



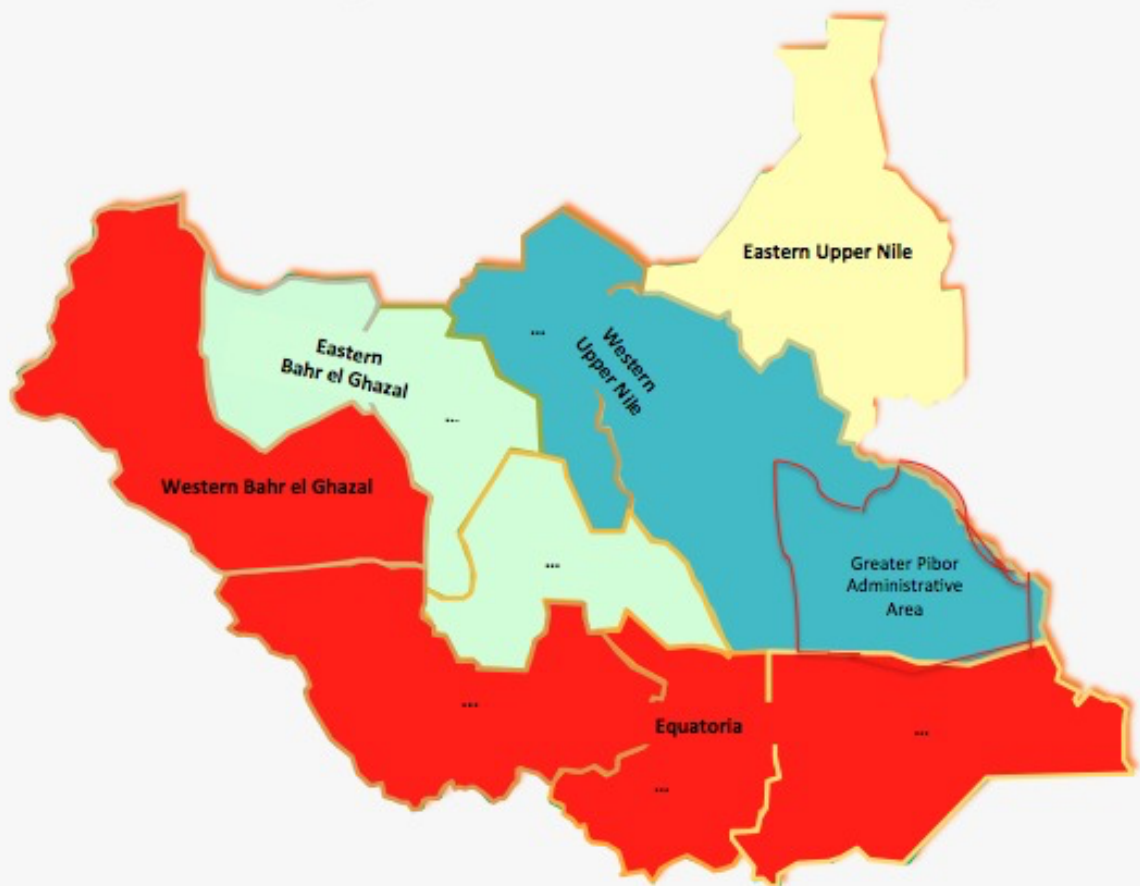
Equatoria

The Journey to Self-Determination

WHITE PAPER

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Transitional Peoples' Shared Sovereignty Union



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Preface

The peoples of Equatoria today stand fragmented in the face of an unprecedented threat to their existence in Equatoria region, their ancestral homeland. The political fragmentation is posing a threat to their cohesion and social group identity as Equatorians in the current failed nascent state, The Republic of South Sudan that came into existence on 9th July 2011, following a “YES” vote in a self-determination referendum to either remain in a united Sudan or choose independent existence in a statehood of their own. While the sovereignty of the country and the legitimacy of the new state is solely derived from and vested in all its peoples, 2 million peoples of Equatoria, half of its total population in 2017, recorded the largest exodus of refugees in Africa since the Rwandan genocide in 1994. They are fleeing their own ancestral homeland and the new state, The Republic of South Sudan to become refugees in Uganda, and many thousands more fled the nascent state to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Sudan and Egypt for safety from atrocious Human and Peoples’ Rights gross violations by the unelected and de facto government of the Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement in Juba, and its genocidal and scorched-earth policies, which targeted depopulation of Equatoria and burning down of their villages from 2016 to date.

