2.4.101 Blame Government:** The government has dived the people; they created conflict amongst the people and they want to ask what created the conflict, while they are the creators of it.
- 2.4.102 Unfair Government:** There is no fair representation in the government. Only one tribe dominates everything, so where is the equality

we talk about? This is one of the problems we have in South Sudan.

**Recommendations:**

2.4.103 **Decentralized System:** If you say that we have a decentralized system of governance as the best way of achieving peace in South Sudan, then let it be. Those who are in a state where they shouldn't be should be taken back to their home states; the government should be responsible for their resettlement. We need equality and fairness.

**Ayam Alier** begun by greeting Gen Clement Wani Konga and the accompanying Sub-Committee of the National Dialogue, the Elders of Yei River State, in "the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen". He went on to say:

2.4.104 **Segregation:** Segregation is the major cause of all the conflicts that have happened in South Sudan.

2.4.105 **Lack of Food:** The soldiers have no food to eat; that is the cause of all the lootings. The government is to blame, not the soldiers.

2.4.106 **The SPLM/A Party:** This party has divided itself in to those who are in government and those who are fighting the government for power. That is the biggest problem we have in South Sudan.

**Recommendations:**

2.4.107 **First things first:** We need to know what went wrong with the Government of South Sudan and what they have done about it before we can talk about National Dialogue.

2.4.108 **Presidency:** My message to the president is that he should persuade the SPLM members to stop fighting amongst themselves and let other political parties compete, through general elections, for the president's seat. If he does this, the problem will calm down.

2.4.109 **Salaries and Food:** We need our salaries and food on time because. A national army should not stay in the bush without salaries and food. There is no national army, except ours, which is deployed to a bush war and remain with out salaries for seven months.

**Martin Guya Malimo** commented:

2.4.110 **Killings, looting and raping** of women are all carried out by soldiers here in Yei. They are the biggest problem.

2.4.111 **Tribalism** is another disaster that is killing us. You find tribalism in the promotions in the army and all other government's institutions. If you are the father, you should treat your children equally, otherwise you bring conflict into the family.

2.4.112 **Unprofessional Army:** The soldiers are not trained professionally. They do not know the law guiding the army on how to protect the civilians. That is why there are killings, looting, raping of civilians because they are not a professional army.

**Recommendations:**

2.4.113 **Need of Professional Army:** We need a national army which has gone through full professional training if we want the war to stop.

2.4.114 **Federalism:** We need a federal system of governance so that each state will be able to govern itself in a way that suits them.

**Peter Wal**, salute thus: “Hon. Gen Clement Wani Konga, the members of parliament the technical committee, all the elders of Yei who are here, I greet you all in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, amen.” He then went on to comment:

2.4.115 **MPs at Fault:** The parliamentarians are the people who allowed this problem to deteriorate. They just sit there, sleeping. They raid to say anything to the president.

2.4.116 **Army not to Blame:** The soldiers are suffering from hunger, no food for them. To survive, the only way for them is to steal and loot properties of civilians. The government is the one responsible for all these acts.

2.4.117 **No Schools:** There are no schools for the children of the soldiers; yet they re expected to protect the nation.

2.4.118 **No Pension:** Former generals and soldiers, who have been in the military for a long time, have no pension paid to them. This is already the problem.

**Recommendation:**

2.4.119 **Care of Soldiers:** If we want our country to be in peace, we need to look after our soldiers properly by providing them with good salary, food, medical care, training and education for their children.

**Major Doromo** started by addressing the forum thus: “Major General Clement Wani Konga, members of the Sub-Committee of the National Dialogue, my dear brothers and sisters, I greet you all in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ”. He went on to add:

2.4.120 **CPA Implementation:** The implementation the CPA, which started in 2005, adopted the 10 states of the old Sudan and forgot about the 3 greater regions we had before the independence of the Sudan in 1956. That was a mistake.

2.4.121 **No Awareness:** After the formation of the Government of Southern Sudan, there were no efforts to make people aware of what was actually going on.

**Alison Samuel** recommended:

2.4.122 **President for All:** My message to the president is that he should know he is the president for all South Sudanese, not just for members of one tribe. It should not be just members of one tribe who claim to be the only ones who can defend the president. All of us can defend our president.

2.4.123 **Role of Assembly:** The president should work with decisions made by the National Assembly because all the tribes of South Sudan are represented in the parliament.

2.4.124 **Defending our Borders:** Let the army be organized and be taken to our international borders, because our boarder lands are being occupied now being by the neighboring countries.

- 2.4.125 **Role of Police:** The security of towns should be left to the police. The duty of soldiers is to defend the nation, while the duty of the police is to keep peace and order throughout the country.
- 2.4.126 **Retired Soldiers:** All retired soldiers should be taken back to their communities.
- 2.4.127 **Role of the Church:** Let the church help, so that the people repent and change their hearts; if they don't change their hearts all of them will finish!
- 2.4.128 **Need Educated Leader:** We need a person who is well educated to lead us in this country, because the country is led by the mind, not by anything else.
- 2.4.129 **Yei for Yei People:** Yei should be left to the people of Yei. Any immigrants, who were here during the struggle for independence, should be taken back to their homeland. If any one of them wants to come back to Yei to stay, he should do so as an ordinary individual South Sudanese, not someone clamming that he is the son of Yei.

**Marko Gede Mobar** remarked:

- 2.4.130 **Parliament** and the rest of the leadership are the cause of the problems now taking place in the country.
- 2.4.131 **Lack of Food:** There is no food, even for soldiers. How would they survive without looting and stealing from the civilians? This is a big problem!
- 2.4.132 **Taxation:** In South Sudan, you find that there is taxation everywhere. And where is the money going? We don't know that, but this is already a big problem.
- 2.4.133 **Corruption:** Our leaders are corrupt; that's why they create conflict among us in order to continue with the corruption. So the war will not end unless the leaders are removed from leadership.
- 2.4.134 **President's Decisions are Rendered Useless:** The President's decision are made useless because, whenever he says something, the people around him are not listening, so nothing is implemented. This is the big problem we have in this country.
- 2.4.135 **Tribal Divisions:** Our people are divided into tribal groups. These are some of the main problems we have in South Sudan.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.4.136 **Success for National Dialogue:** I need this National Dialogue to succeed so that we can have peace and life in the country.
- 2.4.137 **Food:** Let the President provide us with the food we need.
- 2.4.138 **Remove Deadwood:** We need to retire all those big people who are doing nothing at the top of the leadership. They should give a chance to younger men and women who still have fresh minds.
- 2.4.139 **Roads:** We need the roads open throughout the country.

**John Ochala Arrio** commented:

- 2.4.140 **MPS are the Problem:** The problems are all from the parliamentarians because all the decisions are made in parliament.
- 2.4.141 **Political leaders** are the source of conflict because, whenever they are discharged from their duties, they immediately turn against the government.
- 2.4.142 **If the President fails to lead wisely**, the people who elected him have the right to remove him by telling him to step down.
- 2.4.143 **Corruption** is now a very big problem in South Sudan. You find that government leaders don't even put their money into the bank. Our currency is corrupted and useless. Innocent people are suffering because they can't afford to buy food in the market. Soldiers are now seven months in the bush without salaries. If there is a church that can pray for those people who are rebelling against corruption, I will pray with them, so that the corrupted can die because they are disturbing us for nothing!
- 2.4.144 **Truth is Hated:** In South Sudan, when you speaking the truth, you are considered a bad person, while the corrupted are seen as good people. These are the problems destroying us in this country.
- 2.4.145 **President Kiir** is another contributor to our suffering because whenever he makes a decision he does not follow it up. Making decisions without following them is already a problem; this indicates that he is useless.
- 2.4.146 **Left Alone:** People are now regrouping themselves; thus leaving the President alone because his decisions are made with other people not in the government; this is the big problem with his leadership

### **Economic Sector**

- 2.4.147 **Dollar to Blame:** The economy is down because of the dollar. How come that somebody's currency is the one dominating our currency? The top people in government are the ones taking all the dollars from the banks for their own pockets. This collection of dollars starts at the borders, where taxes, collected in dollars, are never submitted to the government or Central Bank of South Sudan. So this is the problem that has led to the inflation; and nobody can ask them. The traders have no problem. We, the ordinary people, are the ones being affected by the inflation. Look around Juba, from Jebel Kujur up to Konyokonyo and you will find around ten checkpoints. All these checkpoints are the problem with our economy.

### **Recommendations:**

- 2.4.148 **Remove the Aged from Parliament:** All the old people in parliament should be removed to give way to younger people.
- 2.4.149 **Rebel Against MPS:** This time around, if anyone wants to rebel against the government, they should start with rebellion against members of parliament. All these deaths are committed against poor people; so I want members of parliament to taste death too!

**Marko Labayi** began by addressing and greeting thus: “Major General Clement Wani Konga, the delegation of the National Dialogue Committee, the Elders and Chiefs, I greet you all in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; amen.” He went on to say:

**2.4.150 Eating and Grabbing:** The worst thing about the government is that they are good at eating and taking public property. When it hurts them up there, they rush down to civilians asking, “What shall we do?” But when it is about eating, they don’t bother to ask.

**2.4.151 Education for Children of Big People:** All the big people in government and public service have taken their children to the neighboring countries for studies, while neglecting our system of education. That is a big problem.

**2.4.152 Houses Abroad:** All the big people in government have houses in the neighboring countries. Whenever they cause trouble here they run away to those houses. This is the big problem we have in South Sudan.

**2.4.153 No Accountability:** In every wrong thing that has been done by government officers, there has never been any accountability. There were 75 government ministers and other big people accused of stealing billions of dollars and none of them has been held accountable for what they had done.

**2.4.154 Positions Not for Individuals:** The chair of Secretary General for the SPLM Party is still empty up to now. Why is it like that? Is he the only person who knows how to write? What about the other people? If somebody is not around, let the position be given to someone else. This is part of the problem we have in South Sudan.

**2.4.155 Nominations and appointments** of people for positions in government are being done by the President. This is wrong. Nomination is supposed to be done by the people, because they are the ones to select their people, not the President selecting for them. So this is one of the problems that have always been caused by the president.

### **Economic Sector**

**2.4.156 Foreigners in the Market:** If you go to the market you will find that Darfuris, Ethiopians, Ugandans and Somalis are making money. By the end of the day they are sending our money to their countries; and then the government is wondering about the fallen economy. The economy is failing because it is dominated by foreigners; and members of the government are behind all that!

### **Recommendations:**

**2.4.157 Supervision:** The President should make sure who in the government is working for himself and who is for the country. These people need supervision.

**2.4.158 Children Should Return Home:** We want the children of the big people who are studying abroad back home, so that when there is trouble their own children die too! Every time they cause

trouble, only the children of the poor are slaughtered while their own children are safe in other countries! This is not right.

2.4.159 **Accountability:** If we want South Sudan to be peaceful and stable, those who have looted the public must be made accountable for their actions.

2.4.160 **Multi-Parties:** For the good of the country, let the SPLM Party allow other political parties to come in and compete with them in democratic elections. Unless we allow other parties to compete in fair elections, the war will continue.

2.4.161 **Executive and Legislature:** If we were able to change members of parliament, they should be people who cooperate with the President. There is no parliament that works in opposition to the president of the country. No president should work alone without support of parliament. Parliament should listen to the President and the president should listen to parliament and everything will be okay.

2.4.162 **Democracy:** Members of parliament should be elected by the people. It is not the business of the president to nominate and appoint members of parliament. If the president continues this way bloodshed and the war will not end.

2.4.163 **Reform the Judiciary:** Judiciary should be reformed in such a way that only local sons and daughters of the community should sit in the local courts to judge their own people.

**Unidentified Member of Dinka Community in Yei** interjected:

2.4.164 **Dinka Want Peace:** We the Dinka community in Yei don't want any killings. All we want is peace.

**Asunta Wosuk** asserted that:

2.4.165 **Many bad things are happening in Yei.** Why hide them? For me I am disabled and I don't care if I die today or tomorrow; so I will speak out about painful things.

2.4.166 **Women Carry the Burden:** We women of South Sudan are producing useless men. We don't know it, but all the men are doing is planting seeds of hatred in us, children who later become a threat to their mothers. You men are just planting seeds of hatred just like that and leaving it to us. That is painful!

2.4.167 **War is useless:** What is the benefit of war? Since we were young up to now, our people are killing each other. Even babies are removed from the womb and killed! What has it done? Blind people are also killed! What kind of government is this!

2.4.168 **Rapes:** Even an old woman who has not done anything is tortured with a piece of wood inserted in her private parts. What is the reason for this? Even the Arabs did not do these things to us in the old Sudan! The men are also raped; what is the reason for that?

2.4.169 **Children are Raped:** Innocent children and mothers are raped and killed at the same time.

2.4.170 **Greedy Hearts:** The greedy hearts we have in the leadership have nothing left save hatred and loving themselves.

2.4.171 **Victims of SPLA:** In 1992 I, now a disabled person, was young then. I helped some people, who are now generals

in the SPLA, by providing them with a boat to cross the river. I thought they were liberators. Now they are killing us! The SPLA has turned against us, slaughtering us like goats when they find us on the road. When they come to your house they set it on fire and burn it down with people in it. What is the benefit of doing all these things you SPLA? SPLA?

**2.4.172 Big Guns:** The big guns that are not supposed to be used against civilians are being used to kill us. Some are chemical weapons that kill immediately after smelling the explosion. All these have been used against us. So why do we hide these things? The British never used such guns against us; but now they have been used by South Sudanese against South Sudanese.

**2.4.173 Stop us From Giving Birth:** If you want, why not give us medications to stop us from conceiving and giving birth to more children to be killed? This thing, South Sudanese killing themselves, is really painful!

**2.4.174 Running to Uganda and Congo:** Those who have run across to Uganda and Congo say that they will never come back until they are sure real peace is established in South Sudan.

**2.4.175 No Schools or Hospitals:** We don't have hospitals and schools now. You big people in the government have your children studying outside the country. And you are killing our children here, so that tomorrow your children will be the ones to rule us, because we are poor and have no power; but God is there with us

**2.4.176 We Need Peace:** All we need in South Sudan is peace. The women are tired of crying all the time. If you kill these young boys, how will these girls produce children in the future? With wood? We don't want all these bad things to continue happening in South Sudan. We want peace and normal life. Thank you.

**Makatia Newhemiah** opened her address thus: "Major General Clement Wani Konga, the Sub Committee of National Dialogue and the Elders, Traditional Leaders, Chiefs, I greet you all in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen". She went on to list "the problems that are paining us here in South Sudan, particularly in Yei," as follows:

**2.4.177 Yei Not Prepared for War:** Your Excellency, the people of Yei were not prepared for war. They are not ready to fight because the fighting started in Juba between the leaders of the SPLM/A. The fighting has expanded to the point where the civilians are the ones suffering. Why?

**2.4.178 Comparisons:** Yes, we have SPLM/A-IO in the bush and the SPLM/A in the government. In the bush, all these SPLAs are doing bad things to the civilians. But, if we compare the two armies, the ones in the government are worse than the ones in IO.

**2.4.179 Why People Run Away:** When the government soldiers fight with IO and the rebels have been chased away, the government soldiers will return and start killing civilians. This is the pain

we feel so much. This is why our people have run away from their state into the neighboring countries.

**2.4.180 Meaningless Killings:** What pain us most are the meaningless killings of unarmed people. People are killed on the road or in their fields. For what, while you leave rebels in the bush!

**2.4.181 Looting and Destruction:** People's properties are looted by soldiers, loaded into cars and taken to Juba. All civilians here have been witnesses to all this looting. Even cassava in the farms has been taken by force, while young cassava plants are uprooted and destroyed. These things are very painful to us civilians!

**2.4.182 Unnecessary Arrest:** When people try to run away they are arrested and some are killed. Sometimes they come at night to arrest and kill people.

**2.4.183 All Rebels:** All of us civilians in Yei are seen as rebels by the army and they don't want anyone to stay near them. But that is not true, we are not all rebels. These are things the government should pay attention to.

**2.4.184 Differences in Culture:** Cattle herders have a culture different from that of the people of Yei. They let their cattle eat people's crops and when you complain they say that one shouldn't. When the president passes a decree to tell them to take their cattle back to their home area, they simply disobey the law. This is not in our culture here in Yei because we obey the law. They disobey the law and the government does nothing. This different treatment of cattle people by the government is a strange culture to us. These two different cultures cannot live together in one place.

**2.4.185 Kiir and Riek:** Why does the President not call Riek Machar to Juba to resolve this problem? The Nuer people in the bush here will not listen to the local community leaders; but they will listen to Riek. We cannot talk to them because they have guns and will not listen or want to leave Yei. Only Kiir and Riek can solve this problem.

**2.4.186 Big Mistake by Our President:** Our President has made a very big mistake by entrusting each commander with thousands of soldiers. When that commander is dismissed or retired, he rebels with all his soldiers. This does not happen anywhere but only in South Sudan.

**2.4.187 JCE & Assembly:** There are these things called Jieng Council of Elders and the National Legislative Assembly, are these people really working together or are they working differently? Could you kindly explain that to me please? These two organizations are misleading the president. May be the president is being misled by the Jieng Council of Elders, and that's why there is so much problem in South Sudan.

**2.4.188 Lack of Trust:** Your Excellency, we have been doing all these processes of national dialogue before you came and we do not hear that any of our views have been implemented. So we don't know whether these things we are talking about will ever be implemented.

**2.4.189 War of Dinka and Nuer:** This war is between Dinka and Nure. They are the ones struggling for power in Juba. We are innocent of these things. If they were to leave us alone we would be drinking and dancing happily in our villages.

**2.4.190 Unrepresentative Soldiers:** All these soldiers here come from one tribe only. There is no fair representation. There are no Kakwa or Latuka officers amongst them. When they come from one tribe, they only present one point of view and disagree with everyone else. That's why they do the bad things they do and think that they are right.

**Recommendations:**

**2.4.191 Riek should come to Juba:** For the peace to come, Riek Machar should be in Juba, together with all the warring parties.

**2.4.192 We Need Peace:** The people of South Sudan, and in particular the people of Yei, need peace.

**2.4.193 National Army:** The army should be national not an army of one tribe. They should also change their behavior to live peacefully with civilians. Without civilians the army will not survive. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

**Jackson Kuol** remarked:

**2.4.194 Communities are the Problem:** The communities are the problem for the wars that are taking place because, when a community member is removed from parliament or from any position in government, they immediately mobilize and say that the government is against them; that they should fight the government, as simple as that. South Sudanese communities are the ones encouraging the wars.

**2.4.195 Corruption:** The government failed to implement the road project from Juba to Wau and the money that was given to the government disappeared just like that without questions.

**2.4.196 No Time Limit:** What is the Parliament doing? Since the formation of the government of South Sudan, I have not heard of any laws formulated by the parliament to govern the country; why? Why did we separate from the Arabs? If we knew it would be like this would we have separated from Northern Sudan? People are killed and no rule of law. Some people force themselves to remain in office for a long time because there is no time limit.

**2.4.197 Our Borders:** While we continue fighting amongst ourselves, the foreigners are taking our lands in the neighboring borders. We need to train our children on how to defend their borders.

**2.4.198 Unfair Representation:** There are no soldiers from our community in the army stationed here. None in our community will say that we have soldiers in this army. And none in the SPLA here will say they belong to this community; that would be deceiving themselves.

**2.4.199 Rapes:** When women go to collect cassava from the fields they are caught and raped and killed. This is not mere tribalism: it is

terrorism! These are terrorist actions which need serious government's intervention without compromise!

**Recommendations:**

**2.4.200 Educated Youth for Development:** We need the government to start projects, managed by educated young men and women. These old officials in office have limited knowledge, which has destroyed the country. You find that someone, who is a primary school-leaver, is the one managing development.

**2.4.201 Development:** We need development not war. We are tired of war.

**2.4.202 United Parliament:** We need the parliament to be united and realistic. If somebody is well educated please let him progress.

**2.4.203 People's Parliament:** Parliamentarians should respond to what the people want, not what they themselves want.

**2.4.204 Roads:** We need the roads to be open.

**The Women Association of Yei River State came up with written points, stating the problems of South Sudan and the solution to them as follows:**

**Security:**

**2.4.205** There is need for transformation of the army.

**2.4.206** The top high ranking officers in the army should be professional and God fearing.

**2.4.207** Army officers should have courses outside the country to bring changes.

**2.4.208** Recruitment into the army should be standardized and not recruited along tribal lines or ethnic population.

**2.4.209** The army should stay away from politics.

**2.4.210** The government should carefully and strategically integrate the armed forces.

**2.4.211** There should be proper computerized documentation of the army for easy identification.

**2.4.212** The army commanders should work closely with the community leaders for better relationship and co-operation.

**2.4.213** The name SPLA should be changed to South Sudan Defense Force (SSDF).

**2.4.214** The unification of soldiers should be under one command to avoid conflict among the organized force and military.

**2.4.215** The recruitment schemes should be introduced to address the issues of soldiers who have reached retirement age.

**2.4.216** Recruitment should reflect federal character.

The Army definitely needs good incentives such as:

**2.4.217** Salaries should be adequate enough and paid on time.

**2.4.218** Housing should be provided.

**2.4.219** Annual leave entitlement should be in place and implemented.

**2.4.220** Incentives for good behavior should be provided and implemented.

**Public Service**

**2.4.221** Equal representation of regions regardless of tribe or religion.

- 2.4.222 Positions for public employment at the national level should be circulated to all the states by the public service ministry.
- 2.4.223 There should be better management of public records at the national level.
- 2.4.224 Employment should be based on merits.
- 2.4.225 The National Government leadership should rotate amongst the defunct three regions.
- 2.4.226 States must have some limited powers on security currency and foreign affairs.
- 2.4.227 The public services rules and regulations should treat all civil servants equally across the country.

#### **Institutional Reforms:**

- 2.4.228 There should be economic sector reforms in banking institutions.
- 2.4.229 The Government should improve economic reform by considering opportunities for women and youth.
- 2.4.230 There should be economic empowerment to women through financial support e.g. micro finance for enterprises and entrepreneurship.
- 2.4.231 The Government should ensure space for women in the banking institutions and in the private sector.
- 2.4.232 The Bank of South Sudan should control the use of hard currency in our country.
- 2.4.233 Redefine and re-establish strong national unity, including, re-defining citizenship, belonging, residency and political participation.
- 2.4.234 The identification of South Sudanese should be based on birth, verified by community leaders, and chiefs and not by color of skin.
- 2.4.235 Marginalization of tribes at the international borders should be avoided.
- 2.4.236 The immigration officers working at the international borders should be indigenous people to the area and understand the local languages.
- 2.4.237 More women should be employed in all public institutions e.g. Ministry of Finance, Immigration, Customs, and Revenue Authority.
- 2.4.238 There is need to reconstruct the state and negotiate a social contract between the citizens and the government, address the nature of federalism, and tackle arising conflicts over land and borders and political decision affecting party structure:
- 2.4.239 Federal System: Yei River State women strongly recommend a federal system of governance.
- 2.4.240 The community, not land users, are the owners of the land.
- 2.4.241 Labeling of groups or communities as “rejects” should be prohibited by law.
- 2.4.242 Displacing local names of locations with new names by settlers should be avoided or prohibited by law.
- 2.4.243 The army should stop looting civilians’ properties.
- 2.4.244 Superior attitude by one community towards others should stop immediately.
- 2.4.245 Imposing the will to rule and exploiting people and land should stop immediately.

- 2.4.246 Land should be leased on periodic basis not on permanent basis.
- 2.4.247 Women should have the right to own ancestral land.
- 2.4.248 All registered political parties should participate in nation building.
- 2.4.249 All political parties should be free to exercise their political freedom without intimidation.

