

The People's Coalition of Civil Action

South Sudan Transitional Framework

The People's Coalition of Civil Action is a civic organization that aims at mobilizing the people of South Sudan to pursue their democratic rights through civic engagement and activism. The Coalition aims at achieving democratic transformation through a popular revolution with backup from the organized forces. This document therefore is an outline of key elements of the transition in South Sudan and how they can be addressed following the success of the revolution.

Fixing the Military

The revolution aims to establish a unified professional army in South Sudan with the mandate to ensure internal cohesion and to defend the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. To achieve this, the revolution shall do the following:

Recruiting a new force

1. We shall aim to recruit new soldiers with each county contributing 500 soldiers. These new recruits shall be trained and shall form the nucleus of the South Sudan national army. They shall be diverse, young, and ready to defend the country.
2. The recruitment shall target young men and women between the ages of 18 to 25. Anyone older than that cannot qualify. They must be physically fit, must be medically fit for the service, and must have completed at least primary school.
3. The recruits shall be mixed and trained and equipped with a provision for agility and combat readiness.
4. They will tackle communal violence, gun violence, and criminality and neutralize any armed rebellion unwilling to embrace peace.
5. They will disarm the civil population

Maintaining the current command structure

1. For the transition, the command structure shall be maintained as it is, although personalities may be removed or redeployed.
2. The National Security Service shall be maintained as it is for the transition, however, its combat and operation divisions shall move to the army as the service shall maintain its civilian character and focus on information gathering and analysis.
3. The armed opposition's forces shall all join military reconstruction exercise and anyone claiming to be a soldier must report to the military camp with a gun. Anyone claiming to be an officer must command an army matching its rank. Any officer without forces shall not be integrated into the army.

4. An international body of military experts, led by the United States of America, with membership from the region, shall monitor and oversee the reform of the joint forces.

National Political Forces

The present political forces in South Sudan comprise of the following:

1. Members of the Revitalized Transitional Government of National Unity (RTGoNU)
 - a. Transitional Government of National Unity
 - b. SPLM-IO
 - c. SSOA
 - d. OPP
 - e. SPLM-FDs

Option 1

- Negotiate with the group to relinquish power and allow the country to undergo a democratic transition.
- Assure the leaders of their safety, safety of their families, friends, and allies.
- Protect their economic interests.

Option 2

- Should the group refuse to relinquish power, protests can be intensified.
- Military intervention may be warranted.
- Threats of prosecution may be issued.
- If they refused and the protesters managed to force them, they will be exiled without promises and assurances.

Option 3

- If the parties resist the pressure from the protesters and fight back after the military intervention, then a full pledge military takeover may be necessary.
- A call for international intervention may be warranted.
- Nationwide protests will be intensified.
- If the protesters or the military succeeded, leaders may be arrested and detained and may face prosecution, but no one will be executed extrajudicially.

Status of the RTGoNU

- The president and all his deputies shall be removed from office.
- The entire government shall be dissolved.
- Parliament to be dissolved and reconstituted based on the 2010 elections as a constituent assembly to pass the constitution. Alternatively, a new parliamentary election may be conducted to constitute a new constituent assembly.
- The constitution shall be suspended.
- Political parties shall be dissolved

- Political space to be opened for political leaders to create new parties.
- Civil servants shall continue to run the ministries.
- Governors and administrators shall be relieved.
- Commissioners shall be relieved.
- Paramount chiefs to be appointed as interim commissioners.
- State parliaments to be dissolved and not reconstituted until the restructuring of the state is complete.
- State civil servants shall continue to function.
- State constitutions to be suspended.
- State structure is to be revisited

SSOMA—Thomas

- Offer Thomas a position in the military council or in the cabinet
- Offer reunification of his forces within the given criteria
- Consider cabinet appointments

SSOMA—Pagan and Malong

- Offer Malong a position in the cabinet
- Offer reunification of his forces within the given criteria

The Organized Forces

- a. **South Sudan People's Defense Forces (SSPDF)**
 - Offer head of the military council and the Chief of Defense.
 - Offer six members of the council.
 - b. **South Sudan Police Service (SSPS)**
 - Offer membership of the council and the inspector general of police.
 - c. **South Sudan National Security Service (NSS)**
 - Head or Deputy leader of the Council.
 - Maintain the current leadership of the NSS.
2. **The SPLM-IO Splinter groups (Gatwich Dual and Johnson Olony)**
 - Offer Deputy Head of the Council and Deputy CDF.
 - Offer reunification of the forces based on set criteria.
 - Consider cabinet appointments.

