MEDIA MONITORING REPORT

United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS)

TUESDAY, 14 MAY 2013

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Highlights

UN condemns Jonglei looting

Sudan Catholic Radio Network Juba, 14/05/13 - The acting South Sudan UN Humanitarian Coordinator condemned the looting of civilian property and humanitarian supplies in Pibor, Jonglei State.

In a press release issued on Monday, Yasmin Ali Haque, called on authorities to move swiftly and hold those responsible to account.

She said these types of attacks against humanitarian facilities make it harder to provide life-saving assistance to people affected by hostilities in Jonglei.

Dr Haque is gravely concerned about the widespread looting of civilian property and humanitarian supplies witnessed by aid workers over recent days

She explained that aid organizations have seen armed and uniformed personnel taking apart homes and breaking into small shops where those who have fled the town have placed their belongings for safekeeping.

Dr Haque said their NGO colleagues said their compounds were completely looted, and everything inside including fixtures like solar panels were taken.

Counties to get SSP350m extra in new budget

New Nation Juba, 12/06/13 – Counties will benefit the most from the new budget, which will come into effect in July.

They are to get SSP347 million more in the next financial year, according to a circular distributed by the finance ministry.

"In previous year, only salaries have reached local government, meaning that county departments lack the operational and capital funds to carry out their responsibilities. The emphasis is therefore on providing new grants for country departments," the circular said.

Yau Yau rebellion a national threat, say MPs

The Citizen Juba, 14/05/13 – Members of Parliament (MPs) in the National Assembly are getting concerned that the rebellion of David Yau Yau in Jonglei State is a threat to national security.

Sources from the Assembly say the Assembly is also getting concerned on the measures to be designed to tackle this issue.

"The Yau Yau rebellion is a major crisis threatening security in the country," Joyce Kwaje, the chairperson of parliamentary committee on information, told journalists yesterday.

"We are waiting for the final resolution from the committee," she said while asked on what measures the assembly had in mind on how to handle the rebellion.

MPs want foreign security companies out

The New Nation Juba, 12/05/13 – Parliament has called for the immediate withdrawal of private security companies from South Sudan's oilfields until there is a law to guide their operations.

"Armed foreign-based private military and security companies (should) cease operations in the oilfields immediatealy until a national law is enacted."

The recommendations are contained in a report by a special parliamentary committee of defence.

The involvement of foreign security companies in the oil sector, public and private installations and embassies, undermines the country's quest for peace and stability, the MPs note.

They recommended that the pertroleum protection police and national security protect the oil sector.

Army in Unity state clash with raiders returning from Lakes state

Sudantribune.com Bentiu, 13/05/13 - Authorities from Unity state say that five men, including their leader Gatluak Kuekuek, clashed with police and soldiers on Sunday as they returned from a cattle aid on Rumbek North (Maper) county in neighbouring Lakes state and on Unity state's Mayiandit county.

Gideon Gatpan Thaor, the commissioner of Mayiandit County, told Sudan Tribune on Monday that the five raiders are known for their activities along border between two states. Thoar says security forces are looking for those who are trying to destabilize Lakes-Unity relations.

"We are working toward improving, the ongoing insecurity caused by cattle rustling along [the] border, but our greater challenges, lack of proper roads constructions has also contributed to limit continue patrolling along our borders", he said.

Commissioner Thoar told Sudan Tribune yesterday that four of the five raiders were coming from Mayom county of Unity state.

He added that the authorities in the area are investigating the cattle rustlers and vowed that they would be caught and face justice.

Calls for deputy interior minister to resign over detention of Juba journalists

Sudantribune.com Juba, 12/05/13 - The South Sudan Human Rights Society for Advocacy (SSHURSA) has called for South Sudan's deputy minister of interior to step down over the detention of two **Juba Monitor** newspaper journalists who were recently detained by police.

Managing editor Michael Koma was detained on 2 May and released three days later, while Editor-in-chief Alfred Taban was taken into police custody on 6 May, where he was interrogated for eight hours.

Investigations by SSHURSA found that the journalists were detained under the orders of deputy interior minister Lt. General Salva Mathok Gengdit, who complained of being defamed by the newspaper and Unity's state's Bul community.

In a letter signed by their leaders and published in the *Juba Monitor*, members of the Bul community dismissed denials made by the minister over allegations related to the murder of Banyjioth Mathoat Tap from the Bul community, whose body was found under Mathok's house on 30 March.

The letter was the second published by the newspaper containing allegations the minister was involved in the young man's death. Mathok has strongly denied the claims.

SSHURSA says Mathok ordered police to summon the journalists and investigate *Juba Monitor's* senior management following the publication of the second letter, claiming his reputation had been tarnished by the newspaper and the Bul community.

SSHURSA says the actions of the police constitute a clear case of intimidation against the press and abuse of power by persons in a position of authority.

"This is a direct abuse of the rights to freedom of expression and media under Article 24 of the transitional constitution of South Sudan 2011. This constitutional provision allows every citizen to express, receive, disseminate or publish information within the limits of the law", the human rights organisation said in a statement last Friday.

SSHURSA said the detention of the journalists clearly violated a number of international and regional conventions signed by South Sudan on the protection of human rights and freedom of expression.

"The detention of the two journalists under unending interrogations in the truest sense of the meaning, amounts to inhuman and degrading treatment", SSHURSA said in the statement.

"The police personnel, by detaining Michael Koma and Alfred Taban for three days and eight hours and keeping them in such situation of uncertainty respectively in the orders of the deputy minister of interior, have attacked the provisions of the constitution and the laws of South Sudan for which their sole constitutional establishment is meant to respect and protect", it added.

SSHURSA have reiterated calls for South Sudan's president, Salva Kiir to step in and suspend Mathok from his ministerial duties with immediate effect, pending a full investigation into the murder.

"SSHURSA calls again upon the office of the prosecutor-general to courageously and independently go on with the investigations of the case, disallowing the ministry of interior to take any part and this shall [thus] remove [any] conflict of interest within the ministry of interior attempting to investigate itself", the statement said.

SSHURSA is also seeking the withdrawal of defamation charges against the Juba Monitor and the Bul community.

In comments made after the discovery of Tap's body, Charles Machieng, the ex-commissioner of Unity state's Mayom County, said the boy had gone to a nearby shop on the 28 March but never returned home. His body was found two days later dumped behind Mathok's house, with traces of blood also leading to the scene.

The 25-year-old former traffic officer had been well-regarded in the Mayom community, with his murder described as "barbaric" and "an act of tribalism".

Former IMF chief arrives in South Sudan to open bank

Gurtong Juba, 13/05/13 - Former International Monetary Fund (IMF) chief Dominique Strauss-Kahn yesterday arrived in South Sudan to open a Swiss-backed bank named the National Credit Bank (NCB).