**To Settle Issues of Diversity means dealing with fear of political denomination, addressing issues of national army, civil service, foreign service, all involving:**

- 2.4.250 Equitable recruitment into army from all the regions of the Republic of South Sudan.
- 2.4.251 Training of a professional national army devoid of tribalism.
- 2.4.252 Barracks should be re-located outside the residential areas.
- 2.4.253 Quick removal of the tribal army Mathiang Anyoor from Yei River State.
- 2.4.254 Soldiers moving about in uniforms with guns amongst civilians should be prohibited by law.  
To resolve issues related to resource sharing and allocation, which include land ownership, management, communal and state land disputes, oil, gas, minerals and taxes:
- 2.4.255 Resources of a state should be managed by the government of the state.
- 2.4.256 The law should specify what percentages of representation should be applied in the formation of the national government.
- 2.4.257 All the land grabbed by SPLA generals during the liberation struggle should be returned to the rightful owners.
- 2.4.258 All minerals should be managed by the state government.
- 2.4.259 By Law, natural resource of a state should be 60% to the government of the state and 40% to the national government.

**To settle social disputes and sources of conflict such as cattle rustling, child abductions, communal violence related to marriage, territory, murder and other related issues such as human migration:**

- 2.4.260 All the cattle raided in Yei River State should be returned or owners are compensated.
- 2.4.261 All cattle, sheep and goats reared within town or residential parts of towns should be removed to create peaceful co-existence within the state.
- 2.4.262 Any murder case caused by an individual should be settled through courts and appropriate punishment or compensation settled.
- 2.4.263 Yei River State women are appealing to the Government to establish a competent court of law to address the issues of crimes against humanity in this nation e.g. brutal killings, physical assault, child abductions, rape, unnecessary arbitral arrests, torture and false accusations.

**To set a stage for an integrated and inclusive national development strategy:**

- 2.4.264 All the destroyed infrastructure within Yei River State should be rehabilitated.
- 2.4.265 All citizens of South Sudan should be fully respected by their government.
- 2.4.266 There should be a law guiding civil societies organizations, such women and youths groups.
- 2.4.267 The percentage of women in all public service departments and in politics should be 30% rather than the 25% as affirmative action in the political institution at all levels.

**To agree on steps and guarantees to ensure safe free and peaceful elections and transition in 2018:**

- 2.4.268 Environment is not conducive for elections to take place in 2018 e.g. too many displacement internally and into refugee camps. These people need peace to return to their homes.
- 2.4.269 Census needs to be conducted first before elections; but this cannot be done while the war continues.
- 2.4.270 The Constitutional Amendment Commission must be established and funded to speed up the process for the amendment of national constitution, but there should be no elections in 2018.
- 2.4.271 The President of the Republic of South Sudan, the Governors at the State levels, Commissioners at the County levels and the local authorities leaders should all be elected by the people, not by presidential decree.

**Agree on strategy to return the internally displaced persons and the refugees to their homes:**

- 2.4.272 The Government should make good preparations for smooth return of the refugees and IDPs to their intended counties, Payams, Bomas of origin for development purposes.

**Develop a framework for national peace, healing and reconciliation:**

- 2.4.273 The leaders should reconcile first and build a good relationship with the citizens to develop the country.
- 2.4.274 Healing and reconciliation should take place in the country when guns are silent to bring about total peace.
- 2.4.275 Respect for Human Rights: There is need for respect of human rights amongst South Sudanese of different calling and respect for all our ethnic communities.
- 2.4.276 Rwanda Example: South Sudanese should adopt the Rwanda's example of reconciliation.

### **Recommendations**

- 2.4.277 The President should stop working with the Jieng Council of Elders. He should be working with his Cabinet Ministers and officially appointed Advisers.
- 2.4.278 The Police should be engaged on issues of security.
- 2.4.279 A Federal System **MUST** be implemented.
- 2.4.280 Popular Democracy, not dictatorship, is the system we should strictly follow for electing and dismissing our leaders in South Sudan.
- 2.4.281 The citizens of Yei River State are called upon to respect all their fellow citizens.
- 2.4.282 Sudanese refugees in YRS are advised to stay away from involving themselves in local politics or military affairs, otherwise they can be sent back to their homes in the Nuba Mountains.
- 2.4.283 The government should make sure that our Constitutional Review process is done soon to allow for democratic elections.
- 2.4.284 The government should accept their errors and rebuild relationships through the National Dialogue we are talking about.
- 2.4.285 Laws and Orders should be respected and implemented for all South Sudanese.
- 2.4.286 Implementation of Law and Order should start right now.

**Alfati Morjan** commented that:

- 2.4.287 The creation of more states by the SPLM Government was unnecessary at this stage. While the country is still at war and in poor economy, there was no need to create so many little states. These created States fueled border conflict between counties. And there are no local resources to run such small states.
- 2.4.288 **The Issue of SSD Number Plates:** The Presidential Decree establishing SSD number plates for all vehicles was misguided. The government has created 32 states and should have been the duty of each state to have their number plates for vehicles registered in their states, so to raise funds for road construction and maintenance. The National Government is not solving anything by centralizing registration of vehicles.
- 2.4.289 The SPLM Party should reconcile amongst themselves by settling old disputes through peaceful reconciliation. Only then shall we have peace in the country.
- 2.4.290 The SPLM Ruling Party should announce a permanent ceasefire in south Sudan and bring all the soldiers under one command.

**Sebit Sapana** remarked that:

- 2.4.291 **More Firearms than People:** The country is flooded with arms. The number of firearms must be greater than the number of people in the country. These guns have to be collected from the hands of civilians to stop them from fueling more conflicts.
- 2.4.292 The poorest person in the country is the soldier holding a gun. He is intimidated, oppressed, denied services - and he is expected to protect the people. It is easy for such a soldier to turn his gun on the government.

2.4.292 **Injustice:** Justice is not equally applied to the citizens. Serious crimes are committed by people in power and no rule of law is applied to them. This undermines justice and the rule of law. Where there is no justice, there is no rule of law. All this leads to conflict.

2.4.293 **Lack of opportunities to the citizens:** The ruling party, SPLM, has done nothing, since the beginning of CPA, to create job-opportunities for citizens. Lack of jobs is why there is so much violence in the country.

**Buga Alex**, representing the Youth of YRS, commented:

2.4.294 The “born to rule” slogan by the Dinka is a big problem for unity. This tribe has taken the law into their own hands and continue to intimidate Equatorians. They claim that the Equatorians did not fight in the liberation struggle and that they, the Dinka, will rule forever because they are “born to rule”. This is what is forcing Equatorians to go back to the bush and fight for their rights.

2.4.295 State Governors have to be elected by the people in the state through the ballot box. An elected governor is responsible to the people who elected him or her, and should not therefore be appointed or dismissed by Presidential Decree. If people are unhappy with their Governor or he has committed a crime for the president to remove him, an election should follow to replace him through the ballot box.

## **2.5 Meeting With Representatives From Counties of Yei River State**

**2.5.1 Otego County:** The Representatives of Otego County presented what they see are the problems facing the five Payams of the county as follows:

2.5.1.1 Unequal Opportunity for employment in the various sectors of Yei River State. Lucrative jobs are given to people outside the five counties of the state; thus the local youths remain without employment and the only thing they can do is rebel as their only option.

2.5.1.2 **Land grabbing by the Dinka:** This is our ancestral land and it is ours by right. Due to the influx of the Dinka community in Yei, land is being grabbed; they grab and no justice is being done; no accounting before the law because they are the law here. They kill the landowners and take their land. That is a big cause of conflict in the state.

2.5.1.3 **Lack of Rule of Law** means that offenders are not apprehended and taken to court by the government of Yei River State. Some of people have taken the rule of law into their own hands. Crimes committed against the citizens and no one is held

accountable. Crimes of murder and grabbing of land and property are the causes of conflict here in Yei.

2.5.1.4 Secret Community Meetings held by ethnic groups against other tribes cause hatred among the tribes in Yei River State. Yei River State is shared by many different ethnic communities; but some groups turn out to believe that they are superior to This leads to suspicions and mistrust and causes conflict amongst people.

2.5.1.5 Dictatorial Leadership enhances grievances against technocrats in Yei River State. The voice of the people by the people for the people is not put into practice. The president issues decrees to appoint leaders who do not deliver services promptly. They work under the top command against the will of the citizens in Yei River State.

2.5.1.6 There is a poor relationship between the military and the civilians in Yei River State. The State Security has been misguided by the top military leadership, which has turned against the civilians by killings, lootings, and tortures. These actions have pushed the youths to the limit and have deserted for the bush to find means of defense for their territory.

## **2.5.2 Tore County Representative presented the following to the National Dialogue Sub-Committee:**

2.5.2.1 Conscious of the suffering of the people of Tore County, characterized by looting, vandalism of buildings, raping of women and young girls, killings, total destruction of properties leading to the displacement of people in the county;

2.5.2.2 Importation of the war into Yei River State in general and in particular to Tore. The war in South Sudan is about political power struggle between the two tribes, the Dinka and the Nuer, to control the resources of the country. Other tribes are deprived and we have been subjected into this war;

2.5.2.3 The SPLM national army is dominated by one tribe, the few Equatorians are grossly marginalized in promotions and deployment as no unit is given to the Equatorians;

2.5.2.4 The Nuer elements I.O of Dr. Riek who have remained in Yei River State still roam in the bushes carrying out rape, killing and looting;

2.5.2.5 There is no balanced and equal distribution of resources in South Sudan by the national government since the signing of the CPA in 2005; Tore has never enjoyed the resource of the country and dividends of independence;

2.5.2.6 The abduction of children and women by mainly the pastoralist communities who migrated into Yei area, forced marriages and disrespect for in-laws are the order of the day;

2.5.2.7 Public servants are not paid promptly by the governments; civil servants who work in public services are not seeing their benefits; even the small salaries are not given in time; this forces people into finding options against the government.

**2.5.3 Mukaya County:** The community of Mukaya came out with the following:

**2.5.3.1** The SPLA Army has committed a lot of atrocities and suffering against the people of South Sudan. The SPLM is not caring about the soldiers deployed across the country; this leads to killing for gains, looting of civilians property, rape of women and taking the law into their hands, defiling the rule of law governing the people.

**2.5.3.2** The Mathiang Anyoor army brought to Yei River State: This armed unit has contributed 100% in fueling conflicts in Yei River State. They are the cause of the refugees and the civilians hiding in the bush and in the neighboring countries of South Sudan. They are the cause of the youth of Yei River State joining the rebels. This armed unit has committed crimes of looting, killings without trial, and raping of women and girls. They torture and abuse human rights without reprimand for all the crimes they commit; thus forcing the youths to take up arms to fight for their rights.

**2.5.3.4** The Dinka tribal secret community meetings against the citizens of Yei River State on wiping out the Kakuwa people and leaving the land free for grazing: This is evidenced by influxes of their cattle and arming of their youths against the citizens of Yei.

**2.5.3.5** Activities of the soldiers here are in the interest of the commanders who operate against the interest of the local people of Yei River State.

**2.5.4 Kuperu County Community** presented the following memo to the Sub-Committee of the National Dialogue Delegation to the grassroots consultations on why the country is in continued conflicts:

**2.5.4.1 Political/Military Domination:** Most political and military positions are dominated by one ethnic community, which has common interest in the invasion of Yei River State.

**2.5.4.2 Personalizing the Army:** Senior army officials tend to personalize the army for personal interest; hence creating insecurity, since they use the army to fulfill personal ambitions such as acquiring more cattle and killing of local tribes who oppose these activities.

**2.5.4.3 Cattle Keepers:** Some top officers in the army use soldiers to look after their cattle. Heavily armed cattle keepers, with the backing of army commanders, act with impunity by killing and displacing the local tribes in areas such as Kuperu, Limuro, Lobonk and Lanya.

**2.5.4.4 Lack of accountability in most government institution:** There has been lack of accountability in the government's leading sectors, such as the economy. This behavior has resulted in the disappearance of public funds.

**2.5.4.5 Unequal Distribution of Wealth:** Income generating organizations, such as NGOs and private companies, have been diverted away

from Equatoria states by the government, so we don't get the chance for development.

**2.5.4.6 Mathiang Anyoor** is an unprofessional army unit, characterized by looting properties, raping women and killing civilians.

**2.5.4.7 Retirement Age:** Youths are not represented in most government institutions, given the fact that the administration's pyramid is blocked at the top hence frustrating the youths.

**2.5.4.7 Land Grabbing:** Most natives of Kuperia community, who live in urban areas, have lost their plots to the army top commanders, after being threatened with loss of their lives.

**2.5.4.8 Incompetency of the Constitution.** The Jieng Council of Elders tends to give misleading advice with regard to the constitutional rule of law governing the people of South Sudan.

### **2.5.5 Mugo County:**

Most people in Mugo County have been seriously affected by the renewed fighting, which started in Juba in July 2016, following the return of Dr. Riek Machar of the SPLM-IO. The majority of the county's population is believed to have become refugees in the neighboring countries; but the few who remained met the delegation of the National Dialogue Committee, which was sent to the grassroots. They represented the voice of the ordinary people of the county and they had the following to say:

**2.5.5.1 Tribalism in the Barracks:** The army in the barracks is divided on tribal basis, each following their top ranking tribal commanders. This divided army acts in support of the wishes of their tribal commanders, which are often opposed to the wishes of the local people of the county.

**2.5.5.2 Looting of government resources** by the SPLA/M officials has resulted in the lack of services to the soldiers, which in turn has resulted in the lack of protection of the public. Salaries, intended for the soldiers, are diverted into personal businesses by commanders, all resulting in the looting of public properties by the soldiers.

**2.5.5.3 The breaking up of the SPLM** party into different factional bodies in the country has misled the people into following their own tribal leaders in whichever way they choose, because the government has failed to deliver services to the people.

**2.5.5.4 Unfair distribution** of national ministries has resulted in political leaders fighting for their rights.

**2.5.5.5 Misuse of Country's Revenues** by the SPLM Ruling Party: Revenues collected from all sectors of the economy are diverted into personal accounts by government officials and no accountability is given by the government. This has encouraged corruption and conflicts in the party.

**2.5.5.6 Public Service** is not equally served in the country by the SPLM ruling party. In some parts of the country, civil servants go for months without salaries; yet they are expected to work for the country.

- 2.5.5.7 **The creation of the 32 States** has not met the expectations of the public. Without adequate budget to pay civil servants to deliver services to the people, these states are useless.
- 2.5.5.8 **Central Control:** Where available, the budget for the states remains controlled by the national government.
- 2.5.5.9 **No Development Goals:** Since the independence of the country, the SPLM ruling party has not set any developmental goals to support the economy of the country. This has led to the joblessness of the youths; hence they are waging war against the government on performance.

## 2.6 Meeting With Church Leaders

The Church Committee in Yei River State warmly welcomed the National Dialogue consultation team, chaired by former Governor of Central Equatoria State, Clement Wani Kongo, who met the three bishops of the Anglican Church, Catholic Church and Christ the King and a representative of the Bishop of Presbyterian Church. Included were other religious leaders of ministerial churches in Yei River State. They all spoke on why the country is bleeding:

**His Grace, Bishop Arkolano Ladu Tombe**, commented:

- 2.6.1 **No Freedom of Speech:** What we know here in Yei is that there is no freedom of speech. You are now talking of freedom to speak, but how secure are we after this dialogue?
- 2.6.2 **In the Church**, we are talking about peace all the time.
- 2.6.3 **The people who started the war are not here.** We can't conduct this National Dialogue without them.

**Hon. Jackson Abugo**, Deputy Chairperson, Sub-Committee, started by introducing the members of the subcommittee, who were there to make sure that the Church has a big role in the process of bringing peace to the country. He said:

- 2.6.4 We have come to listen to you as the Church leaders because this conflict that has happened in our country is also affecting you the leaders of the Church. That's why we have come to listen to your advice.

Gen. Clement Wani Konga, the Chairman of the Committee, elaborated:

- 2.6.5 The reason for this national dialogue is because the country is now bleeding seriously.
- 2.6.6 There are the problems of land grabbing in former Central Equatoria now. What do you say about that?
- Rt. Rev. Bishop Hilary Lowate of ECSS, Yei, then commented:
- 2.6.7 **No Vision:** South Sudan does not have any vision. That is the problem.
- 2.6.8 **Back to Original Vision:** We need to go back to the first South Sudan, which had the vision of peace and freedom. If that vision

was kept for all of us, not just for a few to capitalize on it, I think we would not have reached the bad state we are in now.

2.6.9 **Need for Fairness:** There is no fairness in all sectors of the government. That's another problem.

2.6.10 **Unprofessional Army:** Wherever this army came from, they were not well structured and trained. They are unprofessional.

2.6.11 **Military Commanders at Fault:** The leaders of the army contributed a lot in the killings of our people here in Yei.

2.6.12 **Recruitment and Training:** This army was not properly recruited and trained.

2.6.13 **Domination by Two Tribes:** The Dinka and the Nuer are dominating the army; that is why there is rampant killings and deaths amongst our people.

2.6.14 **Defiling the Church:** Bad things now happen in the Church; the Church is defiled! Where is the vision that we had before?

Recommendations:

2.6.15 **Owning Up:** We need to accept our errors for the country to have peace.

**Rev Fr. Luete David John** commented:

2.6.16 **Illegal Arming of Civilians:** Illegal passing on of firearms to the civilians is the biggest problem in South Sudan.

2.6.17 **No Multi-Party Politics:** There is no multi-party politics in South Sudan because only one party is dominating.

2.6.18 **Minority Rights:** The Dinka claim that they are the majority, does it mean that we the minority have no rights?

2.6.19 **No Equal Opportunity:** There is no equal opportunity here for anything. The dominant tribe comes first.

**Recommendation:**

2.6.20 **Freedom of Speech:** We need freedom of speech and we need to deal with each other fairly.

**Rev. Fr. Marcello Jungu** said:

2.6.21 Leaders do not listen. Our leaders do not want to listen to the people.

2.6.22 They deny doing wrong. They don't want to accept that they have done wrong. The killings, the rapes, the looting, stealing and burning of houses are all done by the government, but they don't accept all these mistakes!

Security:

2.6.23 **Open Government Needed:** The government should be open to the people, not secretive and blocking the rights of the people to ask questions and criticize.

**Rev. Pastor Anglo Geri** commented:

2.6.24 **Roads:** We need all the roads to be open for development to take place.

- 2.6.25 **Peace First:** Elections are not the first thing. First, let's stabilize the nation, followed by the census and then the elections.
- 2.6.26 **Confession Needed:** We want those who committed murder to come forward and confess in front of God.  
Pastor Jackson Yemba said that the church is an independent body and that it always tells the truth. He then went on to comment:
- 2.6.27 Children are crying for peace; we need peace.
- 2.6.28 People in the villages are suffering; we need peace.
- 2.6.29 **Kiir and Riek:** We need those two people who fought in Juba to come and reconcile with the suffering people for peace to come to South Sudan.
- Rev. Fr. Tom Poru Martin** welcomed the National Dialogue Subcommittee for Central Equatoria. He then thanked the President for having initiated the National Dialogue. However, he made his comments as follows:
- 2.6.30 **A National Consultation:** What is happening now is not a national dialogue. It is just a national consultation. It is a government's attempt to convince the people not to rebel.
- 2.6.31 **Juba's Conflict:** The conflict started with the leadership in Juba. We did not have this kind of conflict here; you started it in Juba and brought it here to Yei, killing our people for nothing!
- 2.6.32 **No Security:** There is no security in the country. People are killed, raped and properties are looted. Above all, these things are happening here in Yei. Local people are killed even within the security sector.
- 2.6.33 **Need for Security:** The government must provide security to its citizens.
- 2.6.34 **Militias:** The major problem is that there are too many militias in the army. The so-called Mathiang Anyoor is one such militia.
- 2.6.35 **Dinka and Nuer:** The Dinka and the Nuer are the problem in South Sudan.
- 2.6.36 **Intention of the Dinka:** There is a Dinka statement which goes: "When we finish with the Nuer we will come for Equatorians". This statement alone indicates that the Dinka are the cause of insecurity in the country.
- 2.6.37 **The Jieng Council of Elders** is another problem in South Sudan, because they see themselves as the leaders in control of the President and the Constitution of the country. Even decisions which have been made by the President, had to pass through them first. This means that the President is controlled by them. This is one of the biggest problems that need to be resolved.
- 2.6.38 **Revitalization of the Agreement?** Where is the revitalization of the Compromise Peace Agreement?
- 2.6.39 **Credible Dialogue:** We need a credible National Dialogue consultation.  
Rev. Pastor Mambo Peter summed up the problem of South Sudan as follows:

- 2.6.40 **Lost Spirit of Unity:** The people of South Sudan have lost the spirit of One Nation, One People.
- 2.6.41 **Dignity of the People:** The dignity of the ordinary people of South Sudan has been undermined and abused.
- 2.6.42 **Two Large Tribes:** The country is as if it belongs to two big tribes. They have been fighting each other since the time of Anya-Nya One up to now. They have led the country down the drain.
- 2.6.43 **Lack of Implementation:** Government's projects are announced and documented, but no implementation follows.
- 2.6.44 **No Civil Rights:** The government should consider and respect the rights of its civilians.

**Rev. Fr. Mellodio Lomodi** thought that Juba was in trouble:

- 2.6.45 **Bleeding Country:** They (Juba) initiated the National Dialogue because South Sudan is now bleeding.
- 2.6.46 **Grass Under Elephants:** They say that when two elephants are fighting the grass under them suffers even more. The two big elephants are the Dinka and the Nuer. The suffering grass is the Equatorians. Our sister was killed and there is no accountability or justice for her.
- 2.6.47 **President Must Beg for Forgiveness:** Let the President kneel down and ask for forgiveness from his people.
- 2.6.48 **Accountability & Justice:** We want accountability from those who committed these crimes and justice done for those who perished from their actions.

**Rev. Pastor Ezera Lasusa, S.P.C** commented:

- 2.6.49 **Constitution:** For whom is the constitution drafted? Does the constitution belong to one tribe only?
- 2.6.50 **Respect the Constitution:** Let the leaders respect the constitution! At the moment they don't.
- 2.6.51 **Respect the Church:** The leaders are not respecting the voice of the Church. They should respect the Church.
- 2.6.52 **Riek and Kiir:** Let the two leaders come to the people of South Sudan and explain what their problem is.

**Rev. Pastor Simon Sallah** pointed out that although the Church is neutral and would not want to get involved in politics, they find it obligatory to point out the truth about the major problems facing the country:

- 2.6.53 **Power Struggle:** The conflict started within the SPLM party, fighting over power.
- 2.6.54 **The Army is the threat in this nation.** The army is politicized and tribalized; this is the reason for widespread killings, raping and looting because the army is not professional. We need a professional army in order to guarantee security of our citizens.

**Rt. Rev. Hilary Lowate, ECSS, Yei,** commented:

- 2.6.55 **Justice:** We need justice to be done for those who committed crimes here in Yei.
- 2.6.56 **Killings in Yei:** There were very serious cases of killing here in Yei. For example, eight people from one family were recently killed. Up to now there has not been any justification for their death.
- 2.6.57 **Killings from Government and Rebels:** There is systematic killing of innocent people here by both the government and the SPLA-IO.
- 2.6.58 The National Dialogue should come when there is peace. Now the war is still on and you are telling us we should have National Dialogue? This dialogue is not inclusive.

**His Grace Bishop Arkolano Ladu Tombe**, Catholic Arch Diocese of Yei commented:

- 2.6.59 **Let us not deceive ourselves.** The roads are still closed and other people are still in the bush; yet we are talking of National Dialogue. What kind of National Dialogue is that?
- 2.6.60 **Lack of Justice:** Our sister, Veronica, who was killed by our soldiers, was innocent. We know those soldiers who killed her, but up to now nothing has been done to them.
- 2.6.61 **Inclusivity and Transparency:** Let the National Dialogue be inclusive and transparent.
- 2.6.62 The Compromise Peace Agreement, which was signed between Riek and Salva, was not implemented and we are talking of National Dialogue?
- 2.6.63 The National Dialogue should come after the implementation of Compromise Peace Agreement.
- 2.6.64 **Hate Speeches:** Hate language was started by the founders of the SPLA/M ruling party, who are from the majority tribes. Their speeches and deeds exclude other ethnicities from credit for the liberation wars of the country. This has confused other communities to regret the creation of South Sudan.
- 2.6.65 The SPLA/M was not restructured after the liberation. The liberation army was not reduced. Age and number limit was not set for the army and the number of generals in the liberation army was not reduced. All that has led to the conflict in the country.
- 2.6.66 **Illegal Firearms:** The big poison is the illegal firearms in the hands of civilians. While there was need for firearms during the liberation struggle, the government should have collected the unnecessary firearms after the liberation. That they have not done so is a big problem.
- 2.6.67 **No Reconciliation:** The SPLM has not taken any steps to reconcile the people after the success of the liberation. We know that when they were still fighting in the bush there were numerous clashes amongst themselves, particularly between the Dinka and the Nuer ethnic communities in the movement. There were even conflicts between the Dinka and Equatorians during the liberation struggle. Efforts should have been made to reconcile the people.