Transitional Government

A civilian led revolution with the support of the military is the most opportune model of transition that would succeed and that would be best for South Sudan. We offer three possible options for transitional leadership:

Scenario 1: Civilian Only Government

If the people of South Sudan succeed, through popular uprising, with or without the support of the army, they could form a transitional government and keep the military in the barracks. This option is great because it is consistent with the principles of democracy with both government and the military led by civilians. This option is also good because it precludes the possibility of a military leader taking over and establishing a dictatorship. The challenge, however, is that such a government would be very unstable and the possibility of a counter revolution or a coupe are high.

Scenario 2: Joint military and civilian government

This is like the Sudanese model where the military heads the sovereign council, taking charge of state and sovereign powers, while a civilian government under a prime minister, takes charge of day-to-day functions of the government. This model is useful because it means more security and stability for the transitional government. The downside is that the civilians will always be the junior partner in the government and there is a risk still for a strong military leader establishing a dictatorship. The remedy to this concern is to make the transition relatively short, 12 to 18 months within which to conduct elections and for the return of civilian government.

The size of the joint civilian and military council shall range from 15 to 21 members. The council shall be charged with the responsibility to protect sovereignty and territorial integrity of South Sudan, maintaining internal cohesion, stabilizing security, reorganizing the army, and conducting comprehensive general civilian disarmament.

Scenario3: Mixed Leadership

This model suggests that both civilians and the military are mixed at the leadership and cabinet levels. For example, a civilian or a military person could take the position of the transitional leader and the other becomes a deputy and then you have equal membership from the military and the civilians. What is good about this model is that both parties recognize each other as important for successful transition and the team would therefore work together to ensure a smooth transition. The challenge with this model is that it could create a lot of confusion as the military leaders' priorities may stand in contradiction with those of the civilians and therefore frustrates or paralyzes decision-making processes.

Elections

- All the political parties shall be dissolved.
- New parties shall be formed with strict guidelines for membership threshold from the states.

- There shall be two parts of the elections: local and parliamentary elections may be conducted first to elect paramount chiefs, executive chiefs, and Boma chiefs to run the local government. We will need a newly elected constituent assembly to pass the constitution and then the presidential and gubernatorial elections shall follow as second round.
- The resettlement of refugees and IDPs shall be a prerequisite to the elections.
- The conduct of new census shall also be a necessity for elections as this shall define the constituencies.
- Both the military head of the council and the civilian head of government will not run in the elections following the transition, but they can run in subsequent elections.

Civilian Government

- Headed by a prime minister and two deputies, each representing each of the three regions, of which one of the deputies must be a woman. This is the arrangement agreed to in the National Dialogue.
- There shall be a cabinet of 21 ministers, including the prime minister and the two deputies.
- The parliament shall be dissolved and reconstituted as a constituent assembly on the basis of the 2010 constituency elections.
- The supreme court shall be dissolved and reconstituted as constitutional court and the whole judiciary shall be overhaul.

Interim Foreign Policy

The transitional government shall manage interim foreign engagement on the basis of the following key elements:

Policy Priorities

1. The transitional government's policy priority shall be the maintenance of peace and security stability both within the country and across its borders.
2. The second priority is for the government to quickly return its displaced persons and refugees to their homes and to provide critically needed services.
3. The third priority is the revival of the economy by improving macroeconomic fundamentals, stabilizing prices and the exchange rate and make major public investments to spur economic growth.
4. The fourth priority shall be to institute mechanisms to speed up the return of South Sudan to democratic governance and political stability.
5. The fifth priority area shall be to constitute robust accountability mechanisms aimed at ending impunity once and for all in South Sudan and to return respect for government and state institutions.