Arriving for the first time in South Sudan, Strauss-Kahn was welcomed by the South Sudanese Minister of Commerce and Investment Hon. Garang Diing who said Dominic's arrival in South Sudan is significant.

In a statement to the press, Strauss-Kahn said he would also like to explore the economic performance of the growing young nation.

"South Sudan is a country that deserves special attention, a new country with a lot of economic and political problems," the former French Finance Minister told press at the Juba International Airport.

"South Sudan wants the full opportunity for a developing business," he said.

Garang said: "We think that Dominic's visit is very important to us especially at this moment in relation to the investment attraction to South Sudan. We will identify the areas where he will help South Sudan internationally."

Dominic Strauss-Kahn will be meeting senior government officials including the South Sudanese President Salva Kiir.

Annual inflation down to 16 percent

Sudan Catholic Radio Network Juba, 14/05/13 - Prices went up 16 percent between April 2012 and 2013, 13.3 percent less than in March.

The National Bureau of Statistics said annual inflation increased 12.4 percent in Wau, 11.3 percent in Malakal, and 7.8 percent in Juba due to a hike on food prices.

Between March and April prices went up by 0.6 percent. By regions, in Juba prices fell by four percent and in Wau 1.1 percent. In Malakal, they went up by 4.2 percent.

Sudan says it furnished evidence to Kiir on Juba's support to rebels

Sudantribune.com Khartoum, 13/05/13 - Sudan's ruling National Congress Party (NCP) disclosed that it had furnished senior officials in South Sudan including President Salva Kiir with detailed information on their government's support to anti-Khartoum rebels prior to their recent attack in north and south Kordofan states.

The NCP's spokesperson Yasser Yousef, who spoke following a meeting of the political sector, called on Juba and its army to stop aidong rebels in Sudan, stressing that maintaining good relations between the two countries is contingent upon implementation of the cooperation agreements, especially ones relating to refraining from supporting and harboring rebel groups.

Yousef affirmed that information published by National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS) yesterday on South Sudan's government support for the rebels has been handed over to South Sudan's leadership.

The NISS said that Juba provided rebels from Sudan revolutionary Front (SRF) with weapons, ammunition, vehicles, housing and medical care.

But South Sudan on Sunday dismissed these claims.

"There is no single truth in these allegations. The government of the Republic of South Sudan has always been clear on these unfounded allegations. We have said time and again that South Sudan does not provide any support to any rebel. We believe in peaceful coexistence with our neighbors," said South Sudan information minister, Barnaba Marial.

Yousef, further renewed support for the armed forces, and called for negotiating with the rebels after defeating them militarily on the ground, saying "all Sudanese efforts must be combined to achieve that goal".

He pointed out that President Kiir imminent visit to Khartoum is aimed at following up on the implementation of the cooperation agreements including maintaining secure borders and enabling functioning of verification mechanisms in order to disarm rebels and sever their relations with South Sudan.

Abyei youth call for immediate termination of UNISFA mandate

Sudantribune.com Juba, 12/05/13 - The leadership of a youth group from the oil-contested border region of Abyei have called for the immediate termination of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force for Abyei (UNISFA), claiming the mission has failed to live up to its obligations since its establishment two years ago.

Mijak Kuol, senior member of the Abyei Youth Union (AYU), told *Sudan Tribune* on Sunday that UNISFA's role had become redundant in the face of ongoing violence in the region, particularly the killing of the Ngok Dinka paramount chief Kuol Deng Kuol on 4 April.

The chief was killed after a convoy he was travelling in under the protection of UNISFA was ambushed by members of the rival Arab Misseriya tribe, in an attack the Sudanese government is accused of masterminding.

"There is no point to have [the] United Nations [peace] keeping force in Abyei. The situation started to deteriorate after deployment. Many of our people are killed in the presence of the so called peacekeeping force. People are killed within the vicinity of the UN camp in Abyei, which has never happened before. The living example was the killing of our chief in their hands", said Kuol, who also cited the killing of Awet Ngor, a native of the Mulmul area, days before the chief was shot dead. UNISFA's base is located in the Mulmul area.

"Awet Ngor was killed in Mulmul just about two minutes walking distance to the UN camp. This has never happened before", the youth leader said.

"We have asked our government to quickly terminate the mandate of this mission. This was our message which [we] gave the minister of cabinet affairs, Deng Alor Kuol, to deliver to our president

[Salva Kiir]. We also conveyed the same message to the minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, Nhial Deng Nhial, when he came to attend the burial of our chief", he added.

The comments come as the South Sudanese government on Saturday rejected forming a joint administration with the Sudanese government in Abyei, accusing Khartoum of having "killed the spirit of dialogue" by assassinating the area's paramount chief.

Deng Mading Mijak, the co-chair of the Abyei Joint Oversight Committee (AJOC) representing South Sudan, has also called for a "review of the mandate of the mission", saying the security situation in the area continued to deteriorate despite the presence of peacekeeping troops.

"The mandate of this mission should be reviewed. Our government should take it seriously. Our people are no longer feeling they can be protected by the United Nations troops in Abyei if their chief was killed in their hands", Mijak told reporters on Saturday at a news conference in Juba.

Meanwhile, in a letter of protest signed by civil society organisations and obtained by Sudan Tribune, civil rights activists, as well as members of union groups representing youth, traders, women, farmers and teachers, issued UNISFA with a 24-hour ultimatum to remove Sudanese UN personnel working in the area, claiming they were security agents.

"We are asking UNISFA to immediately send away the security agents who are camouflaging as UN personnel in Abyei. We know them one by one because some of them were here [before]. We know them and they know themselves very well that they are not ordinary citizens. They are security agents", the protest letter dated 9 May reads in part.

The letter also calls on the UN mission, relief organisations and other agencies working in the area to stop hiring Sudanese nationals.

"We are asking UNISFA to stop hiring and hosting of employees from Sudan because we consider it as part of the Arab Misseriya settlement plan in [the] Dinka area. This is a plan by the government of Sudan", the letter adds in part.

Sudan opposition seeks ties with Juba

Radio Miraya Juba, 13/05/13 - A delegation of Sudan's opposition politicians has arrived in Juba to explore possibilities of forming ties with political parties in South Sudan.

The four-man delegation of Sudan's National Consensus Alliance, a grouping of 22 opposition groups, will also pay condolences for the death of Abyei former chief, Kuol Deng Kuol, who was killed in a Misseriya ambush a week ago, said Kamal Omar, a Popular Congress Party representative.

"We think that the Chief, through his historic and contemporary gains, represents a dimension that is not merely tribal but rather he represents the communication between the two peoples," Kamal said.