- 2.6.68 **Rule of Law:** There is need for the rule of law in the country. Currently the SPLA/M government does not follow the law of the land. The government is only ruling by presidential decrees, which are not even followed. No justice in the country; only oppression!
- 2.6.69 **Militias:** The country is covered by too many militias carrying heavy weapons. These militias, though divided into sections, emanate from the ruling party and SPLA; and because the government is weak, they take the law into their own hands to destabilize the country.
- 2.6.70 **The Jieng Council of Elders** is the disease of the country. The Parliament is no longer making good laws or able to move a motion against the will of the JCE, which has messed up the rule of law in the country.
- 2.6.71 **Domination:** The politics and the army are dominated by one ethnic community, which is provoking the other ethnic communities by accusing them of cowardice and incompetence in military matters; believing in their own ability to overpower others.

## 2.7. Meeting With the Kajo-Keji Community

The Community presented the Sub-Committee with this:

On behalf of Kajo-Keji Community, we are honored and welcome you on the National Dialogue consultation assignment. Your delegation is to listen to the voices of the people of Greater Kajo-Keji Community with regard to the National Dialogue:

- 2.7.1 **Security:** The security situation in Kajo-Keji started worsening in August 2015, when the SPLM I.O advance team arrived in the country. Instead of propagating for peace, some chiefs went on urging the youths to register to join the military rank and file of the SPLA-I.O.
- 2.7.2 **Fighting between SPLA-IG and SPLA-I.O forces in Kansuk in Nyepo County** on Friday 10<sup>th</sup> of June 2016, marked the beginning of displacement of the people of Nyepo to other areas of Greater Kajo-Keji and the neighboring districts of Uganda.
- 2.7.3 **The fighting at J1 in Juba in July 2016**, spread to Greater Kejo-Keji, with the SPLA-IO's intensification of their propaganda for civil population to leave their homes, resulting in adverse effect on the condition of the local population.
- 2.7.4 **The pastoralists invasion with heavy firearms into Greater Kajo-Keji regions from Jonglei State**, did not only come to graze their cattle in people's plantations, they also came to loot and raid our cattle. An attempt to negotiate for the return of the looted cattle with the Dinka Bor leaders in Juba and our political leaders yielded no fruits.
- 2.7.5 **Atrocious Killings:** A fire exchange between the SPLA-IG and SPLA-IO in January 2017 at Mondkolo area in Lira Payam, led to the death of 6 civilians and the raping of a woman, after which grass was inserted into her private parts and set on fire! This

incident, coupled with arbitrary arrests and detention without trial, looting and destruction of properties and rumors of SPLA-I.O taking over the army garrison, forced people out of Kajo-Keji.

**2.7.6 Why People Ran to Uganda:** The pastoralists' raiding of cattle and the looting of property, which spread into the interior of Kajo-Keji and parts of Liwolo and Kangapo counties; looting of cattle from the Madi of Uganda, coupled with propaganda from SPLA I.O, who also carried out provocative raiding of the police, prisons and the wildlife stations in Kajo-Keji, pushed the people out of the Kajo-Keji County into Uganda.

**2.7.7 Hate speech** by top army commanders in Kajo-Keji, telling the civilians "we shall deal with you Equatorians", frightened the local population. This kind of hate speech, mostly spoken by the Dinka, claim that we did not fight during the liberation war and that they are "born to rule" in South Sudan, created fear and mistrust among the people in Kajo-Keji. As things stand today, villages, businesses and humanitarian organizations have deserted Kajo-Keji.

## **2.8. Meeting With Morobo County Community**

When the National Dialogue Sub-Committee on Grassroots Consultations arrived in Morobo Country, they found only the Commissioner of the county and a few people remaining at home, after the conflict of 10<sup>th</sup> July 2016, which forced most people to run across the borders to Uganda and Congo DRC. In the consultation with the security, elders and chiefs of Morobo, who were still there, they responded that:

**2.8.1 Corruption** is the problem. The top leadership of the SPLA/M is filled with corrupt officials from top to bottom. Public funds are misused by government ministers and officials and no accountability for stealing. This crime by top political leaders is forcing the people to fight for justice.

**2.8.2 Tribalism** has affected the country negatively. Tribalism has divided the country. Everyone follows his or her own tribal leaders. There is no understanding or respect for the law; therefore we end up in tribal conflicts.

**2.8.3 Looting** of people's properties and killings by the SPLA soldiers during a market day in Morobo was a tragic event. The soldiers of Gulube Barracks came, looted the market and warned the civilians that they were coming back to kill all the people there on the next market day. This threat led to mass exodus out of the county.

**2.8.4** The leaders of Morobo County were the first to run away, followed by the population. The commissioner went to Uganda and resigned from there. The Bishops, the priests and the chiefs also took off; thus leaving the county to the forces of SPLA-IG and SPLA-IO to fight it out.

- 2.8.5 Abduction of civilians in Morobo by government soldiers, on allegation that they were members of SPLA/M-IO, then found the next day dead and dumped around the market, forced people to run for their lives.
- 2.8.6 The government soldiers looted and killed civilians in Morobo; this scared the people to run across the border to Congo. We have been hunted and killed by the soldiers in our houses and forced out of the country into Congo.
- 2.8.7 **Cantonment:** The creation of the cantonment area in Morobo by the government for SPLA-I.O has brought to Morobo the battle between the government and the rebels and the civilians are not spared when they fight.
- 2.8.8 Ambush attacks on the roads against patrolling government soldiers, are always revenged upon civilians by the SPLA soldiers. There is no safe space left for civilians in Morobo; that's why they have run out of the country.
- 2.8.9 **Mathiang Anyoor:** The deployment of Mathiang Anyoor, an army of one tribe, has made the relationship worse between the army and civil population because there is no way to communicate with them. Their presence is characterized by looting, killing, raping of women and girls. This has forced the youth to take up arms and fight.

## **2.9 Meeting With the Military, Security and Organized Forces in Morobo County:**

The government soldiers in the barracks of Gulube, Morobo, which are jointly charged with the protecting of the people and their properties, were met by the National Dialogue consultation team that went to Morobo. They stated their grievances as follows:

- 2.9.1 The SPLA-I.O in Morobo County carries out abductions and killings of civilians and accuses the SPLA soldiers of the crime, thus creating enmity between the civilians and the government soldiers.
- 2.9.2 **Shortages:** The soldiers in the operational areas of Morobo County lack food and medicines; their clothes are worn out and the government is doing nothing about it. This is forcing them to loot from the civilians in Morobo; hence the civilians run away because they fear for their lives.
- 2.9.3 **Feeding from Farms:** The soldiers in Morobo are feeding on civilians food stuff left behind in their farms. Since being deployed to this area, we have not been supplied with foodstuff. This has resulted in looting food and other properties from civilians in order to feed the soldiers.
- 2.9.4 Tribalism in the army has worsened the command in the barracks. Soldiers do not take orders from commanders belonging to other tribes but only listen to commanders from their own tribe. This makes it very hard for commanders to control the army in the barracks.

## **2.10 Meeting with the SPLA-IO at Cantonment Area In Morobo**

The views from the SPLA/M-IO in Morobo were that:

- 2.10.1 The Government is not implementing the agreements.
- 2.10.2 The Ceasefire Agreement is not taken seriously by the government in Juba, which does not listen to requests made by the SPLA/M-IO. This attitude by the government scares the SPLA-IO from coming out of the bush into the barracks.
- 2.10.3 Security in the cantonment areas, created by the government for SPLA-IO is not secure from attacks by elements within the government's forces in the area. The SPLA-IO are constantly threatened and risk moving about with the hungry SPLA-IG around them; attempting to take their lives.

## **2.11. Meeting With the SPLM/A-IO in Yei River State**

The SPLM/A-IO in Yei River State was represented in the National Dialogue Sub-Committee on Grassroots Consultations, by the top commanders of the SPLA/M-IO, who were given the chance to present their views to the Sub-Committee as follows:

- 2.11.1 **No Justice in Yei River State:** The Juba government does not follow the rule of law in Yei River State. The killing of civilians in the state is carried out by government soldiers without accountability for their crimes. This angers the youth of the state to seek justice through armed rebellion against the Juba government.
- 2.11.2 **Land Grabbing by the Dinka:** Since the coming of this ethnic group to Yei, many people have lost their land to the Dinka through grabbing of land by force. Threats are made on the local owners and justice is not prevailed.
- 2.11.3 **There is lack of will from the government to form a national army;** instead the Juba government is contributing to creation of militias loyal to them.
- 2.11.4 **Poor Development Policies:** The Juba government has poor development policies to improve education, agriculture and health sectors, which are key for a third world country to progress.
- 2.11.5 **Weak Economic Policies:** The weak economic policies of the Juba government have resulted in the breakdown of the country's economy.
- 2.11.6 **Diversion of Projects:** Important projects such as Juba-Kaya Road were diverted to Juba-Nimule Road; yet the people of greater Yei contributed immensely during the liberation struggle.
- 2.11.7 **Unfair Treatment:** There is unfair treatment of our sons and draughts in the regular forces that are either deployed

in far away areas of the country or not given the opportunity to visit their homes.

- 2.11.8 **Unbalanced Representation:** There is unfair representation of Equatorians in key government sectors such as the Central Bank, National Security, Military Intelligence, Foreign Missions, Immigration and the Oil Sector.
- 2.11.8 **Unpopular Politicians:** There is continuous appointment of unpopular politicians in our region, leading to a calculated misguidance, hence the failure of the government.
- 2.11.9 **Hate Speeches:** There is promotion by the Juba government of hate speeches, tribalism, nepotism, partisan politics, and lack of space for political opposition.

## **2.12 Meeting With Lanya Country Stakes Holders**

The National Dialogue Sub-Committee visited Lanya County to consult with the grassroots there. The team was warmly welcomed by the Commissioner of Lanya Country, Bishops, Chiefs and Elders, Women and Youth representatives. Their comments were as follows:

- 2.12.1 **Contention for Presidency:** The top political leaders, fighting for power and for the position of the President, have led to the division of the SPLM Party into warring factions; thus dividing the people on tribal basis and into armed conflicts.
- 2.12.2 **Unfair Policies:** The politics of the SPLM Party is based on unfair governance of the nation. Positions and promotions in the military and public service, for example, are not equitably distributed to the people of South Sudan.
- 2.12.3 **Military Ranks:** There is no equitable and fair promotions in the military. The soldiers who fought in the war of liberation have remained to date with the ranks they got in the bush; not promoted to any higher ranks, while militia leaders who rebelled and returned into the armed forces are promoted to higher ranks. This has caused discontent in the army and encouraging formation of new militias throughout the country.
- 2.12.4 **Unfair President:** The President is unfair. He is serving only the Dinka Community. He formed the Jieng Council of Elders, which is to protect the interest of the Dinka through unlawful means, contrary to the constitution of South Sudan.
- 2.12.5 **Neglect of Army:** The national army is not receiving salaries, food and army uniforms from the government; this results in the looting of properties of the civilians.
- 2.12.6 **Private Armies:** Generals in the country own the soldiers under their command. Such soldiers are only loyal to their immediate commanders, not to the President of the country. This splintering of loyalty leads to atrocities as directed by individual commanders; thus spoiling the name of the SPLA/M Party.
- 2.12.7 **Tribalism in the Army:** The soldiers of South Sudan are basically from the Dinka ethnic community. The minority tribes in the army are

not favored for promotion, thus encouraging the formation of militias in the country.

2.12.8 **No Effective Disarmament:** There are still a lot of guns in the hands of retired soldiers and civilians, mostly acquired during the war of liberation by the SPLA. There is need for proper disarmament to reduce the number of guns in the hands of the soldiers and the civilians.

2.12.9 **Unfair Deployment in the Army:** There is an unfair deployment in the army. The soldiers of this nation are not deployed on merit but on tribal bases. For example, Equatorian soldiers are deployed in Dinkaland and kept there as cattle keepers and not allowed to return to their homes in Equatoria.

### **2.13. Meeting With Youths, Women and Elders of Yei River State**

The following are their views:

2.13.1 **Killing of Locals:** The SPLM government is killing its own citizens by allowing soldiers to invade Lanya, following the influx of the pastoralists who came to loot, raid and kill the locals.

2.13.2 **Mathiang Anyoor:** The deployment of the Mathiang Anyoor army in Lanya County, started with looting, killing of civilians, abduction of civilians and forced the local people to evacuate their land.

2.13.3 **Inequitable Representation:** There is inequitable representation in the national government. The constitution of the country does not represent all the people but a specific tribe in the country. This has caused anger in other tribes to fight for their rights and justice from the government.

2.13.4 **Unethical Use of Firearms:** There is widespread unethical use of firearms by the SPLA in the country. The army has misunderstood the ethics of the use of the gun in the country by turning the barrel against civilians and killing their own people.

2.13.5 **No Equal Opportunities:** There is no equal provision of opportunities for all in the country. Minority tribes from Equatoria, particularly the youths, are not gaining from opportunities brought into the country, such as sponsorship of education. Such educational chances are only given to the children of the people in power, who are mostly the Dinka; hence we end up with unbalanced educational background of the youths in the country.

2.13.6 **Tribalism in the Country:** During the war of liberation, South Sudanese fought as brothers and sisters. After independence, wealth has divided the people into tribal groupings and facing each other as enemies.

2.13.7 **Distractive Propaganda:** Propaganda, circulated in the country by both the SPLM/A-IG and SPLM/A-IO, proclaiming waging of war for the destruction of Equatoria region, has

resulted in the influx of unprofessional soldiers and the pastoralist, killing and scaring of the civil population to run away from their land for their own safety.

**2.13.8 The Creation of 32 State:** This is a clear narration of gambling with the decentralized system of government. States are created for areas that cannot produce revenue to manage their own states; yet any natural resources available in the area are controlled by the national government.

**2.13.9 Some Destructive Decrees:** The Presidential decrees appointing governors of states are the major reasons for conflict in Yei River State. These appointments are done without notice or approval from the people of the state. Such governors do not serve the interest of the people. They bring trouble to the state by deploying an army that worsens the situation by killing local people without cause.

**2.13.10 Arming of Civilians:** Civilians are armed by top army commanders in the state. This kind of thing happened when the Dinka civilians in the area were armed by the army to kill the Pojulu.

## **2.14 Meeting With Business Community, Farmers and Chamber of Commerce**

The traders and trade union members of Yei River State warmly welcomed the members of National Dialogue Sub-Committee for Grassroots Consultation process in the State. These were their concerns and comments:

**2.14.1 Vandalism:** There has been widespread vandalism of traders' shops, since the conflict expanded to Yei River State after the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 2016 fighting in Juba. Businesses have been destroyed. Vandalism of shops in the market square has resulted in big losses for business owners as an effect of the conflict.

**2.14.2 Exorbitant Taxation:** There is a debilitating taxation of businesses in the state by the Chamber of Commerce. We are levied with high taxes on importation of goods and on market sales. These taxes are bringing down the profits of individual businessmen in the State, forgetting that we import goods expensively to the country.

**2.14.3 Road Blocks:** Since the conflicts arrived in Yei River State on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 2016, all roads linking businesses to the villages and to Juba have been hard to access by the traders; thus reducing sales of the goods and causing the collapse of businesses.

**2.14.4 Taxation Officers:** There are too many offices collecting taxes in an improper manner in Yei River State. Business in the market is taxed by many individual officers of State Revenue and County Revenue, increasing on taxes imposed on the profits taken through sales.

- 2.14.5 **Changing of Number Plates:** The confusion on the change of number plates on cargo trucks by the national government is drastically affecting cargo owners. Complaints are not taken into consideration by the government to fix a one permanent number for businesses.
- 2.14.6 **Corruption in Business Plots Allocations:** businessmen and women are facing a big challenge of renting buildings in the market square. During the allocation of plots for the new market in Lutaya, all the plots were taken by government officials, thus forcing the businessmen and women to rent from them. Older buildings of the Greeks and the Arabs are owned by the generals in the army. Business entities, companies and individual traders pay rent to them, and the Chamber of Commerce is paying less attention to the trade unions.
- 2.14.7 **Foreign Whole Sellers:** Foreign businessmen, who come into the country as whole sellers, have become retailers and pushing out local traders by lowering prices in the market. That's an unfair competition and the government does nothing about it.
- 2.14.8 **Currency Devaluation:** The devaluation of the South Sudanese Pound against the dollar by the Ministry of Finance has affected businessmen and women on importing goods into the country with the difficulty of getting the hard currency.
- 2.14.9 **Borrowing and Paying Back:** The government borrows huge amounts of money from business but paying back involves claims, which take a long time to mature and be honored. This has sullied relationship between government and business in the state.
- 2.14.10 **Loans By Business:** Loans are not accessed by business in Yei River State. We the businessmen and women are not assisted by any financial entity to support our businesses with loans or grants. We find it hard to expand business in Yei River State.
- 2.14.11 **Customs Along the Roads:** Transporters of cargo from Juba to Yei are facing the challenge of many custom officers, who are charging money and corrupting logistics for business operations.

## 2.15 Meeting With Wounded Heroes, Widows and Orphans

They presented their views as follows:

- 2.15.1 **Tribalism in the Armed Forces:** The Equatorians are subjected to being part of tribally-based armed forces without a united army of their own. This tribalism within the SPLA has alienated many soldiers who fought in the liberation struggle. Many Equatorians have been left out of the army pay role.
- 2.15.2 **Division in the SPLA:** There have always been tribal conflicts within the SPLA, even during the wars of liberation. The Dinka, the Nuer, and Equatorians fought each other in the bushes, although they all united for the liberation of South Sudan. When the liberation was achieved, the country leaders forgot to recall that there were always divisions, which needed to be resolved in

peace time, resulting into the division of the army into the SPLA-IG and SPLA-IO, each supporting different political leaders on tribal basis.

- 2.15.3 **Fair Promotions:** There is need for fair promotions in the armed forces because we all fought equally together in the war of liberation. When independence was attained, part of the army, which brought the cake, was forgotten and remained with the ranks they attained in the bush without consideration for further promotion.
- 2.15.4 **No Pensions:** Wounded heroes have been forgotten and remain without pensions, not even given their salaries. We served in the army and lost our body parts to liberate our country, but we have now been abandoned by the government.
- 2.15.5 **Widows and Orphans** of the SPLA are suffering. The orphans lost a parent or both parents in the liberation struggle but the government is not taking care of their basic needs, such as food, shelter, healthcare and education.
- 2.15.6 **No Law & Order:** The government is not following the constitution of the country. It has created the Jieng Council of Elders, which has spoiled the constitution by encouraging generals to commit crimes against civilians.
- 1.15.7 **Corruption** amongst the top officials of the SPLM/A has encouraged the diversion of public funds into personal accounts, leading to the non-payment of salaries to war-wounded heroes.
- 2.15.8 **Defections** of top SPLA generals from the national army to form their own militias is the cause of all these conflicts in the country.
- 2.15.9 **The Governor of Yei River State** is the cause of the conflict for having brought into Yei River State an unprofessional army, the so-called Mathiang Anyoor, which does not understand or obey the rules governing the national army. This army has fueled the crisis through looting of people's property and raping of women and girls.

## **JUBEK STATE**

### **2.16 Consultative Meeting With Members of Executive and Legislative Assembly of Jubek State**

H.E Gen Clement Wani Konga briefed members of the Executive and the Legislative Assembly of Jubek State about the purpose of Grassroots Consultations under the National Dialogue. The Steering Committee of the National Dialogue, he said, is an independent body with the guidelines and assurances that they cannot answer any questions asked by anyone from participants unless for clarifications. They can only listen. Contributors to the National Dialogue have freedom of speech. He assured them, no body would be arrested for what he or she had said in these consultations. He then invited them to contribute:

**Hon Charles Nathual** commented:

2.16.1 Before the separation of Southern Sudan from Northern Sudan, our people were united. After separation, the government turned to tribalism. This is one of the fundamental problems of South Sudan today: Fighting over power.

**Recommendations**

2.16.2 The national army should be reformed.

36.3 People of retirement age in the civil service should be retired to give chance to the youth.

2.16.4 Confederation of South Sudan, based on Greater Upper Nile, Greater Bahr al Ghazal and Greater Equatoria, should be the better system of governance for the country.

**Hon Mary Elias**, Deputy Speaker of State Assembly, stated that we, the people of Equatoria, are not happy with the system of governance and went on to say:

2.16.5 There is no security in South Sudan because, in Bongu for example, people are being killed by security personnel.

2.16.6 In Juba, Equatorians are being killed in an organized way by agents of the government.

2.16.7 Our boys are being killed and our women are being raped; all these are happening within the capital city of South Sudan where the central government exists!

2.16.8 **Land Grabbing:** I would like to ask a question: When did a Dinka Mountain move from Dinka land to Juba land?

2.16.9 They drew the strategies in order to control our areas and the government is just quiet and watching the situation without stopping it.

2.16.10 **Violation of the Constitution:** The constitution of the state is not working today because it is being violated.

**Recommendations**

2.16.11 Let all the existing problems be addressed. Without addressing them, there can be no peace.

2.16.12 **Justice:** Those who have killed other people should also be killed!

2.16.13 We need confederation to govern South Sudan.

**Hon Peter Doku** stated that the whole problem of South Sudan is due to two tribes, the Dinka and the Nuer, because:

2.16.14 Most of Nuerland is now Dinkaland.

2.16.15 **Militias:** Recruitment of militias such as the so-called Mathiang Anyoor is a very big problem.

2.16.16. **Corruption** came with the Dinka and the Nuer.

2.16.17 **The Dinka** said they were born to rule; so who is not born to rule? These are some of the differences that led to the conflict.

2.16.18 **Dinka and Nuer:** The dialogue must be between the Dinka and the Nuer because we are innocent of that war.

**Recommendations:**

2.16.19 **Kiir and Riek:** The two leaders must be questioned and judged on what they have done.

2.16.20 **Equality:** There must be equality in every sector of power and wealth sharing.

2.16.21 **Parliament:** There must be equal representation in the parliament

2.16.22 **Justice:** There must be proper transitional justice in order to address all the problems of South Sudan.

**Hon Alfred Kiri commented:**

2.16.23. **Pastoralists:** The pastoralists are the major cause of problems all over the country, moving with their cattle in people's farms and destroying all the crops!

2.16.24 **Big Guns:** These cattle keepers carry big guns, given to them by the government, which is also supplying them with food.

2.16.24 **Disobeying Decrees:** The President made several decrees to remove the cattle herders from Equatoria but nobody implemented them, which is a violation of Presidential Decrees. This is one of the painful things we endure here in South Sudan, particularly in Juba.

36.25 **Impartial Disarmament:** Checking availability of guns and disarmament is being done thoroughly only with the Equatorians.

**Recommendation:**

2.16.26 **Stop Injustice:** All these injustices should be stopped for the country to be in peace; if not, the war will not end.

**Hon Paulina Juan remarked:**

2.16.27 **No Respect for President:** When the President says something is to be done, there is nothing done to implement his orders. That is already a problem.

2.16.28 **Guns for What Purpose?** I have a question to ask: are guns for defense or for grabbing the land? Why are the government's guns available to only two tribes?

2.16.29 **False Accusations:** The Dinka claim that the Equatorians did not fight during the war of liberation. This claim alone can divide the people.