In Uganda alone, 1.8 million people hailing from Equatoria continue to live in abject poverty as refugees and stateless while the warring by the de facto Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement rages unabated in Equatoria and against its people. The people and landmass of Equatoria constitutes one third of The Republic of South Sudan, yet the people of Equatoria, in spite of the sovereignty vested in them, have lost freedom and also their inalienable rights to exercise legitimate political power over fundamental affairs of their existence and governance in the nascent state for the entire first decade of the Republic of South Sudan’s existence. Instead, half of Equatoria’s population has now become stateless as refugees.

This nascent state, which has become a hegemonic and tribal project for concentrating absolute state power, political, military and economic control in the hands of few hegemonic ethnic groups at the detriment of the country as a whole, has failed the cardinal state obligations of duty for the preservation of All Rights which belong to the people of Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal in whom sovereignty is solely vested and from whom authority and legitimacy are derived to exercise political power for the enjoyment of All Human and Peoples’ Rights which belong to them, social, economic, cultural, civil and political rights, and all other Human and Peoples’ Rights, including the Right to Self-Determination under the UN Charter and the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR).

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1. Drivers of the failed state in South Sudan

The 12th September 2018 IGAD mediated Revitalized Agreement for Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS) returned the country back to the current decentralized governance system based on ten (10) states, which President Salva Kiir had previously unlawfully replaced with 28 mini-states (upgraded to 32), by an unconstitutional dictatorial establishment order, in violation of the Transitional Constitution of South Sudan (TCRSS2011). While the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan (ICSS2005) recognized the de facto units of administration in the Sudan at the advent of the CPA (2005) as being also applicable to Southern Sudan without change before independence, the number of states as units of administration in the country after independence was always understood and expected to be subject to and pending the proper and due people-driven permanent constitution making process in the country at the appropriate time.

In the lead up to independence on 9th July 2011, the TCRSS2011 was promulgated and passed by the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly, adopting the de facto number of states as being ten (10) without change, there was no consultation being made with the people country wide on change to the number of states to either reduce or increase them. Historically, Sudan was governed under nine provinces as of independence on 1st January 1956, six (6) of which provinces were in Northern Sudan, and three (3) of which were in Southern Sudan, namely Equatoria, Upper Nile, and Bahr el Ghazal. These were later established as three autonomous regions of Equatoria, Upper Nile, Bahr al Ghazal by President Jafar Numeiri as an exceptional structural variation of the autonomous Southern Sudan region into three regions without change or abrogation of the 1972 Addis Ababa agreement core principles which accorded Southern Sudan autonomy and self-rule as a region. The same status was now being conferred on the regions of Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal as three autonomous regions each with own Peoples Regional Assembly and a High Executive Council presided over by a Governor.

This exceptional structural variation of Southern Sudan into three autonomous regions in 1982, was the result of legitimate calls by the people in Equatoria as an administrative measure to limit the excesses of emergent tribal domination, hegemony and corruption in the institutions of government of Southern Sudan by the ruling Dinka elites under the leadership of Judge Abel Alier who was the President of the Regional High Executive Council (HEC), and during which time and under whose leadership the people of Equatoria heard for the first time claims being made publicly by many Dinka elites in Southern Sudan regional government that the “Dinka were born to rule”. The systemic corruption and nepotism in employment and government institutions had become widely pronounced, endemic and intolerable. The current status quo 10 years after independence of South Sudan is no less different than it was before Equatoria became an autonomous region in 1982, today it is a case of history truly repeating itself more acutely worst and appalling corruption, tyranny and hegemony with the whole world standing as witness as Human Rights by UNSEC panel of experts reports and endless investigative accounts of corruption in the nascent state by The Sentry amply testify how the proceeds of corruption worth billions of United States dollars for the benefit of the President’s family, Dinka elites and their business partners networks locally and internationally. .

Theses dramatic and glaring acts of abuse of power with impunity in the country, bolstered by a hegemonic state security apparatus, with unlimited political control over a string of businesses and firms for diverting public funds and state economic resources into private hands which are vested in the absolute control of the financial and economic life of the country, has gone far too long and beyond the point of return to reforms.