"That's why for us in the alliance, losing the chief is not only the concern of the people of Abyei or the family of the deceased or the government of South Sudan we think it is a concern for all of us"

Sudanese president pledges to soon retake South Kordofan town

Sudantribune.com Khartoum, 13/05/13 - The Sudanese president Omer Hassan al-Bashir, has announced that Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and the Mujahideen (holy fighters) are "now" on the outskirts of Abu-Kershola in South Kordofan's northeast and vowed to annihilate rebels of the Sudan Revolutionary Front (SRF).

Al-Bashir, who was addressing the graduation ceremony of the 48th batch of the Change Generation Program sponsored by the Islamic Daawa Organization yesterday, pledged to decisively defeat SRF rebels whom he claimed to have killed innocent and defenseless people labeling such crimes as "terrorism" and contrary to all norms and conventions.

But SRF issued a statement today dismissing Bashir's assertions and claimed to have repulsed SAF attack that was coming from three directions...

A source told *Sudan Tribune* that Sudan's Popular Defense Forces (PDF) incurred heavy losses at the outskirts of Abu-Kershola.

Observers in Khartoum have questioned why SAF has been unable to re-capture the district which has fallen in to rebel hands in late April. Around the same time, SRF rebels swept through the city of Um Rawaba in North Kordofan, before withdrawing later on the same day.

Earlier this month, officials in Khartoum said that they have Abu-Kershola completely surrounded and suggested that they will soon enter it.

The Sudanese leader also spoke of an international plot targeting Sudan and Iran and stressed Sudan's ability to thwart it.

"Tribulations and hostile schemes against Sudan will continue. They will not leave us as long as we adhere to Islam and Jihad", stressing that the battles in Gaza and Sudan are ones against a common enemy.

Al-Bashir called upon the Sudanese people to fight racism and regional allegiances.

South Sudan's coming apocalyptic election of 2015

By Agou A. Kur on southsudannewsagency.com, 12/05/13 - Throughout the ages, various self-declared prophets have warned about the doomsdays and the end of the world but as a student of politics not a prophet, I hereby warn my country about the coming apocalyptic election in 2015, which will be our doomsday depending on how we conduct and handle its aftermath. Whereas the doomsday prophesies are based on superstition and alleged divine revelation, far from it, my hypothesis is based on empirical evidences and analysis of our past and current political developments in South Sudan.

I will argue in this article that 2015 election will be the defining moment in the history of our country. It will either make or break us as a nation because it will test our union which is weak due to lack of institutions, norms and constitutional framework that would have safeguarded and channeled the political processes including the election.

It is now clear that the forthcoming South Sudan's election has generated a great deal of interest that is almost equal to the excitement of the days leading to the 2011 referendum and the subsequent independence on July the 9th of the same year. The difference however, is the fact that during the referendum, all South Sudanese irrespective of their regions, political ideologies and, yes, tribal differences, were all united in their determination for freedom and secession from North Sudan. That I will admit was our proudest moment.

Unfortunately now, and only time will tell, that if the recent developments and political intrigues can tell us anything, then it can be concluded that we are going into this election unorganized, with elevated tension created by political ambitions and sadly divided on tribal lines as politicians and supporters alike are intoxicated by their quest for power and blinded by tribal loyalty and with the "It is our turn to rule" mentality.

Consider the fact that there are over hundred tribes in South Sudan and all are proud with sense of entitlement want their son or daughter to be the president. The outcome can only in the observation of this author be nothing but tragic for it is not an election but a contest for a pure madness.

The background

Now, let me give you a little background as to why this author believes that we are doomed unless something is done and done quickly then the future of South Sudan is in peril. I will not waste your precious time on the history of South Sudan civil war and how it got the independent. That is a common knowledge to you. I will begin with the election of April 2010 in which the current leaders got elected from the president to the national assembly, the governors of the ten states and all states assemblies.

All of them were elected in the first election ever in South Sudan, and almost the entire process and results was bitterly contested in all levels and regions of South Sudan. Some of those who disputed the outcome of election had legitimate claims while others were opportunists driven by greed. So they took up arms and rebelled, claiming the election was rigged and that the current government was illegitimate and therefore wanted to overthrow it.

The result was the death of civilians in thousands in Jonglei, Upper Nile and Unity states. Not to mention that the little they have in property was completely destroyed. The government for a while tried in vain to dismiss the rebellion with bravado talks, that they will "crush the rebel within days." It was not until the United Nations Security Council alarmed by the death of civilians in thousands, passed a resolution calling for action that is when President Salva Kiir, who had since barricaded himself into his J-One Statehouse, came out to issue amnesty to the rebels to down their arms and join their fellow citizens in preserving the precarious peace.

It is now almost four years after and those presidential amnesties are still being cheaply dished out to rebels. Mind you, it has become a lucrative business that some rebels sign them and rebel again and again so as to fast-track their promotions into the ranks of generals in the South Sudan Army, fatten their accounts and secure mansions in Juba for themselves and some of their lieutenants.

And what is the cost of that, you may wonder? Yes, at the cost of thousands of civilians deaths. Men like David Yau Yau, General Gadet Yak among others, have made their names that way. Some unlucky ones have been killed like the late Gen. George Author and Colonel Galuak Gai.

And that briefly is the legacy of a mishandled election of 2010. Therefore, you and I have a reason to be concerned if not to be afraid. We need to be concerned because our country has to conduct an election in a time when it has zero institutions required to hold a free and fair election. I repeat, a fair and free election, for that is what is required if we are to carry them out, they need to be fair and free.

The role of institutions in election and nation building

So, what are these institutions I keep saying that are mandatory not only for an election but for the nation building? First, every association of people needs a social contract and in government, it is famously called the constitution. Constitutional framework outlines what are the purposes of forming a political entity, what goods or benefits it will provide to its members.

Constitution states how the political union will operate, who will execute its visions and the power and limits of those people elected for that specific period to run the affairs of a country. Most importantly, the constitution outlines how the election must be conducted. It spells out the requirements and qualifications for those seeking various positions. Constitution creates the main institutions such as the executive, the legislature and the Judiciary.

Yes, we have the executive, national assembly and the judiciary now but they are new, weak and those who currently occupy them do not hesitate to tell you, "We are young and an infant nation." For them that is their smartest way of dismissing any criticism when they fail. Ask them why is \$ 4 billion stolen? Why are people dying in thousands? Where are the schools, hospitals and roads? Their answer to all these questions is, "We are a young nation". Really? Were they born on July 9th, 2011?

Other important institutions are the political parties through which those seeking various offices approach the electorates. Political parties are organised by their ideologies, views, beliefs and how these ideologies will guide them to solve the problems of the citizens whom they are supposed work for. Unfortunately, our current political parties are organized along tribal lines, driven by greed, personal glories and power for its own sake.