2.16.30 **Dinka Control:** All the money of South Sudan is being controlled by the Dinka. How can the corruption be minimized when one ethnic community is controlling the pocket of the nation.

2.16.31 **Only Equatorians Obey the Law:** The laws of South Sudan are only for Equatorians; the rest are violating them.

**Recommendations**

2.16.32. **Capital City:** Let the capital be taken to Ramciel because it was written in the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) that Juba would be a temporary capital for three years, after which it would move to Ramciel.

2.16.33. **Cattle:** We don't want any cattle here. Let them be taken back to their places of origin.

**Hon Fatma Modi Jada** said:

2.16.34: **Enough is enough!** I am urging citizens of the former Central Equatoria State to have unity amongst them. Enough of what we have seen.

2.16.35. **Mass Rape:** A 17-year old girl being raped by five men is enough to call the halt to crimes against innocent people.

**Recommendation:**

2.16.37 **Confederation:** The confederal system of governance is the only way of resolving the problems of South Sudan.

**Hon Rose Lisok Paulino** commented:

2.16.38 **Diplomats:** Equatoria's diplomats are suffering in foreign countries. Why is it like that?

**Unidentified woman from Women Group** commented:

2.16.39 **Tired:** We the women are tired of watching our children being raped in front of us.

2.16.40. **No Marriage Law:** There is no law that protects a married woman across ethnic lines in South Sudan. You will find that one general will have married a chain of women without regard to commitments he had made to previous ones.

2.16.41 **Hosting the Nation:** There is no recognition, other than the fact that we, the women, are the ones hosting South Sudan.

2.16.42. **No Jobs:** People are jobless today. We need jobs but there are no employment opportunities.

**Hon Emanuel Joseph** said:

2.16.43. **Security:** Insecurity has created too much fear in Juba as a whole. Civilians are not sleeping at night due to insecurity.

2.16.44 **Organized Killings:** The killings have been organized acts against the people of Equatoria.

2.16.45 **Equatorians Targeted:** They say that they will deal with us as they have done to those in Yei and Kojo-keji. This alone indicates that the people of Equatoria are being targeted.

- 2.16.46 **Too Many Generals:** In the old Sudan, South Sudan had only one army general. Now we have 1,700 generals; this is an indication of insecurity in the country.
- 2.16.47 **Kiir and Riek:** The National Dialogue should be between Kiir and Riek as an example to the people of South Sudan.
- 2.16.48 **Segregation:** There is segregation among the tribes. This adds to tribalism in the country.
- 2.16.49 **Law:** There is no respect for the law in this country.
- 2.16.50 **Salary and Transport:** Salaries have not been paid for the last 6 months. And there is no transport, though the civil servants are still expected to go to work.
- 2.16.51 **Too Many States:** The creation of many states is also a problem because it is mainly intended to divide the people of Equatoria, a means to divide and rule. This is the logic behind the creation of new states.
- 2.16.52 **Violation of the Constitution:** It is written in the constitution that the numbering of car plates would be under states control, but now it is under the central government while the constitution has not changed. What else is this but a violation of the constitution by the central government?
- 2.16.53 **Unfair Appointments:** In any long list of appointments made by President Kiir, you will be lucky to come across a person bearing the name of Ladu. These are discriminatory and tribally influenced appointments by the President.

### **Educational Sector:**

The educational system in South Sudan is collapsing because:

- 2.16.54 **Representation:** There is no equal representation in the awarding of scholarships. External scholarships are awarded to the children of one tribe only.
- 2.16.55 **Planned Domination:** There is a planned domination of others by the Dinka through education. By giving scholarships only to their children, they are giving them the chance to dominate others in the future because they will have received better education.

### **Recommendations**

- 2.16.56 **Respect for the Law:** For the country to progress, we should all respect the law.
- 2.16.57 **Reforms:** We need the government to be reformed.
- 2.16.58 **Native Names Only:** The names such as Jubel Dinka should be abolished.

2.16.59 **Confederation:** Finally we need a confederal system of governance, based on the three regions.

**Hon James Lomole**, Chairman of Employers and Justice commented:

2.16.60 **Corruption:** There is too much corruption in the country and no accountability for it; so this is one of the fundamental problems that we have in South Sudan.

2.16.61 **Dinkas and Dollars:** Dollars are held by the Dinkas. This is another problem we have in this country.

2.16.62 **Foreign Women:** Foreign women are the ones controlling most of the hotels in Juba while our citizens are jobless.

2.16.63 **Rule of Law:** There is no respect for the law in this country.

36.64. **Legal System:** There is no legal system in South Sudan; there are only tribal appointments to the judiciary.

2.16.65. **No Army:** We don't have an army in South Sudan. What we have is a tribal militia.

2.16.66 **System of Governance:** We have been calling for a federal system of governance, but it was all in vain. Now we have changed our minds: We need a confederal system of governance.

**Recommendation:**

2.16.67 **Reforms:** The army, including all organized forces, need to be reformed.

**Hon Paul Yugusuk Tombe** begun with questions:

2.16.68 Will the National Dialogue solve the problems of South Sudan?

2.16.69 Who will implement the resolutions of the National Dialogue?

2.16.70 What will happen if the National Dialogue fails?

2.16.71 **Justice:** There is no justice in South Sudan.

2.16.72 **Financial and Economic Crisis:** The war is the root cause of the crisis in the economy.

2.16.73 **Services and Development:** There are no services and no development in the country.

2.16.74 **No Local Products:** There are no local products in the market, as we are producing nothing.

2.16.75 **Foreigners:** The market is dominated by foreigners.

2.16.76 **Currency:** The local currency is now valueless.

2.16.77 **Corruption** is taking place and no accountability. All this is due to the war.

**Hon John Ladu Tombe**, commented on the Employment Sector:

2.16.78 The Public Service in South Sudan has failed to employ South Sudanese transparently, evenly and fairly.

- 2.16.79 **Non-South Sudanese:** The Public Service employs foreigners as well in the public service, while qualified South Sudanese remain unemployed.
- 2.16.80 **Dinka and Nuer Ministries:** The ministries of Humanitarian Affairs, Relief and Rehabilitation are led by only two tribes: the Dinka and the Nuer.
- 2.16.81 **Foreign Ministry:** You will only find members of one tribe in the foreign ministry. No Ecuatorians there.
- 2.16.82 **Nile Pet:** To qualify for employment in the Nile Petroleum, you must be a Dinka. Some of us have difficulty in even getting fuel.
- 2.16.83 **Tribal Organization:** The Nile Petroleum is the most tribalistic organization in the whole country.
- 2.16.84 **Corruption:** President Kiir has been speaking of zero tolerance to corruption. Now it is all happening openly in front of him and he can't do anything about it.
- 2.16.85 **Community Protection:** The former minister of finance, who was accused of stealing public money and was arrested, was freed by members of his community and was later cleared of all charges. How will this dialogue resolve all these issues?
- 2.16.86 **The Issue of Cattle:** The President has issued so many decrees for the cattle to be taken back from Equatoria to their home areas in Dinkaland, but these decrees have not been implemented.
- 2.16.87 **Dinka Language:** One of the chiefs in Equatoria was forced to sing in Dinka language. This kind of behavior is one of the things that are painful to us.
- 2.16.88 **Looking Scapegoats:** The government wants to know the cause of conflicts now; but when they went to Lobonok and killed people there, no one from the government even bothered to ask about the dead people. Why bother now through this National Dialogue?
- 2.16.89 **Killing of Dinkas:** If you touch a cow, you touch a Dinka. If you touch or kill a Dinka, it is like you have touched the government and therefore a rebel. This is the situation we are in now.

**Hon John Emmanuel Joseph** commented:

- 2.16.90 **Kiir and Riek First:** As an example, the National Dialogue should first be between President Kiir and his former First Vice President Riek Machar.
- 2.16.91 **Tribalism:** One of the biggest problems in South Sudan is segregation and tribalism. The government is the cause of all these things because they don't respect the law. There are people who are either in or are connected to the government, who believe they are above the law.
- 2.16.92 **Insecurity:** Our people are not sleeping at night, particularly in Juba, because of insecurity.
- 2.16.93 **Targeting Ecuatorians:** The killings, which are taking place in Juba, have been organized in order to kill the people of

Equatoria. If these things do not stop, the country will not have peace.

2.16.94 **Constitution:** Constitutionally, the issuing of vehicle plates is the responsibility of the states; but the central government has interfered with this status. If the people in the leadership begin to mess with the constitution, what do you think the ordinary people will do?

**Recommendations:**

2.16.95 **Respect for the Law:** We should respect the law and all shall be well.

2.16.96 **Reforms:** We need reforms in the government.

2.16.97 **Thirty-Two States:** The creation of thirty-two states is another problem. The policy behind that is to divide and rule the people of South Sudan by one tribe, the Dinka. We want this division abolished.

2.16.98 **Non-Equatorian Names of Places:** All the original Equatorian names of places should be retained, maintained, while non-Equatorian names of places should be removed by law.

**Hon Francis Sowaka commented:**

2.16.99 **The country is dead.** There is no political will to do anything right in this country.

2.16.100 **Women,** who have endured a lot of pain at the birth of their children, watch them die young without cause.

2.16.101 **Warring Parties:** The two warring parties are the cause of the continuing conflict because they failed to implement the 2015 peace agreement.

2.16.102 **Ignorance:** We lost our house and our land because of other people's greed and ignorance.

2.16.103 **No Freedom or Rights:** We have no freedom in our own country. We don't have the right to our people.

2.16.104 **The government has collapsed.** No power supply, no services to the people. What kind of government is that? Without good governance, nothing good will happen.

**Recommendations:**

2.16.105 **Chance for the Youth:** We need to give chance to the young people to lead us for a change.

2.16.106 **Regions:** We must return to the original three greater regions this time under a confederal system of governance.

**Hon Swaka Philip said:**

2.16.107 **Greed** is the biggest problem in South Sudan.

- 2.16.108 **No Fair Share of Wealth:** There is no equality in South Sudan. Wealth is distributed on tribal basis.
- 2.16.109 **Foreign Ministry:** Positions in the Foreign Ministry are 90% filled by the Dinkas. This is a big problem.
- 2.16.110 **Interference:** Another problem is interference by the central government with state resources.
- 2.16.111 **Cattle Herders:** The biggest problem in Jubek State are the cattle keepers. They carry different kinds of guns. When they are on the move, their donkeys carry these weapons. They are the cause of insecurity in the region.
- 2.16.112 **Land Issues:** The land in Gumbo, which is called Juba Two today, has been taken by armed men. The grabbing of land is the biggest issue in Jubek State.
- 2.16.113 **The President:** The President grabbed our house in Juba Nabari. They are treating their own citizens as if they are not South Sudanese!
- 2.16.114. **Public Service Ministry:** The Ministry of Public Service is dividing the people by employing only members of one tribe.
- 2.16.115 **No Salaries:** Civil servants in the central government have gone without salaries for six months.
- 2.16.116 **The state's civil servants** have also gone without salaries because our resources have been taken by force.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.16.117 **Independent Monitor:** The National Dialogue should have an independent body like in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, so that it can independently monitor the implementation of the results of the National Dialogue's consultations.
- 2.16.118 **Capital City:** The time for Juba City as the temporary capital of South Sudan is over. Let the capital be taken to Ramciel.
- 2.16.119 **Equality and Justice:** We need equality and justice in South Sudan.
- 2.16.119 **Confederation:** We need a Confederal System of governance, based on the three regions, in South Sudan.

**Hon Elizabeth Pita** lamented:

- 2.16.120 **Killing of Boys:** So many of our boys are arrested each day and killed.
- 2.16.121. **Rapes:** So many girls and women, including pregnant ones, are raped.
- 2.16.122. **Raping of Men:** Men are also raped. Some are forced to lie on the back of their wives, then raped.
- 2.16.1223 **In Ondoruba,** only five people are left there. They say they are there to bury the dead killed by the army. All these things are happening because of lack of Justice. The National Dialogue cannot go on while all these things are happening.

2.16.123. **System of Governance:** The confederal system of governance is all we need.

**Hon Anna Kaku said:**

2.16.124 **The SPLM/A** is responsible for all the killings taking place.

2.16.125 **The SPLM Party** has run out of ideas. They cannot justify their existence.

2.16.126 **The SPLM has lost** direction over power struggle. The spirit of greed is the only thing they have left and it has resulted in the war within their party.

2.16.127 **Security:** Abduction of children is not just done by the Murle alone today. Even Dinkas are abducting children. So where is the security?

2.16.128 **Rape of Children:** If a 12-year- old girl is raped, where is the security?

**Recommendations:**

2.16.129 **Dialogue and Revitalization:** We are ready for National Dialogue and Revitalization, but we don't know when and how these can be achieved.

2.16.130 **Peace:** We are tired of killing, looting, and raping of innocent citizens. We need peace.

2.16.131 **Children:** Let our leaders rescue our children from the rampant killing.

2.16.132 If we want to build this South Sudan, we should stop all this bad behavior.

**Hon Dr. Khamis Jafer Karim,** began by asking questions:

2.16.133 Who are you dialoguing with?

2.16.134 Is what we are doing here a dialogue?

2.16.135 **Safety and the security** of South Sudanese were compromised through actions of the government.

2.16.136 The SPLA and other security organs are the main cause of conflict in South Sudan.

2.16.137 SPLA is a tribal organ.

2.16.138 SPLA is a community's army.

2.16.139 How shall we talk about National Dialogue in a place where there is destruction between the community and the SPLA?

## **2.17 Meeting With Members of Juba City Council of Jubek State**

The meeting was opened by the Spokesperson of Juba City Council, Alla Jabu, who then gave a chance to Mayor to comment.

Stephen Wani Michael, Mayor of Juba City, welcomed the initiative of the National Dialogue. He encouraged participants to speak the truth, without fear, about the problems facing them in this country. The resolutions of these meetings, he said, would be put into action as soon as possible. He added that should the National Dialogue consultations conclude that there are people in the government who are responsible for this destruction, they will be removed immediately from the government. However, Mayor Wani encouraged residents of the city to be a positive society, not a destructive one.

**Hon Zachariah** said:

2.17.1 His Excellency Clement Wani Konga, Chairman of the National Dialogue Subcommittee, has assured us that there is freedom of speech and urged us to be frank about what is happening in this country. He wants us to speak about what we think are the reasons the government is failing to advance and the problems that are facing the Juba City Council. You have the right to speak out because we are all citizens of South Sudan.

**Andrea Majok Mayank** started by encouraging members of Jubek State to continue with the spirit of cooperation, which has allowed members of different tribes to be members of the Juba City Council. He commented:

2.17.2 The conflicts that have occurred between Riek Machar and President Salva Kiir were because of power, an issue they should have resolved by constitutional means.

2.17.3 The Church should be given a chance to play a role in bringing about peace to this country. There is a spiritual dimension to peace.

2.17.4 There must be a Council for Unity and Peace in South Sudan.

2.17.5 The National Dialogue should lead to real peace in our country.

**Samir Khamis Suliman** said that the conflicts in South Sudan were caused by:

2.17.6 Corruption: In the beginning, there was no accountability from those who had stolen national resources.

2.17.7 Secondly, the country was full of militias, whether from the Nuer or the Dinka.

2.17.8 This country will not advance if only one tribe is leading it.

2.17.9 There is no security at the moment in the country.

2.17.10 People are being attacked everyday in this area.

**Nary John Henry** said that there was a lot of suffering in Khor William; that people have moved into UNMISS compound because their homes had been taken and they could not get them back; even

when they showed their documents they were rejected. He added that their stay in North Sudan was better than in South Sudan. In South Sudan, he said, they were drinking water from the streams, which was not good for health. He recommended the following:

- 2.17.11 There should be an investigation committee to look into these issues and find out if the reports are true or false.

**Peter Bara** concluded that:

- 2.17.12 There is no clear structure of government in South Sudan.  
2.17.13 There is no justice in the country.  
2.17.14 There is no equality.  
2.17.15 The country is functioning without clear ministries.  
2.17.16 The people of South Sudan are not united.  
2.17.17 There is tribalism in the country. This tribalism brought about segregation of the people of South Sudan.  
2.17.18 We don't have a national army, only a tribal army that has brought shame to other generals who are not from their tribe.  
2.17.19 The security personnel are the ones killing the citizens today.

**Gitano Thomas** said:

- 2.17.20 Members of the SPLM/A are the leading contributors to insecurity in the country because of power struggle.  
2.17.20 The SPLM/A has divided the country into many states. This division has created hatred among the people of South Sudan. The current government is not a government at all.  
2.17.21 The Jieng Council of Elders has contributed immensely to the insecurity in the country. They have caused tribalization of the whole country.  
2.17.21 The pastoralists are also the cause of insecurity in former Central Equatoria State, particularly in Jubek State. They have been killing people in their farms and destroying crops and houses in the villages.  
2.17.22 Land grabbing has become the major issue in Jubek State, where the land of the innocent civilians is grabbed by people in the government and nobody is talking about that. I strongly recommended that:  
2.17.23 The Jieng Council of Elders should be removed from involving itself in the affairs of the country. We need good governance in this country.

**Laila Kiden Alkana** asserted that:

- 2.17.24 Most people in the country are afraid of the security.  
2.17.25 A citizen does not have rights in this country because if you ask for your rights you are beaten or killed.  
2.17.26 Rape cases are the most painful crimes here in Juba. For example, a 15-year old girl was raped in front of her parents.  
2.17.27 A woman was raped by five men in front of her husband. If you talk you would be killed.

2.17.28 Another painful point is the issue of salaries. Civil servants and most of the organized forces go for 7 months without salaries. What kind of government is that?

2.17.29 Let the government respect humanity.

2.17.30 We need peace.

**Kamiro Gasim** said that:

2.17.30 National Dialogue in this country cannot work because no one will implement our views.

2.17.31 The issuing of decrees is destroying this country.

2.17.32 Those in the government are not looking for answers, they are simply worried about losing their positions in the government.

2.17.33 The constitution was made by politicians for themselves. The citizens did not have any say in it.

2.17.34 The issuing of plate numbers for vehicles was assigned by the constitution to states as a source of funding, but the central government has grabbed and centralized it. That is a violation of the constitution.

2.17.35 The original vision of SPLM/A is lost. What we have now are visions and the missions of destruction.

**Recommendations:**

2.17.36 The current government should be removed from power.

2.17.37 Power should be shared equally among the three greater regions.

2.17.38 We need peace in this country. We are tired of war.

**Silva Bangasuk** addressed herself to issues of security and sharing of power:

2.17.39 The National Dialogue should intervene between civilians and the army, because the looting, raping and killing in Juba town is all done by the army. So we need dialogue between the army and civilians.

2.17.40 We should be a people with the spirit of nationalism.

2.17.41 Power Sharing: The ruling party and other parties are the cause of insecurity in the country because they cannot agree to share power equally.

**Michael Alla Jabu**, Speaker of Jubek State Legislative Assembly, pointed out that the war started in the ruling party between Riek Machar and Salva Kiir. If the president had pity on us, he wouldn't have allowed his fellow citizens to be killed, particularly in Equatoria. But the president is only favoring his Dinka people because they were targeted on the Yei to Juba and Nimule to Juba roads. The president was greatly concerned about them. But when Equatorians were targeted, he wouldn't say anything about that. However, the following are some of the issues which also contributed to conflicts in the country:

2.17.42 There is no security in the country.

2.17.43 The implementation of the CPA was only partially completed. This was the first failure of the SPLM/A.

2.17.44 The next big mistake was the grabbing of land from the civil population as well as that of the Church.

2.17.45 The SPLA is full of militiamen, such as the Mathiang Anyoor.

2.17.46 The army and the police are all dominated by one tribe. The country is led by one tribe. So this is one of the main causes of conflicts in the country.

2.17.47 There are now many rebellions in the country. If the raping of Equatorian children and women does not stop, this war will not end

Recommendations:

2.17.48 The president should stop the killing, looting and raping of children. Even a two-year old child was raped. This kind of behavior is something we have not experienced before in Equatoria.

2.17.49 We need the rule of law in the country.

2.17.50 We need the CPA agreement to be fully implemented.

2.17.50 The capital city for South Sudan should be taken to *Ramciel*.

2.17.51 We need a confederal system of governance based on three regions.

**Sarah Michael**, Women Representative, said:

2.17.52 There is no food in the country; people are hungry.

2.17.53 There is no medicine in the country; people are sick.

2.17.53 There is no electricity in the country.

2.17.54 She pleaded with His Excellency, Clement Wani, to tell the President exactly the things he has heard.

## **2.18 Meeting With Chiefs and Traditional Leaders of Jubek State**

**Chief Justin Lowala** stated that:

2.18.1 The current conflict is from two leaders, the former Vice President Riek Machar and President Salva Kiir. This conflict was all about power. That's the cause of this suffering.

2.18.2 Land grabbing is one of the fundamental issues that leads to conflict in Jubek State.

2.18.3 Properties are being looted and there is rampant killing here in Jubek State. All this is being organized by a group of people targeting only Equatorians. And the government is watching all these criminal activities without saying anything. All that leads to conflict.

2.18.4 There is the crime of rape. Women and girls, as well as men, are raped. This is something we did not have before but it has been brought here by people in uniform. That is a cause for conflict.

2.18.5 The Dinka cattle are escorted by the national army because these cattle belong to generals in the army.

**Recommendation:**

We need a federal system of governance based on the three greater regions.

**Chief Michael Sadad Ladu** commented:

2.18.6 There is insecurity in the country.

2.18.7 We have started the National Dialogue, yet people are still being killed everyday here in Juba.

**Recommendations:**

2.18.8 I strongly recommend Confederal System of governance for South Sudan.

2.18.9 All our views should be implemented for peace to come.

**Chief Marino Pitia** added that if we were to dialogue with the Arabs, that would make sense; but if we are to dialogue amongst ourselves, it would not make sense because we don't have a father in this nation; so a dialogue would be difficult. However, I can list the fundamental problems of South Sudan as follows:

2.18.10 There is land grabbing here in the former Central Equatoria State, particularly in Jubek State. It is the same issue that has led our son, Thomas Cirilo, to form his movement.

2.18.11 There is looting and killing in the town, targeting Equatorians only. These are the problems we in Jubek find extremely painful.

**Recommendations:**

2.18.12 We need the capital city for South Sudan to be taken to Ramciel.

2.18.13 We need a confederal system of governance.

**Chief Ramadan Juma** added that the problems of South Sudan are due to two people, President Kiir and Riek Machar:

2.18.14 Riek Machar signed his agreement in Addis Ababa and President Salva Kiir signed his agreement at home; so when it came to implementation, there was no agreement on what was to be done. This is the source of the continuing conflicts in South Sudan.

2.18.15 Other problems fueling the conflict are land grabbing and movement of cattle in the farms.

2.18.16 There is no rule of law in this country.

**Recommendations:**

2.18.17 We need all the cattle to be taken to their places of origin for peace to come.

2.18.18 We need the random killing to be stop.

2.18.19 We need the judiciary to be given a chance to enforce the rule of law for the country to function.

2.18.20 We need the grabbed land to be given back to the rightful owners.

2.18.21 The community should be the one to control the issue of land distribution.

2.18.22 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three greater regions.

**Chief Alfonse Legge** added that the government and the rebel leader, Riek Machar, brought peace, then they destroyed the peace agreement again; yet they are now talking of revitalization. What the government has is the divide and rule policy. The biggest problem in this country is:

2.18.23 Corruption! There is no accountability in this country.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.18.24 We need anything that has been taken from the civilians to be given back to them.
- 2.18.25 We don't need any Traditional Council of Elders to interfere in the country's affairs.
- 2.18.26 We need the women to take up the leadership of this country. The chiefs and the youth will follow because men, who are politicians, have killed indiscriminately.

**Chief Clementina Daniel** remarked that so many bad things that did not happen before in Juba have now happened: Looting, killing and raping, targeting only Equatorians. The people who are committing these crimes are from one tribe only because they have guns.