2. The lost opportunities for a new start to learn from history

Unlike the 1972 Addis Ababa accord leaders, who were shaken by the fault lines of corruption and tribalism, which tested and put the unity of the people of Southern Sudan under duress, the latter day SPLM gate keepers of the CPA and the nascent state had every benefit of the doubt and hindsight to learn from the regionalization of

Southern Sudan in 1982. They didn't have to repeat their mistakes and have had all to gain by not charting a path to the tried and tested fault lines.

Southern Sudan Autonomous Regions 1982



Before the signing of the CPA in 2005, the SPLM introduced the Civil Administration of New Sudan (CANS) in the territories under its control in the liberated areas. It also adopted the model of regional administration of the 1982, and appointed Samuel Abu John as Governor of Equatoria, Kuol Manyank Juuk as Governor of Upper Nile, and Deng Alor as Governor of Bahr el Ghazal regions respectively. This regional administrative structure was adopted by Dr. John Garang, the late SPLM/A Leader and was however not endorsed by the CPA that settled instead on using the model of ten (10) states in Southern Sudan that existed under the National Congress Party (NCP) administration of the country at the time the CPA was signed.

3. Southern Sudan States During Interim Period 2005 - 2011

Following the formation of the Government of National Unity (GONU) under the terms of the CPA of 2005, Southern Sudan continued being governed during the 6-years Interim Period based on ten (10) states as ordained by Omar el Bashir's NCP Government in the Sudan, without being aligned to the SPLM 3-regions approach started before the CPA.

Southern Sudan States During Interim Period

The map found in this section delineates the boundaries of those ten States that were established before the CPA in 2005, and the people of Southern Sudan in Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal were not widely consulted nor participated in the decisions for their establishment. These states lacked mandate and legitimacy of the peoples' support and full consent for their establishment in the current form. They therefore served as tentative and transitional units of administration pending the Constitutional-Making process to determine the appropriate number of States and their legitimate boundaries. Unlike the three provinces and regions of Southern Sudan of 1956, and 1982 respectively, with their long established districts and boundaries, some of the boundaries of the ten states and their counties are disputable and open to question. The return therefore to the three regions of Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal with their districts and boundaries, which are not disputed by the

people and communities of Southern Sudan, would create no border disputes between the former 21 colonial districts of Southern Sudan as their boundaries are well known and established since Sudan’s independence in 1956. The variation of the three regions into five would not therefore be made to interfere with the original boundaries of Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal districts without the proper consent of the people in their original ancestral lands.



Southern Sudan States 2005 – 2011 (To date)

In April, 2011 in the lead up to the birth of the Republic of South Sudan, the people and three Governors of Equatoria, namely Clement Wani Konga of Central Equatoria, Louis Lobong Lojore of Eastern Equatoria, and Joseph Bangasi Bakosor, convened the first All Equatoria Conference 2011 in Juba, in which the author of this paper was serving in the Conference Secretariat. The first of its kind without a parallel in Upper Nile nor in Bahr el Ghzal, through this conference which lasted for three days, the people of Equatoria called in no uncertain terms for adoption of Federal Constitution and system of governance in South Sudan. Working Committees comprising Members of Parliament were established to lobby the Government of Southern Sudan (GoS) and their peers in the Legislative Assembly from Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal to support their efforts for the adoption of a Transitional Federal Constitution for the Republic of South Sudan (TFCRSS2011). The efforts by MPs from Equatoria fell on deaf ears of the SPLM Caucus MPs in Parliament who were instructed by the SPLM Chief Whip to toe the SPLM line, or else they would face consequences. The intimidation of MPs by the SPLM Caucus undermined and undercut the support for constitutional amendments to the draft Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan (TCRSS2011) to make it into a Federal Constitution. Another lost opportunity to chart a new start at least cost to the country.

The opportunity was missed and as a result, the TCRSS2011 was made to concentrate excessive powers in the hands of the President, such as the power to prorogue the Parliament and impose a state of emergency without Parliamentary approval. These excessive powers have since turned President Salva Kiir into a tyrant and dictator who rules with impunity and unlimited by Parliament neither by the TCRSS2011 which he has violated on numerous occasions without consequences.

In 2013 President Salva Kiir acted with impunity and plunged the country into civil war, choosing war and violence to silence his critics over peaceful resolution of power struggle within SPLM's Political Bureau. The country as a whole and the people of Equatoria in particular continue to suffer from his actions and divisive policies, which have led to the disintegration of the nascent state and destruction of the social fabric that is needed to hold and glue the country together.