6. Lastly, the transitional government shall prioritize transparency within the government, address corruption head-on, and improve public financial management systems.

These policy priorities shall constitute the bulk of our foreign policy priorities. The following elements shall also constitute our foreign policy priorities:

1. South Sudan international borders

- The international borders of South Sudan remain defined as on January 1st, 1956, the day of Sudan's independence from the British.
- Our borders with the Republic of Sudan are governed by the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and any other existing acceptable mechanisms.
- Any border disputes with any South Sudan neighbor shall settle through dialogue, negotiations, or international arbitration.
- South Sudan shall avoid any violent settlement of disputes unless it is forced to respond in-kind as a last resort.

2. Status of Abyei

- Abyei territory and its people belong to South Sudan.
- The resolution of the Abyei status remains as defined by the CPA 2005 Abyei Protocol and the ruling of the International Court of Arbitration in the Hague.
- We fully accept the ABC report.
- We believe that 9 chieftaincies of Ngok Dinka are the legitimate owners of Abyei territory and they therefore shall be the only voters in the Abyei Referendum.
- We remain committed to peaceful but expeditious resolution to the status of Abyei.

3. Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam

- We recognize the inalienable rights of all the people and countries of the Nile Basin to benefit from the Nile water.
- We therefore recognize the right of the Ethiopian people to develop the GERD in a manner that does not cause harm to downstream countries.
- We also recognize the right of the Egyptian people to the Nile water for their survival.
- South Sudan stands for peaceful resolution to any disputes arising from usage of Nile waters and calls for Nile Basin Agreement.

4. Economic Sanctions and Arms Embargo

- We demand immediate lifting of all economic sanctions and restrictions.
- We call for immediate lifting of the Arms embargoes on South Sudan
- South Sudan pledge to behave as a responsible member of the International Community
- All active political and communal conflicts shall be ended forthwith.

- South Sudan shall embark on a security sector overhaul with the support of the international community.
- South Sudan shall improve its human rights standing in the world
- South Sudan shall institute a robust justice system to address human rights abuses.
- South Sudan shall be more transparent in public financial management system
- Stringent anticorruption efforts shall be instituted.
- All oil contracts shall be audited, reviewed, and reconsidered.
- Government projects and contracts shall be audited, reviewed, and reconsidered.
- All public loans shall be audited, reviewed, and reconsidered.

5. Human Rights

- We shall overhaul the judiciary in South Sudan
- We shall institute high-level human rights panel to review, investigate, and recommend remedies all existing human rights violations in the country.
- We shall institute police and law enforcement reforms
- We shall reform the military to respect human rights and international law
- South Sudan shall be a fierce defender of human rights.

6. Refugees and IDPs

- Return and resettlement of our people shall be a priority.
- This is dependent on stabilization of both security and economic conditions in the country.
- South Sudan shall also address deteriorating food situation in the country to allow for smooth transition of the IDPs and refugees.
- South Sudan shall institute a high-level return and resettlement committee to expedite the return of our people.
- South Sudan shall work on improving roads and river transport networks to facilitate ease of return and resettlement for refugees.
- The high-level resettlement committee shall also address any land disputes arising from returning and resettlement of our people.
- Ending communal violence, cattle raiding, and child abduction is a necessary condition for the return of our people.

7. Regional and International Peace

- South Sudan's strategic interest, as a landlock country, is to promote regional and international peace.
- South Sudan shall therefore adopt a non-interference policy in the affairs of neighboring states.
- South Sudan shall not host armed oppositions from another country, and it will not tolerate neighboring countries hosting its armed opposition.
- South Sudan shall work to promote regional and international peace.

8. Silencing the Guns and the Civilian Disarmament

- To silence the guns in the South Sudan, a comprehensive political settlement that returns the country to democratic path must be a priority in ending all rebellions.
- Even with political violence arrested, communal violence may continue to pester the country, so a comprehensive general civilian disarmament is warranted across the country.
- To achieve this, there is a need for disarmament policy, strategy, and a legal framework for managing civilian disarmament exercise.
- Develop an international partnership strategy involving the African Union, United Nations and strategic allies such as the United States, UK, and the EU to support this exercise.