**Recommendation:**

- 2.18.27 I would strongly recommend a confederal system of governance for South Sudan, based on the three regions.

**Medalina Philip Ladu**, Elders Representative, asserted that:

- 2.18.28 The two tribes are fighting just because they want to rule Equatorians. For example, the Jieng Council of Elders said they want to rule Equatorians for many years to come; that is why they brought in the divide and rule policy, a plan that was there before.
- 2.18.29 Riek, Salva, and Taban Deng will not bring peace to the country unless the people of South Sudan are united; that's when true peace will come.

**Recommendation:**

- 2.18.30 Equatorians must unite. Enough is enough!

**Paterino Legge**, one of the Elders of Jubek State, stated that in his view, the problem with the government is that they always claim Equatorians don't fight, that they don't want to join the military and that they didn't fight in the war of liberation. All these baseless claims are the ones creating conflict all over the country. But one of the causes of the conflict is:

- 2.18.31 Segregation among the tribes of South Sudan. If we do not stop this tribal segregation, the war will not stop.

**Patric Ladu**, Elder, said that people elected the president and stayed in harmony but, later, they started fighting amongst themselves in the government because each wanted to dominate the other. Now we find that only one tribe is ruling all the other tribes.

**Recommendation:**

- 2.18.32 A confederal system of governance for South Sudan, based on three regions, is what we want.

**Chief Martin** stated that all the conflicts that have happened in South Sudan are due to power struggle and grabbing of land. All these conflicts have brought so much destruction to the country. Many cases of rape happen even at daytime, which indicates that there is no security in the country.

- 2.18.33 Cattle keepers used to attack in Gondokoro and many people have died there. The cattle keepers are big contributors to insecurity in South Sudan.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.18.34 The two leaders, Riek Machar and Salva Kiir, must be removed from power.
- 2.18.35 The confederal system of governance, based on three regions, must be adopted in South Sudan.
- 2.18.36 Capital City for South Sudan must be taken to Ramciel.

**Chief James Yacob Musa** commented that:

- 2.18.37 There is no suitable constitution yet in South Sudan to govern the people fairly.
- 2.18.38 There is land grabbing going on. My land has been grabbed in Luri.
- 2.18.39 The cattle issue is the big problem in South Sudan, particularly in Central Equatoria.

**Recommendation:**

- 2.18.40 Confederal system of governance, based on the three regions, would be the best system for South Sudan.

**Chief Peter** started by asking who will implement the National Dialogue findings? He added that the problems in South Sudan happened because of tribal segregation and favoritism. Food distribution, for example, is done on tribal lines. On the land issue, huge plots have been grabbed by the central government. When you complain, the President himself claims that his land has also been grabbed. This kind of response from the President indicates that he is supporting land grabbing, particularly in Juba.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.18.41 For the peace to come, the President should stop all the bad things that are happening in the country.
- 2.18.42 For the peace to come, we need the confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Chief Simon** started his remarks by asking if the National Dialogue will likely solve the problems of South Sudan. He believes that the government doesn't want to be told the truth of what is actually happening and how to go about resolving them:

- 2.18.43 Because of the bad constitution and disrespect for the law by people in government, so many bad things are happening today.
- 2.18.44 The cattle in the country are being escorted by men with big guns, which even the government does not have. The cattle themselves are not producing milk or meat for the market; so the situation is very confusing.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.18.45 The Constitution, as well as the Local Government Act, should be clear.
- 2.18.46 A Constitution should be accurately interpreted and strictly followed by Government and the Courts.

## **2.19 Meeting With the Women and the Youth of Jubek State**

The meeting was introduced by Hon Clement Wani Konga, who included the following issues in his briefing: Land grabbing, rapes, cattle herders and child abductions. He added that there would be freedom of speech and that no one would be arrested for having expressed his or her views in the National Dialogue.

**Margaret Modi** explained that the war started with the two leaders, the former Vice President Riek Machar and President Salva Kiir. She however went on to point out the following as contributors to the on-going conflict:

- 2.19.1 **Child abductions:** Our children in Jubek State are being abducted every year. This issue should be brought to an end immediately.
- 2.19.2 **Rapes:** The issue of rapes is a very big problem in South Sudan, particularly in Jubek State, where even our men are raped in front of us. If this behavior does not stop immediately, the war will continue.
- 2.19.3 This president is only for one tribe, not for all the tribes of South Sudan.
- 2.19.4 **The issue of land:** Land grabbing has become the source of conflict here in Jubek State. The people who are committing these crimes are army generals. This issue needs a serious attention from the government.
- 2.19.5 **Looting:** There is the issue of looting all over Jubek State. The culprits are the military and their target is Equatorians.
- 2.19.6 **Segregation:** There is segregation of tribes in the country, for example in the public employment sector. Only youths from one tribe are employed. Equatorians are moving about with their qualification documents, but they are not getting the jobs. All this is happening because of tribalism.
- 2.19.7 **Cattle:** The presence of large herds of Dinka cattle in Equatoria, particularly in the former Central Equatoria State, has become a very big issue and a source of conflict. Cattle are escorted through farms with big guns, which even the government does not have. This issue of insecurity brought about by cattle herders must be brought to an end, otherwise the conflict will continue.
- 2.19.8 **Salaries:** From last year, government employees went without salaries for seven months or more.

Recommendations

- 2.19.9 **Stolen land** should be given back to the rightful owners.

**Simon Ladu Doku**, Chairman of Youth, Jubek State commented on:

- 2.19.10 **Illiteracy**: most South Sudanese are not educated; so when there is conflict, everyone is supporting their own tribe.
- 2.19.11 **Tribalism**: Tribalism has destroyed the country. It has brought divisions amongst the people of South Sudan.
- 2.19.12 **The SPLA/M** has lost the vision and mission for South Sudan. The country has no head because there is no president with a vision.
- 2.19.13 **Law**: There is no law in this country because everyone thinks they are above the law. In this country, the law only works for some people.
- 2.19.14 **Army**: There is no national army. What we have is the tribal army;
- 2.19.15 **Decrees**: Presidential decrees are also a source of conflict in the country because elected people were removed without good reason. That was the beginning of the conflicts.
- 2.19.16 **Generals**: Every general has his own soldiers loyal to him first, then second to the country.

**Recommendations**

- 2.19.17 There must be reforms in all the ministries.
- 2.19.18 The government must give chance to other political parties.
- 2.19.19 We need Confederal System of governance, based on the three regions.

**Margaret Caesar Paul**, Women Group commented on:

- 2.19.20 Government: The government was not well constituted from the very beginning. That is the problem we have today.
- 2.19.21 The war of 2013 was all about power. The SPLM leaders started to fight among themselves simply because of power.
- 2.19.22 The government is tribal because they are implementing a tribal policy in the country.
- 2.19.23 Army: The Sudanese army was not beating women. Our soldiers are the worst.
- 2.19.24 Raping young girls, women and even men, is the behavior our soldiers are reputed for.
- 2.19.25 All these crimes have happened because the liberation army has not been transformed into a standard national army; therefore they do not follow military rules.
- 2.19.26 **Justice**: There is no justice in the country.
- 2.19.27 Education: Only one tribe, the Dinka, benefit more than any other tribe from external scholarships.
- 2.19.28 **Land Grabbing**: Agricultural land is being taken by people in government, particularly in Juba Two.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.19.29 The High Court should pay special attention to cases of land grabbing.
- 2.19.30 Grabbed land should be restored to the rightful owners.
- 2.19.31 Cattle from other states should be taken back to their own states.
- 2.19.32 Those who have occupied farmland should be evacuated because we need the land for farming.
- 2.19.33 We need a national army that includes all the tribes of South Sudan, not the one formed by only one tribe.

- 2.19.34 We need a government that's fair and treats citizens equally.
- 2.19.35 We need a democratic government, regularly elected through the ballot box, with time limit for the president.
- 2.19.36 We need a federal system of governance, based on the three greater regions. If that is not acceptable, we will need a rotational presidency/leadership.

**Kosmas Juma**, Youth Member, asserted that:

- 2.19.37 The SPLM was the main cause of the war in South Sudan, because their straggle over power brought about the divisions within the SPLM Party;
- 2.19.38 The SPLM was formed on tribal basis and it is therefore only one tribe which dominates it.
- 2.19.39 Land grabbing is legalized in South Sudan, because most of the land in the former Central Equatoria State, particularly in Jubek State, has been grabbed by the central government. This is the biggest problem we have here. It requires serious intervention from a detribalized national government.

#### **Recommendations**

- 2.19.40 We need an independent judiciary to be established.
- 2.19.41 We need independent courts in this country.
- 2.19.42 We need a government different from the current one.
- 2.19.43 Finally, we need a confederal system of governance, based on the three greater regions, where most decisions for the region will be made.

**Lucia Gabriel**, Women Group, wanted to know who was to dialogue with whom first? She thought that President Kiir and Riek Machar should dialogue first. She also wanted to know how well the CPA was implemented by the government; she then proposed that:

- 2.19.44 The SPLM/A members need to dialogue among themselves.
- 2.19.45 There is no accountability in the country.
- 2.19.46 No equality. The country is dominated by one tribe.
- 2.19.47 As a journalist stated sometime back, when leaders of the SPLM/A agree, they loot us; when they disagree, they kill us. That is all they have done. They have delivered nothing else.
- 2.19.48 South Sudanese don't want a good government. The one we want is the one that divides us on tribal lines with a divide and rule policy.
- 2.19.49 The naming of local places, such as Jebel Dinka, overlooking Juba, is also not acceptable to us.

#### **Recommendations:**

- 2.19.50 Those non-native names should be erased; if not, the conflict will not stop.
- 2.19.51 Let the government be given to technical administrators to lead this country.
- 2.19.52 We need many more positions in the central government for Equatorians.
- 2.19.53 We need a federal system of governance, based on the three greater regions.

**Omuno Mogga**, Chairman of Nglere Youth Association, commented:

- 2.19.54 Our country is in the state of collapse.
- 2.19.55 South Sudan is full of tribalists guided by greed.
- 2.19.56 The current leadership has no vision to lead the country.
- 2.19.57 The vision and mission of SPLM/A died along with Dr. John Garang.

**Edward Dian**, Youth Group, asserted that the country is like a kingdom, dominated by one tribe, leading against our will. That is why there are so many conflicts. However, he listed the following as among the contributors to the conflict:

- 2.19.58 Some members of the Jieng Council of Elders are among the biggest contributors to the conflicts in South Sudan.
- 2.19.59 The creation of the thirty-two states was the biggest mistake of this government. It added fuel to a conflict that was already boiling. We, the people of Equatoria, don't want it. Introduction:
  - 2.19.60 The Mathiang Anyoor is not a national army, because its members are from one tribe only. That is why there is a lot of destruction in the country.
- 2.19.61 There is the issue of land grabbing, particularly in Jubek State.
- 2.19.62 There is no accountability in this country. If you steal public money, no one will arrest you. That is the corruption that is encouraged and carried out by members of the government.
- 2.19.63 Political parties in South Sudan have no role and no vision for future governance of the country.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.19.64 We need drastic constitutional reforms.
- 2.19.65 The Capital City for South Sudan should be reallocated to Ramciel. We don't want it in Juba.
- 2.19.66 There must be accountability from those who have stolen public money.
- 2.19.67 We need the government reformed.
- 2.19.68 We, the Equatorians, don't want thirty-two states.
- 2.19.69 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Florance Keji**, Women Group, reported that the situation in Gunji was worsening day by day and that people were deserting the place. However, she listed some of the followings issues as contributors to the conflicts in South Sudan:

- 2.19.70 **Land grabbing:** Grabbing of land has become one of major issues in Jubek State. It requires serious attention.
- 2.19.71 **Health Issues:** One of the serious diseases prevalent in South Sudan, but has no cure or effective treatment, is skin disease. What are the chances that those suffering from such a disease can be assisted by the government?

- 2.19.72 Food Security: Is the government taking any measures for food security in the country? Citizens are dying from hunger and the government is just watching them die or leave the country.
- 2.19.73 People are dying of hunger and the food items in the market are too expensive. That is another cold war we have going on in the country at the moment.
- 2.19.74 Education: We don't have a South Sudan's curriculum for schools at the moment. So what are we teaching our children?
- 2.19.75 There is no proper school built by the government of SPLM. What is the ruling party's contribution to education in this country?
- 2.19.76 Recommendations: We need schools in this country;
- 2.19.77 We need security in order to feel secured enough to stay in this country.
- 2.19.78 We need good roads to facilitate transportation of goods, particularly food, from rural areas to towns and to other areas where there are shortages.
- 2.19.79 We need the National Dialogue to come up with the good results after the consultation process.

**Rita Alfonse**, Women Group, asserted that the president has failed because he has no solution for what is happening in the country. He has no solution to killings, rapes and looting. He appears to have no power to stop them.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.19.80 Let the president step down and leave the seat to others. Enough is enough!

Stephen Baden, Youth Group, pointed out that:

- 2.19.81 There is lack of services to the citizens.
- 2.19.82 The government is unable to rescue the citizens from troubles.
- 2.19.83 The government seems bent on destruction rather than the building and unity of the country. Most of the destruction is happening in Equatoria.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.19.84 Let the president resign from the presidency.
- 2.19.85 Let the government change the system of governance.
- 2.19.86 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

## **2.20 Meeting With the Physically Disabled of Jubek State**

The introduction was made by Gen Clement Wani Konga, who stated that South Sudan had big problems, including land grabbing, child abduction, rapes, corruption, lack of accountability for those who have committed crimes, economic crisis and so on. He asked participants how these problems could be resolved. He also assured the participants that there was

freedom of expression and that no one would be arrested for expressing his or her views in the National Dialogue process.

**Mary Lucis**, Physically Disabled, commented:

- 2.20.1 With whom are we to dialogue while the real person we are supposed to talk to is not present?
- 2.20.2 The disabled have no right to the same 25% for women. But this percentage is not even there for women today.
- 2.20.3 We need peace. Enough of the war because we are tired of killing, raping and looting.

**Christine Keji George**, Physically Disabled, declared:

- 2.20.4 We are for National Dialogue, while killing and hunger continue.
- 2.20.5 We need peace and freedom of movement in this country.

**Joko Sule**, Physically Disabled, thanked the President and Gen. Clement Wani for the National Dialogue Process, then commented:

- 2.20.6 Land Grabbing: The land of the disabled has been grabbed by some of the government officers. This is one of the problems that are really painful to us people with disability.
- 2.20.7 For whom is the law intended? Is it only for the poor, ordinary, people and not for those in the government as well? The government should respect the law too.
- 2.20.8 Employment: In the constitution of the state, there is a provision for the care and employment of the handicap; but someone, who does not care for the interests of the disabled, has been appointed and put there.
- 2.20.9 There is no spirit of nationalism in this government. What they have is the spirit of corruption and looting the public.

**Tebrion Ladu**, Disabled, commented:

- 2.20.10 A National Dialogue conducted in bad faith will not succeed.
- 2.20.11 Whenever we talk and agree on anything, there is always no implementation in good faith.
- 2.20.12 What we need from the government is to give us back our land. That is our right.
- 2.20.13 All grabbed land should be given back to the rightful owners.

**Sebit**, Physically Disabled, commented:

- 2.20.14 Everyone claim they are the owners of any land in dispute; so this is one of the biggest problems in South Sudan.
- 2.20.15 The government has forgotten the disabled. They are left without food, no shelter and no healthcare. Although some of us are college or university graduates, the word out there is that the disabled cannot do anything; so we remain unemployed.

- 2.20.16 There is no government in this country. If there were a government, then, why is there so much killing, raping, looting, grabbing, corruption, lack of employment and hunger? It is because there is no government.
- 2.20.17 The government should be accountable for all the bad things happening on their watch in this country.
- 2.20.18 There is no freedom of speech in the country, because those who criticize the government are arrested and detained or terminated.
- Recommendations:
- 2.20.19 For the national dialogue to continue, tribalism should be abolished. We should work as one people.
- 2.20.20 The security sector should be reformed for better security in the country.
- 2.20.21 Any one who has no work and staying in town doing nothing should be taken back to his/ her place of origin.
- 2.20.22 There must be equal distribution of resources in the country.
- 2.20.23 We need elected leaders, starting from top to bottom, from National Government, through States, Councils and Payams: All political posts in government should come through elections, not by decrees.

**Rizik Awad Legga, commented:**

- 2.20.24 Tribalism is the major problem in South Sudan, you find that all the appointments have been done on tribal basis. Ministries headed by a tribal ministers will employ mostly members of the minister's tribe. This is one of the reasons for these conflicts because other tribes are being marginalized.
- 2.20.25 There is no security in the country that can protect the civilians whether at daytime or at nighttime. Civilians are *being* killed, women are raped and properties are looted by men in uniform and nobody is doing anything about that, which means that there is no security. And it is true, there is no security in the country.
- 2.20.26 The Disabled have no rights in this country. Their land has been taken by the government. Even work they are capable of doing is not being given to them. So I concluded that we the disabled have no rights in this country.
- 2.20.27 There is no equality in the country. Everything has been centralized by the central government, which is dominated and controlled by only one tribe.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.20.28 We are tired of war. We need peace.
- 2.20.29 The government must guarantee security for its citizen.
- 2.20.30 The government should stop tribalism.
- 2.20.31 We need security reforms.

**Kamisomo Wani Tombe, Physically Disabled:**

2.20.32 One of the problems was lack of the spirit of patriotism.

40.33 Our leaders have no love for their country. Most of them have their children in foreign countries. This is the reason why there is a lot of conflict and war in the country because they don't care about other people's children. Most of them have foreign nationalities. Whenever there is trouble they claim their other nationalities and run there.

2.20.34 There is lack of understanding and trust among our leaders. They only trust themselves and members of their own tribe.

**Recommendations**

2.20.35 Ministers should not have soldiers in their houses in such big numbers. Some of these ministers are the ones causing a lot of trouble in the country. Beside, that encourages tribal armies. The law must forbid such practices.

2.20.36 We have no idea how many soldiers we have in the so-called national army. We need to know the true total number. If we don't know for sure, each general will set up his own army and collect salaries for them. Every general now has his own militia and can decide to rebel.

2.20.37 We need a democratic government, not one that rules by force. The current government is a government by the gun. When you question them they answer you with the gun. A government elected and dismissed through the ballot box cannot kill its citizens like this one does. We need democracy.

2.20.38 For the peace to come we need all our views expressed through the National Dialogue to be implemented.

2.20.39 We need people of retirement age to step down from power and any public administration and leave room for younger people. Such people are the ones preventing change to protect their interests while the innocent people are dying.

2.20.40 We need Riek to come back home and join the National Dialogue Process, because he is one of the contributors to all these conflicts in this country.

2.20.41 Above all, we need peace first. Development will follow peace.

**2.21 Meeting With the Counties of Jubek State**

2.21.1 H E. Gen. Clement Wani Konga introduced the members of National Dialogue Sub-Committee for Central Equatoria State and encouraged the participants to speak freely to stop war and bring peace to South Sudan. Gen. Clement added that the sub-committee was there to listen to the participants' views as to why the government is not achieving peace and progress in the country. You can talk about anything you feel is the cause of the conflicts.

**Chief Simon Soro** commented:

2.21.1 **I thank God first.** Today is the most important moment. The first ancestors worked with wisdom despite the fact that they were not educated; everything was good. Our country is very sick now and this sickness is being passed on like goods in the market!

**Recommendations**

2.21.3 We need unity of the people of South Sudan.

2.21.4 We need peace to come.

2.21.5 We need to forget the past and start new things.

**Chief Peter Tombe Ladu** commented on the following issues:

2.21.6 **Cattle:** Our land has all been occupied by cattle herders. Now there is no place for cultivation.

2.21.7 **Decrees:** The president issued so many decrees, but the pastoralists are not implementing the decrees of the president.

2.21.8 **Land Grabbing:** Land has become the main source of the conflict in Jubek State.

2.21.9 **Rapes:** Rapes and killings have become common in Juba and it is targeting only Equatorians.

2.21.10 The president's decisions are not respected.

**Recommendations**

2.21.11 We need the definition of dialogue.

2.21.12 The dialogue should start from the town, not from the village to the town.

2.21.13 We need the law to resolve land issues.

2.21.14 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three greater regions.

**Hon Redento Tongun**, Commissioner of Kondokoro County, commented:

2.21.15 The National Dialogue is a political issue. The war is between President Salva Kiir and his former First Vice President Riek Machar over power struggle. They are the cause of all destruction in the country. There was an agreement before: why don't they go back to that and not start involving innocent people for nothing?

2.21.16 Who is going to implement our views?

2.21.17 Is the revitalization not more important than the National Dialogue?

**Recommendations**

2.21.18 Let the government go back to the agreement they signed earlier and implement it because it covers all that we need; otherwise the National Dialogue will not be successful.

**Alexander Ladu Tombe** suggested that National Dialogue was supposed to start with reconciliation. But he added that the following are the contributors to the conflicts:

2.21.19 Corruption, Tribalism; Land grabbing;

- 2.21.20 Pastoralists movement is the biggest problem in former Central Equatoria State.
- 2.21.21 The creation of thirty-two states is also a very big mistake that the government has done.

**Recommendations**

- 2.21.22 We need the rule of law applied against tribalism.
- 2.21.23 The claim by the Dinka that they are the majority and therefore must rule should cease.
- 2.21.24 We need a federal system based on the three greater regions.

**Hon George Ladu Wani**, Commissioner of Lokiliri County, listed the fundamental problems of South Sudan as based on the following:

- 2.21.25 There is child abduction going on. This is one of the issues that are most painful to us.
- 2.21.26 The issue of land grabbing is also common in former Central Equatoria State, particularly in Jubek State.
- 2.21.27 Killing, looting, and raping of women and girls is taking place now. The law is supposed to stop *it*, *but* there is no law in this country. This is the situation we are in today.
- 2.21.28 There is lack of commitment from the government in order to resolve the problems of South Sudan.

**Recommendations**

- 2.21.29 Let the committee go to the ground to investigate these issues.
- 2.21.30 There must be balance in the government for all the tribes of South Sudan.
- 2.21.31 We need reformation of the SPLA.
- 2.21.32 The land grabbing should be stopped immediately by the law.

**Kelia Poni Ceasario**, of Lokiliri County, commented:

- 2.21.33 Girls as young as 12 and 14 years of age are being raped. This behavior is so painful to us.
- 2.21.34 Child abductions are also another painful issue that needs to be resolved by the government.
- 2.21.35 We have no government that can resolve these issues.
- 2.21.36 There is no security for us in Lokiliri County.

**Recommendations**

- 2.21.37 Let the government take all these offenders to court.

**Engineer Thomas Kidney** started his contribution with a question: “If Riek Machar needs power, what about us here in Central Equatoria?” He then named some of the bad things happening in South Sudan today:

- 2.21.38 The civilians in Bongo were killed in a massive way. This kind of behavior is really painful to us.

2.21.39 Other people's cultures resolve conflicts through violence. We in Equatoria resolve problems by peaceful means. This is what makes us different in South Sudan. To have the slogan of one people one nation means nothing, because this is now a nation of one tribe.

2.21.40 Another problem is that some people claim that they now have their promised land in the former Central Equatoria State. This kind of claim can add fuel to the conflict.

**Recommendations:**

2.21.41 If we become three countries or even sixty-four countries there will be no problem.

2.21.42 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Juma Tombe**, Ladu County, said:

2.21.43 The Dinkas are the problem in this country.

2.21.44 The Dinkas should dialogue among themselves to determine what is wrong in their behavior and the way they are leading the country.

2.21.45 The national army is mostly Dinka.

2.21.46 The national police is mostly Dinka.

2.21.47 The national security is largely Dinka.

2.21.48 The bodyguards who were given to me were all Dinkas. So this is the problem of South Sudan, everything is tribalized and dominated by one tribe.