4. The Republic of South Sudan: A Failed State

To date, all attempts by the International good will through the IGAD, AU, UN, Troika to broker multiple agreements for creating democratic space, legitimacy and structural reforms in the country have met with utter lack of political will to honor and implement negotiated settlements of conflict and governance crisis. The repeat agreements have all failed the implementation test, save for granting leases of questionable 'legitimacy' to a hegemonic ethnic elites for holding the country hostage to their tyranny and impunity by other means. The country and its failed leaders with their army Generals have earned UNSC sanctions and arms embargo which are still in force to date for obstructions to peace in the nascent state. The International media is replete and awash with numerous Sentry Reports on a large scale and endemic corruption in the country, worth billions of USD involving firms and companies controlled by and benefiting politically exposed persons and their families at public expense, in multi-100 million project deals being granted without public tendering to President's and Government official's families and relatives-owned firms and without transparent and public accountability for state resources. The country's economy has since collapsed, and the state organs or institutions have become dysfunctional, whilst the state security has maintained a grip and control over the media by censorship, unknown gunmen who kill and operating outside of the rule of law with impunity.

The UN Panel of Experts admission, in a recent Human Rights Report Conference paper on South Sudan in Geneva on September 2021, acknowledged that the plunder of public resources by Government elites in multi-billion of dollars lost to corruption, have deprived the citizens in the country the enjoyment of economic, social and political rights. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/NewsDetail.aspx?NewsID=27519&LangID=E>

Today, true to the UN Panel of Experts admission, the people of Equatoria stand deprived of any legitimate enjoyment of their fundamental human rights; the rights that belong to them also belong to the people of Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal. It is with this consideration that the people of Equatoria now seek to fully exercise as a people by all legitimate means their right to existence and to life for the enjoyment of all Human and Peoples' Rights, and most fundamentally to seek to exercise the Right to Self-Determination under the UN Charter and the ACHPRs on self-determination and for the preservation and enjoyment of their rights as a sovereign people in their own state of their ancestral homeland in Equatoria, without prejudice to the enjoyment of the same rights by the people of Upper Nile, Bahr al Ghazal, Western Bahr al Ghazal and the Greater Pibor Administrative Area (GPAA).

The country is without a state in South Sudan, the weak structural institutional controls, ferocious and endemic political corruption add to the plethora of strategies inherent in so far achieving and persisting the failed state to the advantage and benefit of hegemonic ethnic elites. Equatoria as a sovereign people needs to redefine the purpose for its existence in light of the current subordinate relationship with a failed hegemonic state, one that does not preserve the rights of Equatorians nor the rights of their posterity in their ancestral homeland.

5. Alternative Way Forward for South Sudan Failed State

After a decade since South Sudan gained independence on 9th July 2011, the country's future is still being held hostage to a leadership without a vision for the nascent state and its people, and the time has come for a long

overdue action to wrest control of the failed state by the people and change course to chart a new future. The vicious and oppressive state in South Sudan needed to be disrupted from the roots by a new level of thinking. The current problems of South Sudan failed state cannot therefore be resolved by the same level of thinking that created the problems in the first place.

6. New Approach: Transitional Peoples' Shared Sovereignty Union

This discussion paper by the **Equatoria Peoples' Alliance** (abbreviated as "**EPA**" paper) presents the alternative way forward out of South Sudan failed state; for the establishment of a Transitional Shared Sovereignty Union (**abbreviated "T-SSU"**) in the failed Republic of South Sudan, for a period of no less than 36 months (3 years) and no more than 60 months (5 years). This would be feasible under optionality of Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA), Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal Peoples' New Alliance for Democracy and Freedom Action mechanism and dispensation by the sovereign will of the people (abbreviated as "P-NADAF"), emanating from the 1982 three autonomous regions (Equatoria, Upper Nile, Bahr el Ghazal) or the variation of them into five sovereign members of the T-SSU.