SPLM, the main political party, the party through which all the people of Sudan organised their dignified struggle for justice for 22 years. The party of independence has forgotten it roots, it is corrupt, arrogant and appears to be a party of elites (I emphasize elites here because they are the ones benefiting alone and not the whole tribe) from major tribes; Dinka, Nuer and Bari among

others. Other parties such as the SPLM-DC want South Sudan without Dinka. So we are doomed, no choice and no alternatives.

SPLM politics

Let's now turn to the SPLM politics as it approaches 2015 election. SPLM from its formation, thanks to its late leader Dr. John Garang and co-founders was able to explain its vision that it was fighting for "freedom, Justice, equality and progress for all Sudanese." They argued that they were fighting for a New Sudan Vision which is different from that of old Sudan that marginalized and discriminated the Sudanese people based on their race and religion.

When South Sudan separated, some of it current leaders said that the idea of New Sudan Vision doesn't necessarily apply to a united Sudan only but can be realized within the independent South Sudan. The vision of equality, justice and progress they argued is a vision we can proudly advocate and work for its realization in South Sudan.

But like in other one-party state, SPLM has several factions with different values, goals and personalities. SPLM as it is currently constituted is an amalgamation of convenience, a situation that came about due to the desire for unity of purpose when SPLM was negotiating the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with the National Congress Party in 2005.

So the leadership of SPLM then and with the encouragement of most of South Sudan citizens urged the political factions to come together to negotiate with one voice. These succeeded in bringing the main political actors and factions together. As a result, the factions led by Riek Machar, Lam Akol, Paulino Matip among others joined the main faction of SPLM led by Dr. John Garang. With some success, hardship, hiccups and heartbreaks thus far we have come a long way.

Then all of a sudden we found ourselves again in a situation in which our unity will be put to test once again as we approach the election in 2015. This much we know. Dr. Riek Machar, the vice President has declared his interest to contest the chairmanship of the SPLM through which he will seek the presidency of the country come the election.

The current chairman of the SPLM, President Salva Kiir Mayardit is reported to be interested to run again for the Chairmanship of the party and that of the president of South Sudan. Mr. James Wani Iga, the Speaker of the South Sudan parliament is also interested so is Secretary General of SPLM Mr. Pagan Amum among others.

All other positions are up for election such as all the seats in the national assembly, governors and state assemblies. All of them will attract men and women with ambitions who are determined to win at all cost.

Let's now focus on the big price, the presidency, for more is at stake and the contenders are heavyweights with thousands of supporters and tribesmen filled with chauvinistic frenzy that their big man is the anointed one to overlord us, the masses. They also expect their guy once in office to loot millions of money for them and to dish out positions and development to their regions. Really!

Is this what politics has becomes? That the leaders these days are in it for ambition, glory and wealth for themselves and their tribes as opposed to being a humble calling for duty and service to all the fellow citizens no matter what regions or tribes they come from?

Latest political intrigues in Juba

So where are we? The latest development have it that President Salva Kiir has stripped his vice President Dr. Riek Machar of all additional duties given to him sometime in 2007. This move have angered Dr. Machar's supporters and baffled the rest of citizen as they try to understand what is going on.

But those with knowledge of the internal SPLM politics opined that the president did that because the vice president declared his interest to challenge him for the chairmanship of the SPLM in the coming party convention. And the president didn't stop there, he postponed a national peace and reconciliation conference that was initiated by the Vice President fearing the later was using it as a campaign platform that will give him additional mileage in his quest for presidency.

For Dr. Machar, some say he initiated the peace and reconciliation commission so as to redeem his image as the 1991 split of the SPLM that led to the death of civilians in thousands hang over his head like a dark cloud. Now everything seems to be ok on the surface but underneath trouble is simmering, rumbling and ready to burst like a giant volcanic eruption.

So recently, some wise men and religious leaders saw the apocalypse that I am telling you. So they went to talk to the President and the vice president to find out what was going on. Few hours later they came out like bearers of bad news who wore a nice face. They told the nation that all is ok, that president and his deputy are best of the friends and they are acting normal.

Pardon me my wise men! I beg to differ, that is politics 101 for you. You have been duped and thank you for the initiative but don't sleep nor give up, keep up the initiative and engage not only the two gentlemen but the whole country on how to keep peace and preserve our union in the forthcoming election. Hard times call for wisdom of age which you have in abundance but is lacking in Juba as the politicians are proud to be known for juvenile politics.

Recommendations

So what shall we do, you may ask? Here is my recommendation and it may not be the only one nor is it enough. We all need to do something, be it prayers, soul searching and, yes, dialogue about how we will conduct ourselves in the forthcoming election. Here is my recommendation.

We need to organise a free and fair election beginning with how the parties nominate their candidates for various positions. No one should be blocked unlawfully through schemes other than through a lawful way. People can only be barred to stand for election if they have committed an offence that the constitution says disqualifies them from running for those positions.

Therefore, I argue that the key part of preserving peace and strengthen our nation is to have or at least to try to have a credible, free, open and fair election.

Other things need to be done such as to have non-partisan judiciary to hear any grievances and a professional security force that will provide security to all the citizens and the candidates running for various positions. Media should play its role in educating the citizens about platforms and manifestos of the leaders and what they plan to do for us, the people.

Elections in Africa

But as we are still at it, let's take some lessons from our fellow African countries and their struggle with the problem of conducting elections. I have for sometimes now wondered about why most of the modern African countries are politically unstable, have weak economies and low standards of living?

There are many reasons, such as the legacy of colonization and neo-colonization and cold war effects. I do accept the effect of those events on our continent. But I don't believe that they are the only reasons. As a student of politics, I have come to believe that the way of transferring power from individual to another and from one group to other is the answer as to why we are backward if you will for lack of better term.

You see, some ways of seeking power in African modern states are: coup de tat, rebellion and rigging of elections to stay in power. These have brought a lot of suffering to the people of Africa as groups and tribes are locked in perpetual conflict. Kenya, our neighbour to the South is still healing from the post-election violence of 2007 and had early this year successfully pulled off elections peaceful though the results were contested in the courts. The reason they were able to avoid the bloodshed of 2007 is because they reformed their institutions especially the courts and passed an historic and progressive constitution in 2010.

The Democratic republic of Congo for the last two decades is spiraling into destruction as factions fight for power without any ethical consideration whatsoever, where civilians have been killed,

raped, tortured in millions. Uganda, Ethiopia, and Zimbabwe just to name a few are unsuccessful in holding elections.

If Africa is to realise her potential, it better first figure out how to transfer power in a peaceful way and all shall follow. And I can say with boldness, that, "Ye seek the political solution and all shall be added unto you".