2.21.49 The people of Yei do not like David Lokoga and they don't want him; but the president is forcing him on them.

2.21.50 There is lack of implementation of the Law in South Sudan.

**Recommendations:**

2.21.51 We need Equatorians to be left alone, Nuers alone and the Dinkas alone.

2.21.52 We need the army to be reformed.

2.21.53 We need the rule of law to be implemented.

**Hon Samuel Lemi**, Commissioner of Ondroba County, stated that the problems of South Sudan arose from the following:

2.21.54 Ondroba County is more affected than Morobo County. Houses there were burned down with many people inside.

**Recommendations:**

2.21.55 Appointments to government and public positions should be fairly distributed among the regions.

2.21.56 The National Dialogue Committee should visit our places to see what has happened there.

2.21.57 The government should respect the law.

**Chief Edward Laku**, Deputy Paramount Chief of Ondroba County, said that:

2.21.58 The number of people who were burnt inside their houses was 120, including children and women. It is still very painful in our hearts.

2.21.59 The Mundari pastoralists are also killing us.

2.21.60 Soldiers are the most problematic in South Sudan.

Recommendations:

2.21.61 South Sudan is full of blood. Let the government stop the shedding of blood.

**Hon Lokudu**, Commissioner of Dolo County, said that he was not familiar with the terms “revitalization” and “national dialogue”. However, he thought that the most destructive issues in South Sudan included the following failures of the government:

2.21.62 There has not been any development by the government since independence.

2.21.63 The government is operating on tribal basis.

2.21.64 There is lack of accountability in the public service.

2.21.65 There is lack of respect for the constitution.

2.21.66 There is widespread violation of the law.

2.21.67 The government lacks plans to change the situation.

2.21.68 The pastoralists are the contributors to the conflict in the country and the government is unable to do anything about them.

**Recommendations:**

2.21.69 The law should be respected.

2.21.70 Tribalism should be made a crime by the law.

2.21.71 The organized forces should be reformed.

2.21.72 The SPLM party should be reformed to represent all the sixty-four tribes of South Sudan.

**Hon Santo Yuggu**, Commissioner of Ganji County, commented:

2.21.73 People are not respecting presidential decrees.

2.21.74 The organized forces are dominated by one tribe.

2.21.75 There is too much tribalism in this country.

2.21.76 Many people were killed in Ganji County and their houses were all burnt down by cattle keepers.

2.21.77 There is lack of accountability in the government.

**Recommendation:**

2.21.78 We need a confederal system of governance based on three regions.

**Hon Pedaling Ladu**, Commissioner of Bungu County, stated that:

2.21.79 There is no rule of law in the country.

2.21.80 The pastoralists have more sophisticated guns than the government.

2.21.81 The 2015 agreement was not implemented.

2.21.82 The war was about power struggle.

Recommendations:

- 2.21.83 We need those who committed criminal acts to be brought to court and justice served.
- 2.21.84 All our views from this National Dialogue should be implemented.
- 2.21.85 Any one who wants to be president must claim it through elections.
- 2.21.86 All the cattle should be taken back to their places of origin.

**Hon Martin Wani Jangara**, Commissioner of Rajaf County, defined dialogue as an exchange of ideas between two parties in conflict in order to agree peacefully. The fundamental problems of South Sudan are based on the following:

- 2.21.87 The SPLM/A came with a tribal agenda to dominate South Sudan by one tribe.
- 2.21.88 They had in mind destruction, not development of the country.
- 2.21.89 Land grabbing is the major issue here in Jubek State.
- 2.21.90 There is no rule of law in this country.
- 2.21.91 There is lack of equal representation in all the sectors of the administration.
- 2.21.92 SPLM brought divisions, not unity, to the country.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.21.93 We need a confederal system of governance based on three regions.
- 2.21.94 The president should dialogue with the SPLM-IO.

**Hon Hedlar Ominny**, Commissioner of Liria County, commented:

- 2.21.95 The issue of child abduction is the most painful in Liria County. It needs intervention from the government.
- 2.21.96 There is random killing in the country and the government is just watching over it without any action.
- 2.21.97 The government has got no plans for leading the country wisely.
- 2.21.98 The Nile Petroleum is being controlled by one tribe.
- 2.21.99 People want to cultivate, but there is no land for cultivation. All the land is being occupied by the pastoralists. If you complain you are killed.

**Recommendation:**

- 2.21.100 Let the government resolve all these issues.

## **2.22 Meeting With the Organized Forces of Jubek State**

The meeting was introduced by His Excellency Gen Clement Wani Konga, Chairman of Sub-Committee for Central Equatoriastates of Yei River, Jubek and Terekeka. He pointed out the many problems facing the country. He then invited participants to comment, under assurances that none would be victimized for what he or she has said in the National Dialogue.

**John Dobliah Dominic** commented:

2.22.1 I thank President Salva Kiir for this initiative. I just want to know the reason why there are people who are refusing to dialogue?

**Recommendation:**

2.22.2 Let the National Dialogue not end here. Thank you.

**Jackson Elia** said he would first like to thank President Kiir for the good initiative to seek peace in the country. He spoke of the causes of the conflicts in South Sudan as follows:

2.22.3 During the peace agreement on the 2013 conflict, many parts of that agreement were not implemented. That led to another conflict in 2016.

2.22.4 The reformation of the army after the struggle was not completed. That is why the army is not fairly established.

2.22.5 After the struggle, we lost trust in each other. That is another leading factor in the conflict.

2.22.6 There is lack of patriotism in the country.

2.22.7 There is lack of strong political will to do the right thing in this country. That is why there is division among politicians.

2.22.8 There is too much corruption in the country.

2.22.9 There is no freedom of expression.

2.22.10 The Assembly, Judiciary and Security organs are not working as they should.

2.22.11 There is no rule of law in the country.

2.22.12 The states' resources are being corrupted by the central government. They say the system of governance is decentralized but, in reality, it is a centralized system of governance.

**Recommendations:**

2.22.13 Let us respect the law.

2.22.14 The organized forces should be independent.

**Major Gen Isaac Mabil Chol**, Director of NPSS, first thanked the president for the good initiative to call for the National Dialogue, then went on to list what he saw as the fundamental problems of South Sudan:

2.22.15 The biggest fundamental problem in South Sudan is tribalism. This tribalism started during the struggle.

2.22.16 One of the bad habits South Sudanese have is that when two people fight, they turn to tribalism;

2.22.17 We South Sudanese have lost the spirit of nationalism.

2.22.18 There are too many firearms in the hands of civilians; that is why the government is unable to control them when there is conflict among them.

**Recommendations:**

2.22.19 Let us dialogue in order to bring peace to the country.

2.22.20 Let us respect the law.

**Franco Wani Tongun** commented:

2.22.21 The SPLA brought about the issue of land grabbing.

2.22.22 Unfair and uneven promotions in the army have major negative bearing on the nation.

**Recommendations:**

2.22.23 Let the issue of cattle be discussed in the parliament and a solution found very quickly.

2.42.24 The land grabbing needs to be criminalized by the law.

2.22.25 Promotions in the army and public service should be based on qualifications and experience, but spread equally among the three greater regions.

2.22.26 The issue of child abduction should be discussed in the parliament and a solution found.

2.22.27 After the National Dialogue consultations, disarmament of the civil population should begin immediately.

**Daniel Ladu Lazarus** stated:

2.22.28 The government is not following what is written in the constitution; this is the sad situation our nation is in today.

2.22.29 In the constitution, the issuing of plate numbers for vehicles is the responsibility of states; but the central government has interfered with this constitutional arrangement.

2.22.30 There are no trained professionals in the army.

**Recommendations:**

2.22.31 The rule of law should be put into practice by the government.

2.22.32 The National Assembly should intervene and do more in resolving the problems of South Sudan.

**Jimmy John** said:

2.22.33 Leaders are the main cause of conflicts in South Sudan.

2.22.34 There is lack of accountability in the country.

2.22.35 Salaries are not paid regularly to the army; other services they need are not provided.

2.22.36 There is lack of medicines in the hospitals.

2.22.37 Lack of implementation of agreements also causes conflict in the country.

2.22.38 Tribalism is the major issue in South Sudan.

2.22.39 Corruption is also another contributor to the destruction of the country.

**Recommendations:**

2.22.40 The laws should be implemented by the courts.

2.22.41 Monthly salaries should be paid regularly to stop unrest and rebellion.

**Captain Christina Beda** commented:

- 2.22.42 We are not happy with all these things happening in our country.
- 2.22.43 During the time of Joseph Lagu, we did not experience such things like raping of old women and young girls. There was no looting and salaries were never delayed, unlike now when people go for six months without salaries.
- 2.22.44 If the government does not resolve these issues, we are ready to fight.
- 2.22.45 I want to know where all the money goes.
- 2.22.46 Hunger is killing us.

**Kamilio Loku Anthony** believes that:

- 2.22.47 All these conflicts happened because of the power struggle.
- 2.22.48 There are no regular salaries for soldiers in this country.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.22.49 We need the rule of law to be strictly followed.
- 2.22.50 We need a confederal system of governance.

**Margaret Juma Sahyid** stated that:

- 2.22.51 Water is the major issue for us in Gudele.
- 2.22.52 We are tired of the lootings and the killings going on all the time in Gudele.

**Recommendation:**

- 2.22.53 Let the government provide permanent water tanks in order to resolve the problem of water in Juba.

## **TEREKEKA STATE**

### **2.23. Meeting With Organized Forces of Terekeka State**

Introductory remarks by Chairman of the Sub-Committee for Central Equatoria, Hon Clement Wani Konga, included lack of development in the country since 2011, the division of the SPLM between those supporting former First Vice President Riek Machar and those supporting President Kiir, now represented by SPLM-IG and SPLM-IO; while Equatorians claim to have been forced into rebellion. He included in his brief issues such as lack of training in armed forces, lack of respect for the constitution and the law and the rampant tribalism in the country. He then invited participants to discuss why they think the Republic of South Sudan is not peaceful. He further assured the participants that they were to speak freely without fear of harassment or

detention for what they have said in the National Dialogue Consultations.

**Major General Abenigo Akol**, Commissioner of Police, said that he appreciated the decision by President Kiir to convene the National Dialogue. He pleaded with his colleagues to speak openly about what they think are the problems facing the nation and how they can be resolved. He then went on to say:

**2.23.1** Article 137 of the Constitution of South Sudan is all about police establishment. You should read it.

**2.23.2** The face of a nation is revealed through the way the police operate with respect to the law and in combating crime to protect life and property of citizens.

**2.23.3** The laws are there to follow, but we ignore them.

**2.23.4** The police are not well organized or equipped to effectively handle well-armed criminals, like cattle rustlers, abductors of children and community to community conflicts.

**2.23.5** The Police in Terekeka are under-resourced. We do not have enough police officers. If we distribute the officers we have in Terikeka State, there will be only three police officers to a Payam.

**2.23.6** There are no good working police vehicles in the whole state. The only one we have is the old vehicle donated by the former Governor of Central Equatoria State.

**2.23.7** There has not been any emergency intervention to resolve this shortage of vehicles in Terekeka.

**2.23.8** The police have no radio communication equipment, as mobility and radio transmission coverage are limited in the state.

**2.23.9.** There has not been any technical training of the police in the state.

**2.23.10** Commanders transferred from Military Police to the regular Police Force have not had any ethical training.

**2.23.11** Politicians interfere with deployment of the police.

**2.23.12** As professionals, what is happening is painful to us; but what can we do?

**2.23.13** The roads are in a deplorable condition, hindering any quick intervention.

### **Recommendations:**

**2.23.14** Appeal for implementation of recommendations from these discussions through the National Dialogue.

**2.23.15** Representatives from grassroots should go to the discussions at the National Dialogue at Nation Level.

**2.23.16** Total disarmament of the local population. These arms should be put in store and not allowed to find their way back into the hands of civilians.

**2.23.17** Who is arming the civilians? These are the army and politicians who do not want stability in this country.

**2.23.18** We have reversed Human Rights violations, where a murderer is treated with honor while the victim has no rights.

**2.23.19.** Murderers should be executed.

**2.23.20** Respect the rule of law.

**2.23.21** Judges should be deployed to all the states. Currently, cases are not being looked into because of the shortage of judges.

**2.23.22** The Judiciary, the Executive and the Legislature should operate independently of each other.

**2.23.23** Candidates for the police should be recruited according to the law and trained accordingly.

**2.23.24**The Police should be provided with transport and equipment.

**2.23.25** In the police, there are always vital duties to perform; but when the police go without salaries for up to 7 months, lootings and robberies (by unidentified criminals) become common.

**2.23.26** Salaries of the police should be reviewed.

**2.23.27** There is corruption leading to release of detainees or criminals.

**2.23.28** The spirit of nationalism has died because the rights and duties of the police are not respected.

**2.23.29** The leadership should sit down at a table and sort out their differences.

**2.23.30** Those in the bush should come out, meet the National Dialogue team and state their views. Why did they attack yesterday when the National Dialogue was being launched in Terekeka?

**2.23.31** As reported, the government has begun the training of 580 police and aiming to recruit 600 more.

**2.23.32** Handle the National Dialogue carefully like an egg so that it does not break. This is an opportunity for President Kiir to be exalted by the citizens for his National Dialogue initiative.

**2.23.33** Everybody should respect and abide by the law and the rest will be respected.

**Major General David Deng Ateer**, State Director of Prisons, reminded the attendees that South Sudanese were united when they were struggling for freedom, but disunited soon after the achievement of independence. He recommended:

**2.23.34** The disarmament of civilians because the so-called IO are actually civilians.

**2.23.35** The army becomes rebellious when the soldiers are hungry and not getting their salaries or basic benefits.

**2.43.36** What do advisors tell or recommend to the President? Is it the right advice?

**2.23.37** Hunger and poverty encouraged the youth to join the IO to loot.

**2.23.38** I agree with all the challenges narrated by the Police Commissioner.

**2.23.38** We do not have the numbers in the Prisons to protect and take care of the convicts. On average, we have only 5 prison wardens to a Payam.

**Complains from the army were:**

**2.23.39** No salaries, no food rations, no transport.

**2.23.40 Deployment** in outposts since January 2017 without salary or food ratio. Such challenges make soldiers loot and join the IO.

**2.23.41** Soldiers cannot take care of their children and families as they are always on operations.

**2.23.42** No good retirement package for a soldier: only one uniform and a pair of boots.

**2.23.43** There are too many generals in the organized forces.

**2.23.44** There is 150% tribalism in the armed-forces: Promotions are on tribal basis, as someone can be recruited today and become a captain tomorrow.

**2.23.45** The Dinkas are accused of tribalism. How about tribalism within tribes here amongst the Mundari?

**2.23.46** Currently, there is no food, and there are no salaries and you complain of ambushes on the roads; how much support do you give to the army?

**2.23.47** They have rifles, which they use for looting. It is the government promoting that behavior.

**2.23.48** The Government of South Sudan does not use straight road, but goes around and around, to solve problems. Those who are straight and frank are killed.

**2.23.49** If the National Dialogue is a flashlight for the lost vision and mission, where is the light for love?

**2.23.50** What happens if this National Dialogue fails? Where shall we go; whom shall we hold accountable, you General Clement?

**2.23.51** No Mundari has been promoted to general in the Army or Police and yet 12,000 Mundari youth joined the movement during the struggle. There should be at least 15 generals from Greater Equatoria.

**2.23.52** There are arbitrary arrests going on in Terekeka.

#### **Problems of South Sudan**

**2.23.53** There is tribalism in all sectors, including the police.

**2.23.56** No discipline or respect to officers from other tribes.

**2.23.57** To facilitate corruption, “right people” are deployed around corrupt leaders.

**2.23.58** There is unplanned recruitment of people into the army without an appropriate national budget.

**2.23.59** A general will recruit a personal force at the expense of the nation.

#### **Jieng Council of Elders**

**2.23.62** Promotion in South Sudan is now based on tribalism and favoritism. Promotions should normally be based on qualifications, experience and professionalism; but these days you are promoted on recruitment.

**2.23.63** Oppression and marginalization of other tribes are very common these days in South Sudan.

**2.23.64** Revenge killing, rape, and looting by soldiers returning from operations are common. There must be laws against such practices and culprits should be arrested and brought to book.

**2.23.65** Police training, especially abroad, is mainly for one tribe.

#### **Recommendations**

**2.23.66** There must be equal participation in the government of South Sudan.

**2.23.67** Justice must prevail in this country.

**2.23.68** More problems have been created because of lack of adequate resources for the 32 states. Why not go back to 10 states? After all the same President stopped the 79 Counties due to lack of resources. From where then can he get resources for 32 states when the nation is seven months without salaries?

**2.23.69** Recruitment of forces should be balanced in conformity with the population of each state.

**2.23.70** Unbalanced recruitment makes some tribes intimidate others.

**2.23.71** Power struggle by politicians at the top is the cause of the war.

**2.23.72** Tribalism has reached the army, where top commanders bring their own tribesmen around them. That is why it is easy for them to rebel with these forces.

**2.23.73** There is no respect for the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.

**2.23.74** The National Dialogue should clean us up but the IO is doing something else. Dr. Riek should be involved.

**2.23.75.** The creation of 32 states has created more problems. The politicians created them but now the President gets the blame.

**2.23.76** Wild life is under resourced. Animals are killed with impunity and remaining ones run into refuge in Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia.

**2.23.77** Generally, Terekeka is more peaceful and better than Juba.

**2.23.78** The conflict broke out in Juba J1. Peace was shattered by two tribes, the Dinka and the Nuer. It should be the two tribes to sit down and bring peace back.

**2.23.79** Terekeka is not well represented in government positions or military ranks.

**2.23.80** Sharing of assets of the defunct CES has not been fair and equitable.

**2.23.81** The looting of vehicles on the roads is due to hunger. No relief has reached Terekeka. We only see vehicles passing through Terekeka to other states north of here.

**2.23.82** We would like to see the National Dialogue wake up the Republic of South Sudan, which has fallen asleep.

**2.23.83** The systems and structures of government are not functional and are forgotten.

**2.23.84** The Republic of South Sudan is only about two tribes: The Nuer with GenTaban Deng Gai and the Dinka with President Salva Kiir

**Recommendations**

**2.23.85** The government and rebel leaders must sit together, discuss the issues and find solutions to them in order to fix South Sudan.

**2.23.86** The National Leadership, Governors, Advisors, Presidency and Senior leaders must come together and discuss the National Dialogue and issues arising from consultations to bring peace and stability to South Sudan.

**2.23.87** Stop unnecessary promotions without merit.

**2.23.88** Deployment at national level is tribally influenced.

**2.23.89** Every politician and military leader makes his own HQs.

**2.23.90** No salaries. Soldiers are selling charcoal in order to survive.

**2.23.91** The problem in Juba is that every big man wants to have accounts in Kampala, Nairobi and overseas. Everyone works for self benefit. but what about the Nation?

**2.23.92** Deployments are not according to merit. There are few right people in the right place. The rest are misplaced.

**2.23.93** There is no retirement or pension policy for the military and other organized forces.

**2.23.94** Tell the President that the Republic of South Sudan is for all tribes and not only for two tribes: Dinka and Nuer.

**2.23.95** All big people in government leave their houses and stay in hotels paid for by the government.

**2.23.96** There are widespread arbitrary arrests of innocent people accused of being supporters of SPLA-IO.

**2.23.97** The Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) has remained in Juba without moving out to tour the country, even after independence.

**2.23.97** All civil servants should be treated equally and justly.

**2.23.98** There is need for accountability; so those suspected of embezzlement of public funds should be prosecuted.

**2.24 Meeting With the Executives and State Legislative Assembly of Terekeka State**

### **Introduction**

The meeting was introduced by His Excellency Major Gen. Clement Wani Konga. He included the following remarks:

2.24.1 Tribalism has become problematic in South Sudan. Who or what is the cause of it?

2.24.2 Since independence there has been no development in the country. What happened?

2.24.3 Economy is collapsing. Why do you think it is?

2.24.4 People say the SPLA has become a tribal army. Why?

2.24.5 You can also talk about the Rule of Law.

2.24.6 There is freedom of speech for you to express your views freely in this forum.

**Hon Jackson Abog Gama** introduced the members of the National Dialogue Sub-Committee and added that there was freedom of speech. He then invited the participants to contribute:

**Hon Osman Laku Wani** was the first to comment:

2.24.7 The organized forces are mostly from one tribe.

2.24.8 There is no SPLA that we used to know. That liberation movement and what all it stood for are no longer found in South Sudan.

2.24.9 Now everybody has his own army.

2.24.10 Soldiers have no rights anymore in South Sudan.

2.24.11 There is under acknowledgement of the role played in the liberation struggle by some tribes, compared to others. This is causing conflict in our country.

2.24.12 There are so many guns in the hands of civilians and the government is unable to do anything about it.

2.24.13 There are problems of the border between Terekeka and Jonglei. The location of Terekeka and Mangala at the border with Jonglei has (become a serious problem to us. The issue needs serious intervention from the central government.

2.24.14 Salaries continue to be delayed. That's a big problem in itself.

### **Recommendations**

2.24.15 We need the problem of the borders resolved by the central government; if not, the war will not end.

2.24.16 We need a national army, not a tribal army.

**Hon James Wani**, Chairperson of Local Community, commented:

2.24.17 Tribalism is the biggest cause of conflicts in South Sudan.

2.24.18 Properties of the states are being grabbed by the central government.

2.24.19 Promotions in the public service favor one ethnic community.

2.24.20 There is lack of respect for the constitution of the country. For example, the registration of vehicle number plates is

- constitutionally the responsibility of states, but the central government has grabbed it, along with the registration fee.
- 2.24.21 Armed pastoralists are big contributors to insecurity in Equatoria, including Terekeka.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.24.22 There should be unity within different political parties, instead of constantly fighting amongst themselves and splitting up.
- 2.24.23 Corruption should be prohibited by law and strictly enforced.
- 2.24.24 The grabbed registration of vehicles and issuing of number plates should be reversed, along with the fees, in favor of states.
- 2.24.25 There must be general amnesty for all in the country.
- 2.24.26 There must be general disarmament for all in the country.
- 2.24.27 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Hon Jacob Asake Lowi commented:**

- 2.24.28 There is no development in the country due to too much corruption.
- 2.24.29 The Jieng Council of Elders is the founder of tribalism in this country.
- 2.24.30 The President is implementing the agenda of the Jieng Council of Elders. This agenda has delete destroyed the country.
- 2.24.31 The killings of the Murle came from the Jieng Council of Elders's agenda.
- 2.44.32 The national army is mostly militiamen, not a professional army.
- 2.24.33 The taxation system in the country is totally corrupted and has failed completely.

**Recommendations**

- 2.24.34 We need to reform the army from militias to a professional army.
- 2.24.35 We need accountability from those who have embezzled public funds and any other property.
- 2.24.36 The tribal association called JCE, which is interfering in national affairs, should be banned by law.
- 2.24.37 We need a federal system of governance based on the three regions.
- 2.24.38 Let all political parties play a role in bringing peace back to the country.
- 2.24.39 The agenda of the Bor-based state government is to grab Mundari land. We don't like this agenda to go on. Let it be resolved by the central government before it escalates.

**Hon John Kenyi Laku**, Minister of Local Government, made the following comments:

- 2.24.40 The border issue is the biggest problem in Terekeka. It needs serious intervention from the national government.
- 2.24.41 In the confrontation at Mangala, it was the national army that attacked the Mundari.
- 2.24.42 The Commissioner of Bor entered Jameza with his state's flag and installed it. If he is not stopped, the war will not end.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.24.43 Let President Kiir think of us as his people and citizens of this country and look at our grievances.
- 2.24.44 Let the central government resolve the issue of Mangala. If it is not resolved the whole country will not have stability.

**Hon Mary Sadia**, Deputy Speaker of Terekeka State Legislative Assembly, noted that:

- 2.24.45 There is no respect for the law in South Sudan.
- 2.24.46 The issue of Mangala is still a wound in our hearts.

**Recommendations**

- 2.24.47 Let Mangala be given back to the Mundari.
- 2.24.48 Let the 1956 borders be considered by the national government in order to avoid inter-tribal conflicts.
- 2.24.49 The army should be a national army without political affiliation.