7. The Context

Recognizing that **EPA** are non-signatories to the Revitalized Agreement for Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS, 2018), with a strongly held conviction that R-ARCSS and R-TGONU are predicated on a fundamentally flawed elites-centric power sharing, which excludes the people of Equatoria from exercise of real political power over affairs of their existence and governance in the nascent Republic of South Sudan, and which does not provide for putting the people and their Human Rights first in our country, not addressing the root causes of the governance crisis in the country, and the absence of a fair peoples' based power-sharing between the three historic provinces of **Upper Nile, Equatoria and Bahr al Ghazal**¹, or the variations of them into either three (3) or five (5) viable autonomous regions as units of governance, formalized in a **Peoples' Shared Sovereignty Union** of autonomous and confederated Upper Nile, Equatoria and Bahr al Ghazal governance system in the Republic of South Sudan during a **Transitional Period**²; with the sole purpose to reconstitute the failed state for a future peaceful co-existence in a free and democratic Union of our peoples through the exercise of the Right to self-determination at the end of the Transitional Period by the sovereign Peoples of each autonomous entity or region; to either confirm the Transitional Constitutional set-up and governance system for peaceful co-existence in the Republic or opt out of the Transitional Union for independent existence as a sovereign state;

8. Southern Sudan Autonomous Regions 1982

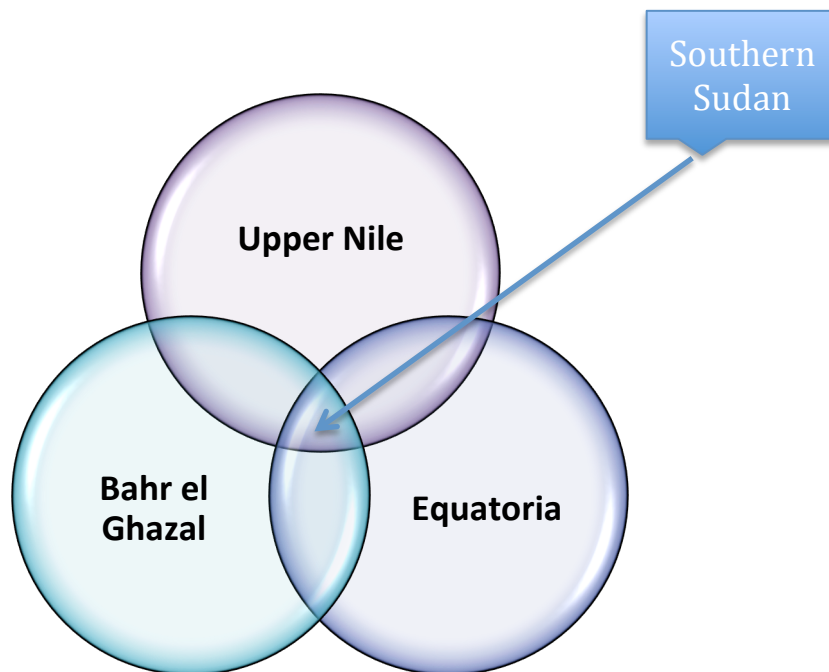
In the aftermath of Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal establishment as three autonomous and self-governing regions in 1982, the Regional High Executive Council was abolished, and Southern Sudan Coordination Councils for Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal were later established in Sudan's capital, Khartoum and they were made accountable to their respective regions.

¹ Foundational Provinces of Southern Sudan at Sudan's independence as of 1st January 1956.

² Transitional Period 5 years for the Peoples' Shared Sovereignty Union to repair broken / damaged social-fabric, make the Union attractive and sustainable.

Thus, a return to three regions in a new Transitional Union configuration of the failed State in South Sudan, would have similar structures of minimal coordination functions for Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal centrally in a Transitional Union Government (T-UG), while the bulk of the powers remain in and are exercised by each region or their variation into five regions of Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA), Western Bahr el Ghazal, Eastern Bahr el Ghazal, Western Upper Nile, and Eastern Upper Nile.