Back to South Sudan, the rebels in Jonglei are fighting for political power for it is the only way they know to get power. The fighting had disrupted the lives of civilians in Jongeli in particular and all over South Sudan in general. Due to insecurity, the civilians have moved to the nearest towns for security or stayed and be massacred like it had happened several times too many of their neighbours. And as they moved there, they have no means to provide for their basic needs such as food and shelter.

If there was security all over South Sudan and especially in the rural parts of South Sudan, our people will proudly continue to till the land and rear their livestock like they have done for the last centuries. So we need to establish a way to seek and transfer power peacefully.

And the only way I recommend is to hold a free, open and fair election. In free and fair election, losers loose with grace and winners win with humility. Therefore, losers have no reason to rebel for they were beaten fair and square. So, I recommend that in the forthcoming election in South Sudan all the political parties should choose their candidates in a free and fair process, beginning with and especially the SPLM. Then let the candidates tell the members of his or her party why she will be the best pick to represent her party in election.

Likewise, the national election need to be fair and free and all should be allow to campaign openly such that if Dr. Lam Akol of SPLM-DC or any other candidate beat SPLM candidate, I will accept him or her as a legitimate president of South Sudan as long it was a free and fair election. I don't know if we can do that but let us try, failure to do so is not a choice if we are to maintain our union.

Our role as citizens and as voters

If you think all the groups I have mentioned have the main role to play, then think again. We the citizens have the main role to play in how the election is conducted and the way the outcome is handled. We are the ones to vote, to make an informed decision and most importantly to avoid being used by politicians to lift our hands against our fellow citizens, neighbours and fellow human beings.

God tells us, "You shall not kill," and to treat others like we want to be treated. No one wants to be killed, have his property looted or destroyed. If we do that, my fellow citizens, if we observe peace before, during and after the election, we will look back some years to come and say to our children's children that this was our proudest moment as South Sudanese and we will surprise the world once again, just like we did in our historic referendum. We can do that, we must do that for I do believe we are South Sudanese and we are decent people.

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Can Yau Yau capture towns outside Pibor County?

By Zechariah Manyok Biar on Sudantribune.com, 13/05/13 - The capture of Boma town in Pibor County by the rebels led by David Yau Yau has raised questions. Some people wonder if Yau Yau would move to other areas, both inside and outside Pibor County, or not. Others wonder whether Yau Yau's rebellion is going to increase to a major civil war or not.

People like those who are in the Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) that are now talking of pulling out from Eastern Equatoria areas like Kapoeta believe that Yau Yau will capture towns from other counties. The same people would think the rebellion would increase and become a major civil war. Other people like me think it is unlikely that Yau Yau will capture towns from other counties. Even if he does, he cannot maintain them the way he could do for towns inside Pibor County.

First, let us look into Yau Yau's ability to capture towns before looking into his ability to increase his rebellion.

Yau Yau has shown that he can capture towns because he has captured Boma. The capture of Boma has a symbolic meaning because when the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA) started its capturing of towns across the country in the 1980s, it started with Boma. So, the message of Boma's capture by Yau Yau seems to say that Yau Yau has started his rebellion like the SPLA did in the 1980s. Now he is threatening Kapoeta like the SPLA once did.

However, the difference is that Boma was captured by mixed forces that were mainly dominated by people from Bor's current three counties of Bor, Twic East, and Duk. There were members of other communities in those forces too. Unlike those who captured Boma under the SPLA, now those who captured Boma under Yau Yau are mainly from Murle tribe capturing their own town.

Since Yau Yau's rebellion is area based, he will have difficult time moving to other areas because of the way the rebellion is perceived. If Yau Yau and his army move to Kapoeta area, the Taposas will think that the Murle are coming to Kapoeta area in order to raid cattle. So, the resistance will mainly be done by the civilians. The same thing can happen in Bor and Nuer areas. Therefore, Yau Yau could capture towns within Pibor County, including Pibor itself, but he will have hard time moving to other counties.

Yet, one could argue that if Yau Yau was able to mobilize enough forces to capture Boma, then he has the capacity to mobilize huge rebel army and force his way to areas that understand his rebellion now as Murle issue in Jonglei. I doubt this belief too. My doubt is based on two reasons.

The first reason is the understanding that the followers of Yau Yau have. The Murle youths who have now joined Yau Yau joined him because they are against disarmament. Murle have been keeping their arms for decades and as a result, they cannot imagine a life without their guns. When the disarmament started in Pibor County last year, for example, these Yau Yau followers ran into Ethiopia to save their guns. Yau Yau then came in and told them that they were going to make sure that the SPLA was out of the County for disarmament to stop. That is mainly the reason why they are fighting. They can capture many towns in Pibor County for this reason.

But telling the same youths to go and capture Kapoeta would be very strange to them, unless they are told that they are moving their to raid cattle. If raiding of cattle is the motivator to them, then maintaining of towns outside Pibor County will not be their business.

One would still argue that the SPLA started in the same way. Most of the people who joined the SPLA joined it for different reasons. For example, some joined to get guns and defend their cattle from Murle raiders. Others joined to get guns and defend their areas from the Arab nomads who disturb people in Bahr el Ghazal. If it worked for the SPLA that time, why could it not work for Yau Yau now? This takes us to my second reason for doubting the increase of Yau Yau's rebellion.

Those who initially joined the SPLM/A for misplaced reasons were given better reasons that they agreed with. They were told that the real threat was the marginalization of Southerners by the Arab dominated government in Khartoum. There were many leading members in the Movement who clearly understood and believed in those reasons. Those leading people were from different communities, including communities from the North. The reasons were beyond individual dissatisfaction.

Yau Yau would give the reason why he is angry, especially to those who form his army. He could give them reasons that include the marginalization of Murle because they have no roads in the County. That could be easy there. But could he extend the same argument to other people who understand that he rebelled because he lost elections in 2010? Many will not. So what he would do is to tell the truth as it is in other areas.

The truth that Yau Yau would tell people in other areas is that a nation were election cheating is allowed is unjust and, therefore, he is fighting to restore election justice. But then what if the people he is talking to know the story very well, would they agree? Of course, they will not.

But Yau Yau could target those who will agree. The way he could do this is to connect his personal grievances to a major national agenda. However, there are many people who do not care about who loses or wins in elections. Their main concern is to have good life. Their questions would include how Yau Yau's election grievance would bring good life to people in other counties who might not have the same problem in their elections. Will Yau Yau manage to explain this to many educated people who would make his rebellion a potential future government? I doubt.

If Yau Yau will not convince educated people who are capable of disconnecting his intention of fighting from cattle raiding intention, then how is he going to convince uneducated majority who perceive his rebels as bunch of cattle raiders? It is hard.