**Hon Joseph Ladu Jubek** commented:

- 2.24.50 The army is not professional; that's why there are a lot of conflicts in the country.
- 2.24.51 The issue of child abductions has become a serious concern for the former Central Equatoria State.
- 2.24.52 The issue of giving new names to areas settled by immigrating communities can cause a very big war among the people of South Sudan. For example, the name Pariak, which is Dinka, has replaced the Mundari name of Adelong. There are many places here in Terekeka being renamed by settlers. This should be made illegal.
- 2.24.53 Nile Petroleum is being controlled by only one tribe, making the organization the most tribalized in the country.

**Recommendations**

- 2.24.54 The Land Commission should be empowered to resolve the issue of borders, based on the 1956 border demarcation.
- 2.24.55 Child abductions should be stopped immediately by law.
- 2.24.56 The President's term should be rotational amongst the three greater regions.
- 2.24.57 We need a reformed army proportionally based on the population of the three greater regions of Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal.

2.24.58 We need a federal system based on the three regions.

**Hon Clement Kulang Gai**, Mayor of Terekeka, Capital of Terekeka State, commented that:

2.24.59 Leaders are the ones destroying the country.

2.24.60 There is general greed in the country. Everybody is for himself or herself.

2.24.61 There is no fair distribution of resources.

2.24.62 There is no spirit of nationalism in this country.

2.24.63 There is no respect for the government of South Sudan.

2.24.64 There is no transparency from the government on issues affecting the people.

2.24.65 Job promotions are carried out anyhow without proper system, resulting in unfair promotion of individuals who are either related or friends of people in power.

2.24.66 There is too much tribalism in the country.

2.24.67 The markets of the country are left in the hands of foreigners; that's why there is economic crisis.

2.24.68 The resources of former Central Equatoria State were not fairly divided.

2.24.69 There is no accountability for any wrong done by people in power in South Sudan.

2.24.70 The presence of firearms in the hands of civilians is a big security problem that needs to be resolved by the national government.

#### **Recommendations**

2.24.71 The army should be strictly controlled within the rule of law and army regulations.

2.24.72 Let us all support our country, South Sudan.

2.24.73 Let there be reconciliation amongst the citizens.

2.24.74 Let us share everything fairly amongst our ethnic communities.

2.24.75 Let us be governed by the rule of law.

2.24.76 We must abandon corruption.

**Hon Nora Jambo**, MP, Terekeka State, pointed out that:

2.24.77 There is lack of respect for other tribes by the Dinka.

2.24.78 The pastoralists are the main cause of insecurity in the former Central Equatoria State.

2.24.79 There are cases of rape that we didn't have before in Central Equatoria.

2.24.80 There is widespread violation of the constitution.

#### **Recommendations**

2.24.81 War widows should be granted their rights by the government.

2.24.82 Travelers should show identity cards at states borders.

**Hon Agnes Wayet**, Government Adviser, commented:

2.24.83 There is widespread insecurity in the country.

2.24.84 There are no NGOs operating in Terekeka State.

**Recommendations:**

2.24.85 Let all the army be taken to the borders and leave only civilians in towns.

2.24.86 Let there be equal rights for all South Sudanese.

2.24.87 Let the President also look on us with favor and promote our ministers.

2.24.88 Let the president listen to the NGOs who want to carry out development activities in the states.

2.24.89 Let the salaries be paid regularly and on time.

**Hon. Stephen Warnyang**, MP, Terekeka State, said that:

2.24.90 The conflict that occurred in 2013 was all about power struggle.

2.24.91 There is no parliament worth the name in South Sudan.

2.24.92 There is no proper judiciary in South Sudan.

2.24.93 There is too much tribalism now, even in the Church.

2.24.94 Tribalism was spread by the Jieng Council of Elders.

2.24.95 The Jieng Council of Elders has become more powerful than the parliament and the president is working on their agenda.

2.24.96 The army is tribally divided and most of them are taking care of the cattle.

2.24.97 There is no respect for the leaders of this country.

**Recommendations**

2.24.98 We don't want the Jieng Council of Elders to interfere with the country's affairs.

2.24.99 We need a federal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Hon James Laku**, Deputy Mayor of Terekeka, commented:

2.24.100 The SPLA is the biggest problem in South Sudan.

2.24.101 There is lack of accountability in the country.

2.24.102 There is no long-term development plan for the country; but there is always short-term plan to get rich quickly.

2.24.103 There is grabbing of other people's property going on all over the country. The government does nothing about it because it is party to the grabbing.

**Recommendations**

2.24.104 Let the roads be repaired.

2.24.105 Let old soldiers be given their pensions and retired, if not already retired.

2.24.106 Let there be accountability from those who have corrupted the government and have stolen assets.

2.24.107 Let the grabbing of property of other tribes stop.

- 2.24.108 We need one of our representatives to be given a ministerial position in the national government.
- 2.24.109 We need all our pressing problems resolved.

**Hon Juma Ali Malou**, Governor of Terekeka State, commented:

- 2.24.110 The National Dialogue is not a replacement for any existing peace agreement or Revitalization of the ARCSS, but complementary to it.
- 2.24.111 Revitalization of the ARCSS is not a good option for implementing the peace agreement.
- 2.24.112 National Dialogue is the best option for us to implement the peace agreement.
- 2.24.113 The Jieng Council of Elders is not the one that killed the SPLM.
- 2.24.114 It was the Jieng Council of Elders which rescued the conflict between Malong and President Kiir. Where was the Equatoria Council of Elders? Why don't they bring Thomas back in order to rescue the problems of Equatorians?

**Recommendation**

- 2.24.115 The MP who insulted the SPLM and the Jieng Council of Elders must apologize for his insults.

**2.25. Meeting With Chiefs, Elders and Intellectuals of Terekeka State**

The meeting was introduced by Hon Jackson Abogo Gama, Deputy Chairperson, National Dialogue Sub-Committee, who encouraged participants to speak freely about conflicts in South Sudan and how they think they can be resolved. He then opened the floor for the participants.

**Hon Kamillo Bye Bye** of CCM was the first to speak:

- 2.25.1 There is land grabbing going on right now in Terekeka and nobody seems to be doing anything about it.
- 2.25.2 There are border disputes between Terekeka and some neighboring states north of Terekeka.
- 2.25.3 Some of the chiefs have become politicians by selling the land out to non-Mundaris.
- 2.25.4 Grabbing of other people's property is another disease here in Terekeka.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.25.5 The current system of governance is not good for us; we need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.
- 2.25.6 Let the Jieng Council of Elders be banned stopped from involving itself in the national affairs.

**Olimpio Anok**, Elder, thought that:

- 2.25.7 There are only two people who caused the war in South Sudan: Riek and Kiir.
- 2.25.8 The army is not well disciplined.
- 2.25.9 The use of militias in political conflicts is one of the problems of South Sudan.
- 2.25.10 The creation of thirty-two states is also an addition to conflicts in the country.
- 2.25.11 Unfair distribution of wealth is another source of conflict.

### **Recommendations**

- 2.25.12 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Lione Laku Wani**, Elder, commented that:

- 2.25.13 The government has become corrupted.
- 2.25.14 Government employees haven't received their salaries for six to eight months. What sort of government is that?
- 2.25.15 The police are the eye of the country, particularly in towns; yet they are not being paid in time.

### **Recommendations**

- 2.25.16 Let the President demonstrate he is fair to all citizens.
- 2.25.17 Let scholarship be fairly awarded to qualified students without tribal influence.
- 2.25.18 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Aboud Ladu**, Chief of Mangala, commented thus:

- 2.25.19 From 2011 to 2017 the Mundari have not had any stability and people are still dying today. Why?
- 2.25.20 The government has a problem with the Mundari people.
- 2.25.21 Up to now my people are still exiled from their homes in Mangala.
- 2.25.22 Similar attacks took place in Jameza against the Mundari and the government is just looking on without intervention to stop the killings of our people.
- 2.25.23 The government has failed because it is not neutral but supports the Dinka against the Mundari.
- 2.25.24 The government is the one killing us in both Mangala and Jemeza.

### **Recommendations**

- 2.25.25 If we are not capable of resolving our issues, let us go back to Northern Sudan.
- 2.25.26 For National Dialogue to succeed, let Mangala and Jemeza be given back to Mundari people.
- 2.25.27 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Benasio Modi**, Paramount Chief of Terekeka, added his voice:

2.25.28 The issue of land grabbing has become a big concern in Terekeka.

2.25.29 Way back in 1925, Lokolan Legga was the chief of Mangala and he was Mundari. That indicates how far back we have been the owners of Magala.

2.25.30 Amule Gore (**of which group?**) refused to perform traditional religious prayer in Mangala because the place belongs to the Mundari; that's why he refused to perform.

2.25.31 All the generals in the country have their own armies. This is the scenario in South Sudan;

#### **Recommendations**

2.25.32 The so-called 'Parik' is our place. We call it Nyori. We want that place given back to us.

2.25.33 We need a national army fairly composed of all the tribes of South Sudan and independent of party politics.

2.25.34 The renaming of local places by emigrants from other tribes should stop.

2.45.35 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Joseph Kulang Nyank**, Senior Citizen of Terekeka, said:

2.25.36 There is no unity today in this country.

2.25.37 The system of governance is very weak in all the institutions of the government.

2.25.38 The financial system in all the ministries is corrupted.

2.25.39 There is no development in the country. No roads to indicate any development.

2.25.40 There is no recruitment system in the government.

2.25.41 Public service is dead. Old people of over 75 years of age are still in the ministries.

2.25.42 Any state's revenues are grabbed by the Central Government.

2.25.43 There is no reliable system for collecting taxes.

2.25.44 The government has no policy for employment of the youth.

2.25.45 Tribalism is the one killing us.

2.25.46 Scholarships are unfairly awarded as they mostly go to the Dinka.

2.25.47 The ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense are dominated by one tribe only.

2.25.48 We don't have a multi-party political system in South Sudan.

#### **Recommendations:**

2.25.49 We need a constitutional review.

2.25.50 The army must have discipline.

2.25.51 The structure of the SPLA must be clear.

2.25.52 We need a national army, not a tribal one.

2.25.53 The issue of borders is a very sensitive one with us. We need intervention from the government.

- 2.25.54 The Legislative Assembly of Terekeka is not legitimate; we need a legitimate assembly.
- 2.25.55 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Bishop Michael Ayala**, Senior Citizen and Elder, commented:

- 2.25.56 The struggle for the liberation of South Sudan started in Yombe Malar in 1955, not with John Garang in 1983. That is the first mistake made by the SPLM/A.
- 2.25.57 Another thing is that after the independence we hurried to form a government; then opened bank accounts in the neighboring countries and started corruption
- 2.25.58 There is grabbing of other people's property.
- 2.25.59 The Jieng Council of Elders has destroyed the government.
- 2.25.60 In 2015, The Jieng Council of Elders said they want to rule South Sudan for 200 years; that President Kiir would lead for 50 years. How could that be?
- 2.25.61 This country will cease to exist if we have two parties: Jieng Council of Elders and non-Jieng.
- 2.25.62 The 1983 rebellion was because of *Kokora*, not for the liberation of Southern Sudan.
- 2.25.63 This country is being destroyed by the Dinkas.

#### **Recommendations**

- 2.25.64 Let the President resign.
- 2.25.65 Let the Jieng Council of Elders call for forgiveness from other tribes of South Sudan, for us to have peace.

### **2.26 Meeting With the Youth and Women Groups of Terekeka State.**

**Hon Jackson Abogo Gama**, Deputy Chairperson, introduced members of the Sub- Committee of the National Dialogue and invited Hon Clement Wani Konga to speak. Hon Konga assured the participants that they had freedom of speech and should therefore express their views freely. He then invited the participants to speak.

**Emmanuel Laku**, Secretary General for Youth Association of Terekeka, offered his views:

- 2.26.1 The SPLM Party is the main cause of conflicts in South Sudan.
- 2.26.2 The two leaders of the divided SPLM/A are the leading contributors to conflict in South Sudan.
- 2.26.3 The recruitment of the tribal militias into the army is also the source of conflicts in South Sudan.
- 2.26.4 The SPLA is divided into groups; that's a big problem.
- 2.26.5 There is lack of equality among tribes in the country.

2.26.6 The army has contributed greatly to grabbing, looting and killing of civilians.

2.26.7 The Jieng Council of Elders has destroyed the country.

**Recommendations:**

2.26.8 Let the tribal association be abolished.

2.26.9 Let the name of the SPLA be changed.

2.26.10 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

2.26.11 We the youth need our future assured through education. Scholarships abroad are currently unfairly distributed.

**Peter Laku**, former Chairperson for the Youth Association of Terekeka, commented:

2.26.12 Tribalism is the biggest problem in South Sudan.

2.26.13 The Jieng Council of Elders is the one destroying the country.

2.26.14 Corruption is largely being carried out by the Dinka.

2.26.15 The army of South Sudan is a tribal army.

2.26.16 Jemeza was attacked by the national army on behalf of the Dinka. They killed many civilians there.

**Recommendations:**

2.26.17 We need the army reformed.

2.26.18 Let there be general disarmament of civilians throughout the country.

2.26.19 Those who want to become our leaders should be the right people in the right place, with their selection based on qualifications.

2.26.20 We need a federal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Joyce Jeremiah**, Chairwoman, Women of Terekeka State, said:

2.26.21 We the women face many problems in this country, though in the last elections, over 90% of women voted for SPLM. Now we are being raped, our houses are burnt down and we are being killed. And these things happen just because of power struggle.

2.26.22 The conflict that happened in 2013 was because of power struggle.

2.26.23 Women are now widows and the children are having no education, no health center.

2.26.24 In the economy, available dollars are hoarded by one tribe.

2.26.25 Tribalism is the major issue in South Sudan.

**Anna Khamisa Mana** commented:

2.26.26 The hospital in Terekeka has no medicines.

2.26.27 Do the dividends of the referendum belong to one tribe only?

2.26.28 Women are tired of seeing all these bad things happening in this country.

**Recommendations:**

2.26.29 Let the leaders think seriously about education in this country; let their children be brought back to South Sudan for education.

2.26.30 We don't want war; so let it stop.

2.26.31 We need the 1956 borders between provinces and districts considered.

2.26.32 We need centers for orphans.

2.26.33 We need boarding for both girls and women.

**Saidia Maika** said:

2.26.34 There is no respect for the leaders of this country.

2.26.35 There is too much tribalism.

2.26.36 There is no equality in this country.

**Recommendations:**

2.26.37 Let there be term limit for all the ministers.

2.26.38 Let there be right people in the right places.

2.26.39 Let all these points be implemented.

2.26.40 We need a federal system based on the three regions.

**Khamisa Majok** said:

2.26.41 We are 64 tribes in South Sudan. Are 62 of them uneducated and only two are?

2.26.42 We the widows of 62 tribes are suffering, but those of the two tribes are not. They are being supported by the government.

2.26.43 Our children are educated, but there is no employment for them.

2.26.44 There is no equality in the country.

2.26.45 The two tribes are the ones dominating the country and destroying it.

2.26.46 The Dinkas and the Nuers are the ones who brought guns to the Mundari people.

**Recommendations:**

2.26.47 If the president is incapable of leading all of us, let him hand us over to another country.

2.26.48 Let the widows be given their rights.

2.26.49 Let there be justice for all the people of South Sudan.

**Duki Amos Koka** commented:

2.26.50 If the SPLM/A-IO were present here at the ND consultations, it would have been good.

2.26.51 There is lack of equal representation in the country and this started in the bush during the struggle;

2.26.52 There is no accountability in the country.

2.26.53 The Mathiang Anyoor militia is the one destroying Yei.

2.26.54 In 2016, our people in Jemeza were killed by government's troops.

2.26.55 Does Jemeza not belong to the people of Terekeka?

2.26.56 There is insecurity in the country.

**Recommendations:**

2.26.57 Let the Mathiang Anyoor be removed from the national army.

2.26.58 We, the youth of Terekeka, need employment opportunities, not war.

2.26.59 Let the guns be collected and given back to the white people. That's where the guns came from.

2.26.60 We need the border demarcated between Terekeka and Jubek states.

2.26.61 Let the administration of both Jemeza and Mangala be handed back to Terekeka;

2.26.62 All our views should be implemented.

**Nadia James** remarked:

2.26.63 There is tribalism in the country.

**Recommendations:**

2.26.64 Let the president stop tribalism.

2.26.65 Let the president resolve the issue of Mangala.

2.26.66 Let the cattle keepers be given special education.

2.26.67 Let the president resolve the issues of our state.

**Alphonse Ladu Gore** commented:

2.26.68 There is in Equatoria a Dinka Church, Jebel Dinka, and now Bor.

We don't know what the Dinkas want now!

2.26.69 SPLM is the one who destroyed the country.

2.26.70 We need to know who the Jieng Council of Elders think they are in South Sudan.

2.26.71 The creation of 32 states is already another source of conflict in South Sudan.

2.26.72 The presence of Mathiang Anyoor has encouraged other tribes to form similar tribal organizations to fight for their rights at the national level; thus they have tribalized national politics.

2.26.73 The current government is the cause of all the conflicts in South Sudan.

2.26.74 We the Mundari are not happy with the current government.

**Recommendations:**

2.26.75 We need the refugees and other exiles to return home.

2.26.76 We need our views to be recorded as they are without subtractions or additions and **they** must be put into action.

2.26.77 We need developmental activities first; the rest will come later.

2.26.78 If there is a way, those who are idle should be killed.

2.26.79 We need peace and a federal system of governance based on three regions.

**Yohana Taban** reacted thus:

2.26.80 Riek and Salva are the ones who started the conflicts in South Sudan.

2.26.81 There is land grabbing going on in the country, particularly in the former Central Equatoria State.

2.26.82 There is no law in South Sudan because there is no respect for human life.

2.26.83 The law in South Sudan is only working for a particular people, but to others it is not working.

**Recommendations:**

2.26.84 We want to be left alone.

2.26.85 We need a confederal system of governance;

2.26.86 We need to have **the** rule of law.

2.26.87 Let the government establish peace so that those who are fighting in the bush or in exile return to their homes.

## **2.27. Meeting With Business Community and Counties of Terekeka State**

The following issues were to be considered in the discussions:

- 2.27.1 The worsening security situation in Jameza and Mangala, needs intervention by the national government.
- 2.27.2 In Jemeza, the Jonglei government has grabbed Mundari land; if the issue is not resolved, the war will not end.
- 2.27.3 Although the government of Terekeka State is established, there is no Judiciary as yet.
- 2.27.4 The counties are being established without Payams and Bomas in Terekeka State.
- 2.27.5 Promotions are being done anyhow without established procedure.
- 2.27.6 The current conflict is all about power struggle.
- 2.27.7 The army we have is a tribal army.
- 2.27.8 Transport in Juba is a big problem. They say there is fuel; then there is no fuel: it is confusing.
- 2.27.9 There is looting going on everyday in Central Equatoria.
- 2.27.10 There is the problem of water in Juba.
- 2.27.11 There is no control of the dollar movements in the country.
- 2.27.12 The football ground in Juba is being grabbed by the central government.
- 2.27.13 Places in Equatoria are being given new tribal names; these are the issues that can bring much destruction to the country.

**Alphonse Modi Laku**, Former Paramount Chief of Terekeka, commented:

- 2.27.14 The government of this country is not performing well.
- 2.27.15 It would be good for the country if there were a change of government.
- 2.27.16 There is random taxation of goods on the roads all over the country and the government is not doing anything about it.
- 2.27.17 There is restriction on National Dialogue here in Terekeka State.
- 2.27.18 There is no government in South Sudan.
- 2.27.19 We cannot progress with the current government.

**Jalist Musa Jalist**, businessman, stated:

- 2.27.20 There is insecurity in the whole country.
- 2.27.21 The government of South Sudan is only for one tribe.
- 2.27.22 There is no rule of law in the country.
- 2.27.23 The economy of the country belongs to one tribe only.
- 2.27.24 The parliaments of both states and the national are supposed to advice the president but they are not doing their work.
- 2.27.25 Promotions in the civil service are just for one tribe.
- 2.27.26 There are no salaries for public servants.
- 2.27.27 Tribalism is everywhere in this country.
- 2.27.28 The division of counties has heightened tribalism in Terekeka State.
- 2.27.29 On the roads, our sons, who are selling cows in the market, are attacked and their money grabbed by the soldiers.

2.27.30 The issues of borders between Mangala, Jemeza and Jonglei have become big problems that need national intervention.

**Recommendations:**

2.27.31 Let the government treat citizens equally.

2.27.32 Let the issue of Tombek and Mangala be resolved.

**Hellen Kaku Kulang**, Businesswoman, commented:

2.27.33 Most of the crimes happened on the road to Juba. When you had money for buying goods from the market, they would ask where you got the money from and took it from you regardless what you say.

2.27.34 There is no protection for business women in this country.

2.27.35 In Terekeka, there is no protection in the market during nighttime.

2.27.36 The state government does not stand up for the citizens of the state.

2.27.37 Development money is being loaded into cars and transported into the state; but we do not know where the money goes.

**Recommendations:**

2.27.38 We need a federal system of governance based on the three regions.

**James Gabo**, Businessman, said:

2.27.39 The collapse of the economy has brought so many problems to business in South Sudan.

2.27.40 The conflict between Riek and Salva brought a lot of destruction to the country.

2.27.41 All the positions in Terekeka State are held by one family.

**Recommendations:**

2.27.42 We need the conflict to end.

2.27.43 Let there be equality in all public sectors.

**Mary Gusuk Yombe**, Businesswoman, commented:

2.27.44 I have been working as tea lady since 1997.

2.27.45 Now we are being oppressed in our state. Why?

2.27.46 There are no employment opportunities in this state.

2.27.47 In Juba, even the cattle keepers are the ones holding dollars.

2.27.48 In Terekeka, we don't know who is responsible for us: the Mayor or the Commissioner because, everybody is collecting taxes from us and we don't know who is who.

2.27.49 There is no boarding school in Terekeka.

**Recommendation:**

2.27.50 I need all of us to go back to our previous way of living that was full of love for each other.

**Wani Tadio**, Businessman, stated:

- 2.27.51 The country has failed to support and direct the private sector to invest in all states.
- 2.27.52 Government officers have their children outside the country; that's why they are destroying the country.
- 2.27.53 There is too much tribalism in the country.
- 2.27.54 There is no national army. What we have is a party's army.
- 2.27.55 There is no rotating system of governance in the country.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.27.56 Let National Dialogue reach out to those who are still in the bush.
- 2.27.57 There must be re-organization of the system of governance for the country.
- 2.27.58 We need a national army in this country.

**Clement Kulang**, Mayor of Terekeka, said:

- 2.27.59 There is greed in the country.
- 2.27.60 In the former Central Equatoria State, there were two major issues: the issue of cattle and land grabbing. The minor one was the issue of power struggle.
- 2.27.61 The parliamentarians are silent about the problems of South Sudan.
- 2.27.62 All of us contributed to the destruction of this country, because we are encouraging and supporting the leaders of this country in what they do for wrong reasons.
- 2.27.63 Education is poor in all the states of the country.
- 2.27.64 The shortage of fuel is another problem in South Sudan.
- 2.27.65 The dollars are also a problem.
- 2.27.66 All the citizens are traumatized because of too much conflict in the country.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.27.67 The leaders of the two counties are to sit down, discuss and resolve their differences among themselves.
- 2.27.68 Wrong elements from both sides of Bari and Mundari are to be singled out and dealt with accordingly by the law; but not blame the entire tribe.
- 2.27.69 The area members of parliaments, both national and state, are to offer advice to the people in order to build hope and peace among the people in their constituencies.
- 2.27.70 The detained Mundaris in prison should be released.
- 2.27.71 The two communities are required to forgive each other, put revenge aside and focus on peace, education and development.

**2.28 Meeting with the Disabled, Wounded Heroes and Orphans of Terekeka State**

**John Ladu**, Physically Disabled, contributed thus:

2.28.1 This is not a government worth the name.

2.28.2 The SPLA is not as national as it should be. This SPLA is a tribal army.

2.28.3 The disabled have no rights in this country.

2.28.4 We have had seven months now without salaries.

**Recommendation**

2.28.5 We need equality in this country.

**Albino Ladu**, Physically Disabled, commented:

2.28.6 The governments, both local and national, are not looking into the dire issues facing the disabled.

2.28.7 The national government is only concerned about issues affecting a certain ethnic community.

**Recommendations:**

2.28.8 Let the government resolve the issues we have stated here.

2.28.9 Let the government not segregate the people but unite them.

**Captain Caro Longo**, Wounded Hero, commented:

2.28.10 The country is divided on tribal bases.

2.28.11 There is tribalism in the country.

2.28.12 There is too much gossiping against other tribes.

2.28.13 We the disabled have no rights in this country.

2.28.14 There is no center for disabled people.

2.28.15 If these things are not implemented, peace will not come to this country.

2.28.16 We don't know how to govern ourselves.

**Recommendations:**

2.28.17 We need our own place to live in here in Terekeka.

2.28.18 We need a car that can bring our salaries from Juba.

**Mogado Wani**, former Director of Education, Terekeka State, contributed:

2.28.19 The conflict over Jemeza is the biggest issue to us in Terekeka. It needs the national government to intervene.

2.28.20 We the Mundari people have no generals in the armed forces.

2.28.21 The army of South Sudan is dominated by one tribe.

**Recommendations:**

2.28.22 Let our pensions be given to us.

**Angelo Lemi Dawoode**, Disabled, said:

2.28.23 Bodily we are disabled; mentally we are not disabled.

2.28.24 The army is composed mostly from one tribe.

2.28.25 Those uneducated are the ones leading us now. That is the reason for conflicts in South Sudan.

2.28.26 There is no employment in the country.

2.28.27 Jemeza is being taken by the Dinka and it is our place; so this issue of Jemeza, if not resolved, will cause a big war between the two ethnic communities.

2.28.28 The army is the one killing people at night in Juba.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.28.29 Let tribalism end.
- 2.28.30 Let the tribal army be disbanded.
- 2.28.31 We need those in refugee camps outside the country brought back to South Sudan under peaceful conditions.
- 2.28.32 We need a federal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Anthony Goro Region**, “Physically Disabled”, stated:

- 2.28.33 The disabled are dying and nobody is taking care of them.
- 2.28.34 All these bad things are happening in the country because there is no government worth the name
- 2.28.35 On the road to Juba, innocent people are killed and their properties are grabbed and nobody is talking about these things.
- 2.28.36 The government is partial in their dealings with ethnic communities.

**Jacobo Soka Konga**, Disabled, commented:

- 2.28.37 This peace is for one tribe.
- 2.28.38 Everything is controlled by one tribe.
- 2.28.39 There is no government in South Sudan. What we have is a tribal government.

**James Aboyi Rombek** said:

- 2.28.40 Money is kept under trees these days.
- 2.28.41 The government has not allocated a place to the disabled.
- 2.28.42 Tribalism is the one destroying this country.
- 2.28.43 Our children are not getting education.
- 2.28.44 The disabled of other states are being treated well.
- 2.28.45 There is no project for the disabled.

**Denis Kulang** commented:

- 2.28.46 The government of the state is the one looking after us.
- 2.28.47 There have been no salaries for seven months; if you were in another state you would not have survived.
- 2.28.48 The government is supposed to provide us with plates to serve the food for soldiers in the barracks but there are no plates.

**Recommendations.**

- 2.28.49 We need NGOs to come and help us with schools.
- 2.28.50 We need plates.

**Peter Doctor Egai**, Physically Disabled, stated:

- 2.28.51 Whenever orphans are sent to other centers, they are told **that** there is no space left.
- 2.28.52 The government is the one forcing people to join the rebels.
- 2.28.53 There is no implementation of children’s rights in Terekeka.
- 2.28.54 People who are participating in the National Dialogue here in Terekeka are being monitored by the National Security.
- 2.28.55 There is too much tribalism in the country.
- 2.28.56 Up to now, Terekeka remains in the bush, as there is a shortage of schools.
- 2.28.57 Orphans are supposed to be accommodated in orphanages, but there is none here.

2.28.58 We need a federal system of governance based on three regions.

## **2.29 Meeting with Members of Religious Organizations in Terekeka State**

**Bishop Paul Modi**, Arch Bishop of EPCSS, contributed this:

2.29.1 There is not a measure of accountability in the country.

2.29.2 The disputes over state and county borders has caused more insecurity in the country.

### **Recommendations:**

2.29.3 The army should be national, not a party army.

2.29.4 We need accountable government for development to take place.

2.29.5 The organized forces must include all the tribes of South Sudan.

2.29.6 Other army groups must be given room for dialogue.

2.29.7 We need a federal system of governance based on the three regions.

2.29.8 There must be a system to control **the** resources of the country.

2.29.9 There must be disarmament of civilians **throughout** the country.

2.29.10 We must find a way to share power and wealth amongst the 64 ethnic communities or tribes of South Sudan.

**Rev Fr. James Ladu**, Parish Priest, St Mary Immaculate, commented:

2.29.11 During the referendum there was no tribalism. People were the same, but after independence, so many negative issues appeared, seemingly from nowhere.

2.29.12 In 2013 the destruction started with the leaders up there. Up to now, South Sudanese do not know what to do or where to go.

2.29.13 Many people are asking why South Sudanese started fighting when they now have their own country.

2.29.14 If two people fight, they are asked to explain what the problem is; and they have to explain if they want the dispute resolved.

2.29.15 For the revitalization process, some people say that Riek should not be included. Why not? In my opinion, Riek must be included in the revitalization process.

2.29.16 The political parties have lost direction. They are not following the agenda of the original SPLM.

2.29.17 The creation of so many states is not the solution for our problems. I don't even know the names of some states.

2.29.18 Some of the governors do not even stay in their states. They are operating from Juba, living in expensive hotels and leaving their states without leadership.

2.29.19 There is a problem in the government because it is not a fair representation of all the people of South Sudan.

2.29.20 The Church had been blamed for nothing. The Church contributed a lot to the liberation struggle, including at the time of Anya-Nya liberation movement.

- 2.29.21 The biggest problem in the country is the army and the so many generals. Everyone wants to be a general in South Sudan.
- 2.29.22 Equatoria is part of South Sudan, but we now talk of South Sudan as if Equatoria is not part of it.
- 2.29.23 In Nimule, so many local inhabitants of the area have run away; the same thing has happened in Central and Western Equatoria. People have also run away and left their houses in Juba because they have been taken over by force. What kind of country is this?
- 2.29.24 There is random demarcation of land without approval letters from local authorities; the generals in the government are the ones responsible.
- 2.29.25 The cattle keepers have big guns, which even the army fear.
- 2.29.26 In South Sudan, foreign currency is not available in the banks. Transactions for dollars are done in the streets.
- 2.29.27 The resources of the country are in the hands of particular people.
- 2.29.28 All fuel is kept in government houses.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.29.29 Let the issue of land grabbing be resolved because the civilians themselves are heavily armed and can fight back.
- 2.29.30 Let there be a clear policy for the control of currency in the country.
- 2.29.31 A federal system of governance, based on the three greater regions, would be best for South Sudan.

**The Rev Pastor Emmanuel Modi**, Chairman of EPCSS, made these recommendations:

- 2.29.32 Let there be fair representation of the three greater regions in all public sectors.
- 2.29.33 Let there be freedom of speech in South Sudan.
- 2.29.34 Let there be a permanent constitution of the country, so that it cannot be altered by any government of the day without a referendum.

**Rev Canal Ladu Bayi Mandi**, said:

- 2.29.35 All the organized forces in Terekeka are from one region of the country.
- 2.29.36 The current system of governance is not federal at all. It is a system of divide and rule policy.
- 2.29.37 The disarmament was not being done evenly. While arms from some states were collected, other states were not fully disarmed.
- 2.29.38 The internal border issue is another big problem in South Sudan.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.29.39 The internal borders of 1956 should be respected.
- 2.29.40 We need a federal system of governance in South Sudan.

**Rev Pastor Abraham Loku**, Senior Pastor of Terekeka State, commented:

- 2.29.41 South Sudanese do not want to build in their own country. They prefer to build in foreign countries.
- 2.29.42 The government of South Sudan has two parliaments: one is active and the other is passive. The active one is the Jieng Council of Elders. The passive one is the real parliament of South Sudan.
- 2.29.43 The so-called Jieng Council of Elders is the one controlling the country now.
- 2.29.44 Black market is being encouraged in South Sudan, because so many dollars exchanged on the roadside belong to people in the government.
- 2.29.45 Will the presence of Riek and Kiir in Juba bring the needed peace?
- 2.29.46 All the conflicts in the country are due to corruption in the public sector.
- 2.29.47 There is too much tribalism in the country.
- 2.29.48 There is no equality for all ethnic communities in the country.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.29.49 Let there be equality in all public sectors.
- 2.29.50 If someone commits a crime, let him or her be taken to court.

## **2.30 Meeting with Political Parties of Terekeka State**

**Hon Kamilo Bye Bye**, Chairman of UDF, commented:

- 2.30.1 The period of contribution of the people of South Sudan to the liberation struggle is much longer than that of the SPLM/A.
- 2.30.2 The SPLM brought the war to Juba in 1991.
- 2.30.3 The SPLM house seems to have a problem of disunity.
- 2.30.4 The SPLM started the power struggle amongst its members, which developed into full-blown tribalism, and resulted in segregation along tribal lines. The SPLM has divided the country.
- 2.30.5 The SPLM Party has become the Jieng Council of Elders, which has started to grab land from the locals, for example: in Jebel Dinka, Juba Town and many other places.
- 2.30.6 In the Armed Forces, there has been promotion of elders to generals who are not capable of leading any force.
- 2.30.7 The pastoralists have caused a lot of insecurity in the country.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.30.8 Let the SPLM develop and adopt principles of democracy in the country.
- 2.30.9 Let the ruling party improve their performance.
- 2.30.10 Let us establish a truly national army.
- 2.30.11 The community association should not get involved in directing national policies.
- 2.30.12 The SPLM has no proper system of governance.
- 2.30.13 We need a confederal system of governance based on the three regions.

**Hon Osman Laku Wani**, SPLM Party, commented:

- 2.30.14 The other political parties in South Sudan have no objectives and plans for their parties.
- 2.30.15 The SPLM Party has allocated proportional power- sharing to opposition parties in the country.
- 2.30.16 We, the ruling party, do not segregate or approve such practices. And you, the opposition parties, where are your objectives and plans?
- 2.30.17 Others are merely grabbing parties.
- 2.30.18 The creation of 32 states was to meet a popular demand for federalism. Why are you still talking of the need for a federal system again?

**Recommendations**

- 2.30.19 All the political parties should have unity among themselves.
- 2.30.20 Any political party which is outside the country should come back so that we can develop the country together.
- 2.30.21 Any political party should have a national character, reflected by membership, to have a proportional share of power. A one-person's party with relatives and a few friends will not qualify.
- 2.30.22 We need to resolve the issue of proportional recruitment based on population, so for us to have a national army.

**Hon Michael John**, African National Congress Party, contributed:

- 2.30.23 The SPLM Party is the cause of conflicts in South Sudan.
- 2.30.24 The leaders of the SPLM refused to follow written and agreed to documents.
- 2.30.25 We don't have peace and stability in the country.
- 2.30.26 We don't have a national army in South Sudan.
- 2.30.27 The SPLA today is not the SPLA of yesterday.
- 2.30.28 The national army has become a political army.
- 2.30.29 The government of South Sudan has become tribalized, while forgetting the reasons we fought for 21 years.
- 2.30.30 There is something looking like democracy but it is not democracy.

**Recommendations:**

- 2.30.31 We need to discuss and resolve all our issues peacefully at a table.
- 2.30.32 Let all the parties respect the constitution of the country.
- 2.30.33 We need the army to be reformed
- 2.30.34 Anybody who becomes a politician should discard military uniforms.
- 2.30.35 We need even disarmament in all the states.
- 2.30.36 We need boarding schools in Terekeka State.
- 2.30.37 We need a federal system of governance based on the three regions.

## **2.31 Meeting With the Lokiliri Community**

**Phili Ladu**, Chief of Aru Junction, commented:

- 2.31.1 The cattle keepers are the most destructive in this village.
- 2.31.2 In 2013, most of our children were killed without any reason.
- 2.31.3 Some of our people went to Uganda because of these acts.

2.51.4 There is no security in the country.

2.31.5 There is the problem of clean drinking water. Now we are drinking from the streams.

**Recommendations:**

2.31.6 Let the cattle be taken away.

2.31.7 We need these voices to be implemented.

2.31.8 We need to cultivate and we don't want cattle here in Lokiliri County.

2.31.9 We need boreholes in Lokiliri County.

**Peter Kenyi Ladu**, Chief of Nylo, told participants:

2.31.10 The cattle are the most problematic to us in Nylo.

2.31.11 On 5/09/2016, horrible acts, which are sad to talk about, happened. My own son was killed without any reason. The army was responsible for his death.

**Thomas Iwang Liberi**, former Chairperson of Youth of Edamo, commented:

2.31.12 There are no schools built by the government.

2.31.13 There is not even borehole by the government in this area.

2.31.14 The people of Aru are tired of the destruction by cattle.

2.31.15 Government's actions are the ones forcing the people of Aru to runaway.

2.31.16 We had 33 children killed here, while 28 boys were abducted and we don't know where they are up to now.

**Recommendations:**

2.31.17 We don't have any rebels here in Aru. We just need peace.

2.31.18 Let the president treat the people of South Sudan equally.

**Ezekiel Ladu**, Youth Chairman of Edamo, said:

2.31.19 There are no schools in Lokiliri that have been built by the government.

2.31.20 There is no hospital.

2.31.21 There is not a single borehole.

2.31.22 The cattle were brought here in order to destroy us.

2.31.23 And the same cattle herders are the ones abducting our children.

**Recommendations:**

2.31.24 The issue of cattle should be resolved without further delay.

**Kulina Poni**, Women Leader of Aru, commented:

2.31.25 The Nile, which is here in Aru, is the one which brought conflicts to us because people from far away are coming here for water.

2.31.26 The donkeys are also the ones which brought conflict to us in Aru because they carry heavy guns of the herders.

2.31.27 The state government has forgotten us in Aru.

2.31.28 Our cassava farms have been destroyed by cattle.

**Recommendations:**

2.31.29 We want the cattle removed from Lokiliri County.

2.31.30 For farming, we need seeds for maize and sorghum.

2.31.31 We need the cattle keepers to leave our areas immediately.

## **2.32 Meeting with the Community of Tali County**

**Ezekiel Ali Malou**, Executive Director of Tali, presented a position paper in the following points:

2.32.1 We need transformation of military into one professional national army.

2.32.2 There is need for separation of military and security organs from politics of the country.

2.32.3 Proportional inclusion of all the tribes of South Sudan in the national army to create a spirit of nationalism in the army.

2.32.4 Fair distribution of promotions and political ranks to avoid blame and instigation among the people.

2.32.5 Fair and inclusive distribution of scholarships amongst the states in the country.

2.32.6 Road construction in all the states, especially in Tali County, which is landlocked and often isolated and forgotten during the rainy season.

2.32.7 Repatriation of Mundari cattle from Juba back home is necessary for the economy of Terekeka State.

2.32.8 There is urgent need for the settlement of boarder disputes with neighboring states.

2.32.9 Establishment of water catchment areas to keep water for animals in dry season and avoid cattle rustling over water points.

2.32.10 To avoid tribalism, nepotism, corruption by leaders, we need to establish strong institutions of good governance in the country.

2.32.11 Creation of community to community peace dialogue committees in the counties and the state.

2.32.12 Establishment of mechanism for coordination, information sharing, joint and continuous engagement of youth and cattle camp leaders to handle emerging issues of conflict over cattle and between farmers and herders during migration season.

2.32.13 Balanced development in infrastructure, in education, health and delivery of basic services.

**Gabriel Chima**, Youth Leader, Tali County, commented:

2.32.14 The government should establish peace committees along the state borders to address issues of cattle raiding.

2.32.15 The government should provide tools and seeds to promote agriculture.

2.32.16 Scholarships should be fairly shared amongst the regions.

- 2.32.17 There should be general disarmament because the youth are the ones dying in cattle raids.
- 2.32.18 Government should open access roads to the state and counties. This will bring peace if people can access markets and services.
- 2.32.19 Different types of poisonous alcoholic drinks imported into South Sudan should be strictly supervised because such drinks are killing the youths.

**Angelo Juma**, Deputy Chair, Youth of Tali County told participants:

- 2.32.20 There are no jobs available in Terekeka State and in Tali County. The government should create job opportunities for the youth.
- 2.32.21 No clear job descriptions when employing people. That is why we end up with wrong people in the right places or right people in wrong places.

**Yoane Kidia**, Head Chief, Dari Payam, said:

- 2.32.22 The problem starts with the central government. A governor who has started well with the people is often decreed out by the president; thus allowing wrong elements to bring insecurity. This has also happened to many commissioners.
- 2.32.23 There is no Mundari in the national government of SPLM; yet the Mudari cattle were almost finished during the struggle in support of the movement.
- 2.32.24 All the chiefs are not being paid salaries after all their contributions during the war.
- 2.32.25 Take the case of Peter Kulang of SPLM who was murdered; the culprits have not been brought to book up to now.

**Chief Alesio Luke**, Jaming Payam, said:

- 2.32.26 There has not been any development in Tali since Anya-Nya 1. We survive on wild fruits due to no humanitarian intervention. The same hunger gap happened in 2015 and people died without government intervention.
- 2.32.27 That Executive Director has dismissed the chiefs and new unknown people have been brought to power.

**Zahra Malou** commented:

- 2.32.28 In the past, guns were meant for uniformed personnel, but now guns are in the hands of the civil population. The central government should disarm all civilians without exception.
- 2.32.29 We need peace at home and in offices. No government should be completely run by one tribe or family.
- 2.32.30 In conflicts amongst communities, tribes and even clans, women and children are mostly the victims, with our own children killing themselves because some people are struggling for power.
- 2.32.31 Who is now accountable for those people who lost their lives?

- 2.32.32 We need chiefs, teachers and soldiers to be well-rewarded; so let them be given better salaries.
- 2.32.33 People are dying because there is lack of drugs and no good hospitals. In Tali the hospital offers only painkillers.
- 2.32.34 No constructed road to Tali. People die of hunger because of no humanitarian intervention.

**James Gengkero**, Chief of Bari Payam, told participants:

- 2.32.35 There are tribal appointments and recruitments of members of one tribe into government institutions.
- 2.32.36 When guns are in the hands of everybody, there can be no respect for oneself, relatives and even government.
- 2.32.37 The government is the main source of supply for the guns in the hands of the civil population in South Sudan.
- 2.32.38 Only two or three people are rebelling because they think they should be the ones to rule South Sudan. The rest of the rebels are fighting for a government that will listen to their grievances.
- 2.32.39 Military personnel have very small salaries and no supplies for basic needs. They are hungry and have therefore become looters.
- 2.32.40 The government has been cursed by abandoned widows, orphans and chiefs.
- 2.32.41 Soldiers should be recruited from all the tribes of South Sudan, not only from specific tribes.
- 2.32.42 Now there is no cultivation because of fear of being killed in the fields, no hospitals, no services, no schools; and who brought all such problems? It is the government.

**John Mer Kulang** said:

- 2.32.43 We in Tali are in peace. The case of Kediba (**What case?**) was witnessed by the Governor of Amadi State.
- 2.32.44 We have no problem with the Atuot as a people. Except for the few criminals who come to raid cattle, the Atuot leaders always alert us of looters.
- 2.32.45 The main problem now is amongst the Mundaris themselves. Since you are still around we hope to resolve those issues soon.
- 2.32.46 War should not be disguised as peace. Like water and oil, war and peace cannot mix. So let's be clear if we want peace or war.
- 2.32.47 Who is SPLM? Nowadays 2 or 3 people call themselves the only true SPLM. What about others?
- 2.32.48 After CPA, all those outside were just integrated into SPLM and given big responsibilities, mixing up the party with even the members of NCP.
- 2.32.49 In a meeting in New Kush with Dr. John Garang the Mabior, he told the chiefs that the hind leg of the fallen elephant shall be given to Chiefs. With this fallen elephant, who took the hind leg? I wanted to ask the President.

**Federiko Apor Gete** commented:

- 2.32.50 Food-Relief has never reached us because there is no road access to state HQs.
- 2.32.51 There is conflict amongst ourselves, the Mundaris.
- 2.32.52 No education and no access to Tali which is land locked.
- 2.32.53 Our Mundaris in Juba should be repatriated home.

**Rev Martin Chok**, SPLM Secretary, Tali County, told the participants that:

- 2.32.54 President Salva Kiir gave orders for the cattle to be taken back to their home states, but there has been no follow up.
- 2.32.55 There are too many arms in the hands of civilians.
- 2.32.56 The war with neighbors is more dangerous because you know each other well. The Conflict between Gwor and Tali is bad and needs intervention.
- 2.32.57 There are more cattle around and water reserves are drying up. The government should dig water reservoirs for people and cattle.

**Elia Mayom Dongoli** said:

- 2.32.58 We believe Terekeka is the center of the State, but the problem is that there is no peace in the center.
- 2.32.59 The reason we have no peace is due to the Government. If some citizens are in the fault, why not arrest only those who have done wrong, charge them with the crime and bring them to a court of law? We believe it is the Government which has encouraged the conflict, not the chiefs.
- 2.32.60 The troublemakers and innocent citizens are now armed. What is messing us up is bad politics. Someone who does good work for the community is considered bad and dismissed.
- 2.32.61 On the boarder issues, we are alive and can resolve the problems with our fellow chiefs from Yirol and other areas.
- 2.32.62 On those to be repatriated home, they should be returned with food, otherwise the returnees will run back.

**Paul Desk**, Teacher, commented:

- 2.32.63 The main problem in South Sudan is illiteracy. We need everybody to go to school. Education gives the mind wide scope to address issues.
- 2.32.64 On peace, it should begin at home, from the community to the higher levels.
- 2.32.65 There should be respect for law and order. Justice should apply equally to all citizens.
- 2.32.66 Complex responsibilities are given to persons who are not educated or qualified.
- 2.32.67 We should avoid rumormongering.
- 2.32.68 We should be asking for agricultural inputs rather than relief. Ask for food for work.

**James Dut**, Health Officer, gave his views below:

- 2.32.69 Tribalism and nepotism are the problem. Opportunities are availed on tribal bases e.g. scholarships.
- 2.32.70 Everybody in Tali seems to be a politician.
- 2.32.71 Hard-working Chiefs are dismissed just like that.
- 2.32.72 Bad roads are a big problem. They need to be repaired very urgently.
- 2.32.73 Ask for a medical doctor to carry out caesarean and other minor surgical operations. Women have died of simple cases at birth.

**Luka Akok Gurak**, Jobur Payam, said:

- 2.32.74 There are complaints about Mundaris implicated in crime and dying in Juba. They should be repatriated to Terekeka.
- 2.32.75 The rights of widows and orphans should be taken care of by the government.
- 2.32.76 We need comprehensive disarmament in all the states of South Sudan.
- 2.32.77 The government should support construction of churches in Tali, which is now the County Diocese.
- 3.32.78 On World Food Program support, there was hunger in Terekeka last year but there was no appeal from the State Governor. Unless the Governor declares hunger in his State and appeal for support, there will be no intervention.
- 2.32.79 I came with Chinese to construct 21 water reservoirs with 7 in Tali, for a total of 2.1million SSP but no response came from state authorities.
- 2.32.80 **On changes in Government:** As matter of information, when a decree is issued for dismissal of a senior official like governor, the National Security immediately takes over to lock the office, take the official car, close bank accounts and so on.
- 2.32.81 On repatriation: idle citizens in Juba are to be repatriated home to participate in development.
- 2.32.82 **On detention of chiefs:** Again, as a matter of information, Mer Kulang as chief cannot be put in custody by security because he has immunity.