Yau Yau's current followers will lose interest too if their main goal is to protect their guns from disbarment so that they can continue raiding other people's cattle. First, the perception of Murle cattle raiders has been changed by Yau Yau's rebellion. The raiders of cattle are now associated with Yau Yau's rebellion. This will give the SPLA all the right to fight them as rebels, not civilians. The human right groups who could have different ways of understanding if the raiders were civilians will say nothing if the raiders are dealt with as armed rebels. This is going to affect the effectiveness of cattle raiding since there will be very few successes in raiding cattle and keeping them.

Second, the hunger is going to increase in Murle area if people will not cultivate in addition to having few successes in raiding other people's cattle. Guns that they now want to keep will be of no use to them. That will make them lose interest in the rebellion and look for other ways of survival.

All in all, I do not see Yau Yau's success outside Pibor County. He will capture some other towns within Pibor during this rainy season, but I doubt how he would maintain them in the coming dry season. SPLA soldiers who deserted towns like Boma recently were afraid of being cut off from the main suppliers since roads to Murle areas are soon going to be inaccessible. The same fear will not be there in the coming dry season. Adding this to my argument above will tell you that Yau Yau's rebellion will be very limited.

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Equatoria States Governors: Shameless hypocrites or SPLM stooges?

Editorial analysis on southsudannaton.com, 12/05/13 - Whilst the combined stature of Equatorias' trio of Governors Bakasoro, Wani and Lobong can't certainly match that of world-famous South African Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, these governors and their Equatoria SPLM members who recently held the Extraordinary Equatoria Conference in Juba should learn some lesson from the Nobel laureate. Tutu has unequivocally announced that he'd no longer cast his vote for the Mandelafounded ANC because of "corruption, violence and inequality."

Archbishop Tutu further explained that "the ANC was good at leading us in the struggle to be free from oppression, but it doesn't seem to me now that a freedom fighting unit can easily make a transition to becoming a political party or leading a nation."

Just as equally relevant to our own predicament, Dr. Lual Deng, a man so close to late Dr. John Garang himself, in his newest book, "The Power of Creative Reasoning: the ideas and vision of John Garang," explicitly wrote that, "Salva Kiir's responsibility was to take the people to the promised land, but the development of the promised land is a different mission that requires a different leader, and we expect a divine intervention in this regard."

Dr. Lual Deng blatantly concluded, "it's therefore imperative for Joshua (Salva Kiir) to give way to a developmental leader of the promised land, that's the Republic of South Sudan."

Verily, the South Sudan, but particularly Equatoria, is at a critical juncture especially with the impending so-called leadership crisis now evolving among those SPLM top members who, if the truth be told, all of them don't really deserve the top position they are keenly aspiring for, especially with their horrendous leadership over the past eight years.

Historically, since Equatoria Region back then in 1983 precipitated the Kokora (Redivision) of South Sudan that saw the expulsion of the Nilotic Dinka and Nuer and Shilluks to their particular 'home states' and the evolution of the SPLM/A war which Equatorians rightly construed as reaction to Kokora, there has never been any genuine trust or closeness between the Equatorians and the others.

Governor Clement Wani Konga of Central Equatoria steadfastly fought on the side of enemy Arabs, preventing the SPLA from ever capturing Juba till the end of the war when he along with other militia leaders like Paulino Matip finally reconciled with the SPLA in 2005.

On the other hand, Western Equatoria Governor Bakosoro was forcefully ejected from the SPLM party during the last gubernatorial election but was later pardoned and readmitted back in the SPLM, inarguably losing his so-called independent stature which had hitherto garnered him the massive popularity to win the governorship against the party-supported candidate.

First, judging from each of the governors speeches, one visibly discerns signs of fear among these governors as they all started their speeches by addressing the president (Kiir) whose ghost wasn't even anywhere in the hall, as if their speeches were scripted for them to placate Kiir and the party, but more embarrassingly, their singular message was a strong warning to anyone trying to usurp the powers from President Kiir.

Secondly, the predicated contest expected between president Kiir, Machar and others, for the Chairmanship of the SPLM party and the eventuality of multiple candidates contesting in the national presidential election, is a democratic right of any member of the party and it shouldn't be sanctioned by anybody for that matter.

Lastly, Equatoria today is not a homogeneous society in spite of being at peace with itself, and moreover, each of its three states has its own particularity and parochial interest, especially their closeness to and acceptability by the ruling SPLM under President Kiir.

Significantly, these Equatoria governors and their SPLM ministers and officials are equally complicit in the systemic corruption, bad governance and insecurity so prevalent in each state which only amply mirrors and amplifies what is going on in the government of president Kiir itself.

Corruption in each of the Equatoria states obviously emanates from the top to the bottom, so, which governor really can boldly stand up and sincerely and publicly declare his financial assets or vow that he is absolutely clean? Which Equatoria state governor or official can publicly vow that he hasn't abused his office for personal gain or that of his family members?

For instance, while Wani Konga publicly laments about land grabbing mostly of the Bari land around Juba, how clean and free is he and his family, or his local ministers and officials on this land grabbing? Just recently he publicly provided Vice president Machar a big chunk of Mundari land, ominously openly up inevitable a land grabbing appetite for more Mundari land.

Eastern Equatoria under governor Louis Lobong today is shamefully experiencing famine and government-sanctioned murder of its own citizens ostensibly condemned as cattle thieves. Where is the so-called smartness of these Equatorians if they thought they were homo sapiens one stage higher than the Dinka or the Nuer?

Practically, each one of the Equatoria governors worriedly expressed their apprehension on the impending war that would take place in Equatoria between the Dinka of Kiir and the Nuer of Machar and the impact of such eventuality would only definitely exacerbate the already fragile situation in the region.

How naive, hypocritical and irresponsible of these Equatoria SPLM leaders gathered in that cosy conference hall to needlessly worry about being the "grass that suffers when two elephants fight," as if they are constrained by some invisible power not to avert or ameliorate the severity of their predicament?

Wake up, men and ladies of Equatoria, you're now in dirty game of politics and politicking, and as they say, there is no permanent friend or enemy in politics, and the presumption of neutrality is not an option.

You are either with one or the other, especially since your collective decision has been already made easier — since 'Greater' Equatoria has shamefully capitulated and accepted to be hostages and second-class citizens — so, it's either standing with Machar or Kiir, period.

Unsurprisingly, Governor Clement Wani Konga narrated multiple failures committed and commissioned obviously by the current Kiir misrule and failed government, which of course incriminates also Machar, so, like the humble Archbishop Tutu, who has supported the ANC all his life without ever betraying the cause of liberation waged by Mandela, Equatorians have the other alternative of not supporting either person.

If really those Equatorian SPLM supporters seated on those posh chairs are genuinely concerned about the future of South Sudan Nation and if they are collectively pained by the relentless suffering and depravity endured by the common people as a result of the immoral rule by Kiir-Machar, they, like Tutu again, should reject to vote for the same criminalized party, the SPLM.

Furthermore, to quote Dr. Lual Deng again, who has been a staunch SPLM/A adherent, "there is absence of a visionary leadership which has led to sclerotic management of the SPLM bureaucracy."

Just within one year after independence, the country has been declared a failed state, the people of South Sudan, who should have been fortuitously blessed with abundance of natural resources, the situation has continuously deteriorated, thanks to the myopic and dysfunctional leadership of the SPLM under Kiir and Machar.

Indefensibly, the behaviour of the leadership these Equatorian leaders purportedly support has engendered international shame like the \$4 billion dollar theft which has remained unresolvable because the third top SPLM person, the Equatorian Speaker, Wani Iga, conspired in disabling the national legislative assembly from doing anything.

It's time these Equatorian leadership in the SPLM seriously acknowledged that there is palpable and irrefutable evidence that there is a leadership vacuum at the top level of the government and the party itself. Those close to Dr. John Garang might still recall his repeated quotation that 'the fish rots from head down,' a fact that the brave Professor Wako reiterated so adamantly to President Kiir recently.

Finally, if all Equatorians, together, are seriously concerned and perturbed by the unpredictable crisis looming ahead, they all either quit the SPLM and form their own party to contest in the leadership, or otherwise, the lesser evil would be to collectively align with the next alternative to Kiir and hopefully anticipate to reap some dividends for their support of the next leader of the country.

Better still, like Archbishop Tutu, they don't vote for the SPLM again. Why not, you are free at last, you are no longer stooges, the choice is in your own hands. Why be the grass being trodden upon, why not be the hunter and shoot down both elephants..... politically speaking, that is......

Delaying federalism is to invite regionalism in RSS

By Justin Ambago Ramba on southsudannewsagency.com, 12/05/13 - As the SPLM politics in South Sudan starts to get terribly tribal, the three states of Greater Equatoria have since then held three conferences. Undeniably these high level regional conferences went on to raise concerns among some quarters and especially so among South Sudanese hailing from the other two regions of the Greater Bahr el Ghazal and the Greater Upper Nile.

Nonetheless, the "Three Equatoria Conferences", so far held in Juba have squarely centered on finding solutions to issues of: combating corruption, promotion of good governance, food security through agriculture, accountability and the like. And it isn't in anyway fair for people to take negative positions against these conferences the way some people have already done so in the press.

Rushing to label these regional conferences as yet another "Kokora" in the making is totally outrageous, and those who continue to harbor such negative feelings can only be described as a people who have become mentally imprisoned in their own past. It's time that people make every effort to reconcile their past, while knowing that "Kokora" which is another term for the 'redivision' of the Southern Region into three during Jaafar Nimeri's rule of the united old Sudan is likely to haunt this nascent country for more years to come.

Why not call things by their names and anyone who doesn't like it can comfortably go and drink from the Nile. In a nutshell the central idea of the "Kokora" or Re-division or Decentralization of what was a unitary region of the semi-autonomous Southern Sudan, was in fact a political move spearheaded by politicians from Equatoria province aimed to rid the many small tribes of South Sudan from what was then rightly perceived as the political hegemony by one big tribe.

Tribal politics is not new to South Sudan and as such it shouldn't surprise anyone when tribal sentiments are expressed here and there. After all South Sudan is a part of Africa, isn't it? Yet that is not the point. It's not about tribal politics being practiced in the country, but rather it's the sad fact that tribalistic politicians who are clearly seen all over the place boasting of their tribal numerical advantage are still unable to see that what they are actually involved with is a tribal driven politics.

And over the years it has perfectly become a common practice for South Sudanese politicians, academicians, and civil servants alike to stand up and criticize tribalism and every bad thing that is associated with it. Isn't it a great thing to celebrate in the midst of what is a chaos by design?

Yet any celebration unfortunately is likely to be short lived as the real problem arises when it comes for politicians to translate these supposedly patriotic positions into actions. It is here that the true nature of these well-spoken people makes way for the actual monsters that hide behind their artificial patriotism. It is common to see people, who until a short while ago would have been considered as die-hard opponents of tribalism based on their rhetoric, suddenly becoming the ring leaders who not only champion it but are ready to go at length to involve whole communities in inter-tribal wars.

Of course it won't be right to lump everything on the colonialists or the Arab imperialism, nor is anyone safe enough to navigate this long route before they come to realize how these two tribes show a great sentiment to the numerical size of their respective tribes to the extent that any other roles assigned to outsiders are only considered when it serves their interest.

Ethnic politics is flourishing perfectly well under the SPLM's one party state and it is no longer a secret that politics as based on the numerical sizes of tribes have already hatched its first two polarizing political camps not only in the country, but also within the ruling SPLM party itself. One group has identified itself with the incumbent president Salva Kiir Mayardit while the other rallies behind Vice President Riek Machar Teny.

There could still be other surprises to be expected but not at this early stages of events for it is not unlikely for a third camp to have its eyes on the presidency come the 2015 elections. However till now the talk remains confined to the SPLMs "BIG FIVE".

Regionalism as a political structure of governance was first introduced officially in the Sudan by President Jaafar Nimeri following the Addis Ababa Agreement. As a result of that arrangement Southern Sudan's three provinces were brought together into what became the semi-autonomous region. At the same time the other six Northern provinces also became six regions with certain degrees of autonomy as well.

While most of the discussion is likely to revolve around regionalism and federalism it will be good if we find out what each of these stands to mean to the political laity – the non-scholars of political science! In short regionalism was that sort of government structure of lesser status than federalism, although both represent a varying degree of political devolution of power.

However when discussing the politics of South Sudan, a country which not too long was a part of the old Sudan, it is absolutely necessary to take into consideration that the greed to cling to power has always modified the way how regionalism and federalism were conceived and applied. There is now

the fear that the same might also come to be the case in the nascent state of South Sudan for under the current SPLM rule the same greed remains alive, active and kicking.

It is everybody's knowledge that the federal system of government exists in the constitutions of both countries of Sudan and South Sudan and yet the governments of the day in these countries are afraid to implement it. In the neighbouring Sudan the National Congress Party (NCP) struggling to reconcile between heaven and earth through its outdated Islamic philosophy remains scared to allow for democracy and true federalism in that country in spite of the so many political turmoil all across its territories.

Unfortunately it is also true that the same scenario is being replicated in the nascent country of RSS by none but the very SPLM that not too long fought Africa's longest civil war under the banner to provide democracy, federalism and good governance. It truly represents the highest level of irony to see the SPLM party being incapacitated by the political greed at its highest echelon, as it struggles to find the political will it so much needs in order to deliver on any of those promises that once formed its core manifesto throughout the two decades of war.

Historically the South Sudanese representatives were the first to demand for federalism in the 1947 Juba Conference, although the subsequent governments in Khartoum failed to honour their promise towards that demand, and instead resorted to regionalism — when it granted Southern Sudan a regional autonomy within a united Sudan. That was undoubtedly too little and too late and it only increased the people's quest for greater autonomy, and eventually self-determination.

Regionalism was adopted following the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement and soon it gave birth to regional consciousness and created many regional loyalties and competitions. Worth mentioning here is that this was well received and appreciated by South Sudanese as to them it represented a great political achievement following the seventeen years of the Anya Nya war.

This was also true in as far as most of the Anya Nya fighters were concerned, as at least it was one step towards the great goal of independence. However it didn't go all well as certain groups saw in that regional autonomy government a rare opportunity for their tribesmen to dominated and rule the Southern region of the old Sudan to the exclusion of others.

However Nimeri was keener to deter any rivalry over the country's presidency, than anything else. And under what typically mirrors today's South Sudan – the Sudan under Nimeri's rule was a one party state with the Sudanese Socialist Union (SSU) as the sole and only political organisation.

He [Nimeri] thus used the SSU to push the politicians of that day to fully embrace regional politics and as if to relief the pressure from Khartoum many politicians were paid to redirected their political ambitions inwards and to the confines of their respective regions, of course with the exception of the few who belonged to the political classification of "Awlad al Balad".

In so doing many politicians during Nimeri's days became practically alienated from any politics that questioned the leadership in the center. Coupled with this was the total ban declared on all the other political parties leaving the SSU to played the role of the national melting pot for politics and ideas, typical of any totalitarian regime. Although all these were later undone following the 6th of April Popular Uprising in 1985, the worry now is how far has the SPLM party under Salva Kiir's leadership about to re-invent all these nightmare?!

And again resembling the state of affairs in today's South Sudan, was the widespread corruption that existed within Nimeri's SSU ruling party and equally so in the rest of the institutions. If SPLM is the prototype of SSU of those days [much slogans, little or no action], no wonder that all kinds of corruption have always flourished well under these kinds of totalitarian regimes. As it happened in those days we are also now witnessing another round of state sponsored tribalism, nepotism and favourtism all across the country.

Had the Sudan implemented true federalism as it is practiced today in USA way back in 1955, we probably would be now talking about some very civilized politics and never about the so-called

"Southern Problem" or "The Southern Regional Government" and never of course about any "Kokora" for that matter.

Even today well beyond two years since our people voted for independence, we still live under a leadership that continue to lack the political will when it comes to the issue of true federalism – democracy – multiparty politics – accountability – transparency – human rights – basic freedomsetc.

The above propositions are vital for the understanding of how the past has undoubtedly shaped the present. It also shows how important it is to look back and learn lessons from the history. And regardless of whether there are people out there who think that they can continue to behave intolerantly towards any Equatoria conference because they see it as the reincarnation of "Kokora" in the independent republic of South Sudan, nonetheless neither can they succeed in breaking the will of the people nor can they dictate on them what to do!!

The real reasons behind all this fuss about Equatoria coming together as a region is rooted in the fact that some people driven by their own agendas would better have an Equatoria that is divided not only into three states, but preferably even into its so many small tribes so that those who pride themselves of their tribal numerical sizes can have an easy ride in what is now clearly "The Politics of Numbers".

This can be referred to as the "Preferential KOKORA". In other wards they would oppose KOKORA on regional basis as it is likely to weaken what they can achieve using their numerically sizable tribes, while on the other hand they would support what could amount to the same "Kokora" but on tribal basis thus alienating the so-called numerically small tribes from the top positions in the state.

Should there be a question like, "Why is Equatoria reviving regional politics in the post-independence RSS"? Here is the answer to this question which is quite obvious. For in the face of the massive tribal built up to politics in the immediate post-independence South Sudan where qualifications have long been sacrificed for tribal origins – with the numerical sizes determining a tribes position in the cake sharing process, it is only common sense for the many small tribes that hail from Equatoria to come together and form a block that can be reckoned with.

Today Equatoria is again leading the call for federalism in South Sudan. And here we mean real federalism – the USA type and not some kind of adulterated quasi-quasi things! The show currently being displayed by the so-called numerically big tribes is in fact to talk federalism and act centralism. This if anything – it is hypocrisy of the highest level.

It won't be long before South Sudan ends up with three political camps instead of political parties: the Equatorians and other non Dinka (Dor) political camp, the Dinka (Jeing) political camp and the Nuer (Naath) political camp. However all of these are already operating as legitimate functional units of the one party (SPLM) since only few people in South Sudan are interested in creating other political parties outside the SPLM. Is it not good that sometimes it is nice to see ourselves in the mirror?!!

On the other hand it is to be considered as absurd for any member of the ruling SPLM party to criticize the adoption regionalism because it is already an open secret that even the current SPLM leadership hierarchy stands for regional representation – especially the top three officials: President Salva Kiir (Bahr el Ghazal), Vice President Dr. Riek Machar (UPPER Nile) and the Speaker of the National Assembly James Wani Igga (Equatoria). There is really nothing bad about this regional representation, if only it could have been extended the whole way to include all the national institutions.

While it is undeniable that the Greater Upper Nile is now in a very bad shape and although it is a home to many tribes as well, it is only unfortunate that the Dinka vs. Nuer type of politics with its spill over is not allowing for the region's unity. First they will have to talk David Yau Yau into peace before any true regional unity can be achieved – not just in Jonglei state, but all across the Greater Upper Nile.

The bottom line is that the people of Equatoria are well aware that they will not be able to survive the politics of tribal numeracy as the way it stands now, hence their insistence to stand up as a unit. Secondly these are people who will never relinquish their core ways of life to imitate the others who are deeply ingrained in tribal bloodletting, killings and cattle theft. Politics will always remain a dynamic entity with no permanent friends and no permanent enemies or rivals. What is permanent in politics is one's interest.

So where does all these leave South Sudan? For our country to push forward we need to have the proper structures in place. We are indeed a diverse people yet we share the common destiny of being citizens of the one country – South Sudan. When we fought the enemy for over five decades before we won our independence, we also had the opportunity to observe how and where things went wrong – whether that was on our side or the enemy's side. But after having learnt all these lessons, we can only be fools to repeat any of those mistakes. Regrettably this already seems to be the case!

Our country still has a chance to become a good place for all of us if we can only rid ourselves of greed. What we badly need now is to shun away from any "One Man Rule", and we need to make it clear that totalitarianism has no place in the independent South Sudan. Let's go wholeheartedly to embrace multiparty democracy and a true USA type of federalism if we really want to build our country and above all to avoid going back to an all-out civil war of our own making.

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