Southern Sudan Autonomous Regions 1982



Peoples' Shared Sovereignty Union during Transitional Period

9. South Sudan Transition out of the Failed State

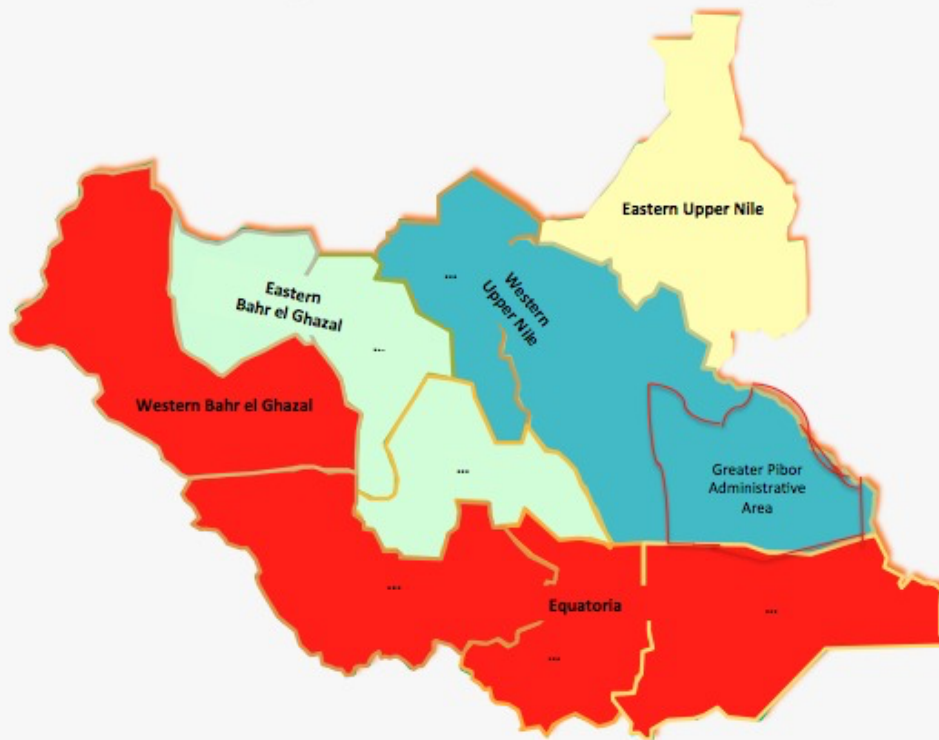
Cognizant that the trust deficit in the country has widened irreparably between the people and the failed SPLM hegemonic state, due to once again our damaged and broken social fabric for a second time since the 1982 point of inflection for the worse in the unity of the people of South Sudan, the lost opportunities to hold the people, the state and country together after independence in 2011; which has shut and closed the doors in the face of any hope for reforms under the current failed state; has made the peoples' demands for the right to self-determination in Equatoria unavoidable and irreversible; the right which belongs to and without prejudice equally enjoyable by the peoples' of Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal if they too so choose to freely exercise it under the UN Charter and the ACHPRs³

Noting that the R-ARCSS, 2018 was imposed on the Parties to the HLRF⁴ in the negotiations in Khartoum, Sudan, at the behest of some IGAD vested oil and economic interests in the country, resulting in today's ethno & elites-centric state that has failed, the country is now long overdue for a people's centered shared sovereignty model, one which puts the right to democracy and the people first for their enjoyment of democratic, economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights in their respective autonomous regions, as based on the historical provinces of Equatoria, Upper Nile, and Bahr el Ghazal as they stood on 1st January 1956 or the variation of them into five to six regions of Equatoria (inclusive of Greater Pibor Administrative Area – GPAA), Western Bahr el Ghazal, Eastern Bahr el Ghazal, Western Upper Nile, and Eastern Upper Nile as the units of the Union as follows;

³ African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

⁴ High Level Revitalization Forum.

Transitional Peoples' Shared Sovereignty Union



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Shared Sovereignty Union for South Sudan – Variation of the three regions into autonomous Five (5) or Six (6) Regions or units of governance during the Transitional Period, the units of which are: Equatoria, Greater Pibor Administrative Area, Western Bahr al Ghazal, Eastern Bahr al Ghazal, Western Upper Nile, Eastern Upper Nile.

Recognizing further that under the bankrupt SPLM leadership, tyranny and kleptocratic rule, South Sudan since independence on 9th July 2011 has morphed into becoming a country without a state, nor functional organs of viable and sustainable governance of the Republic;

Acknowledging that the Peoples of Equatoria have a shared vision for their peoples' right to democracy and their unfettered participation in political decision-making processes of state formation, and in the permanent Constitutional-Making process in our country; which guarantee the right of the people of Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA), Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal regions to choose their representatives to the Constituent Assembly, Legislative and Executive organs of governance arrangements in our country post SPLM and R-TGONU dictatorial rule, in conformity with and pursuant to an alternative South Sudan peoples' new democratic Government arrangements; premised on the three historically autonomous regions of Upper Nile, Equatoria and Bahr al Ghazal and the variations of them into viable and sustainable units of governance in a peoples' shared sovereignty union during a new Transitional Period;

Recognizing that the R-TGONU, unfit for purpose as it is, has run its tenure which expired 36 months on 12th September 2021 after coming into force with nothing to show for its worth, and recognizing that the country is now without a legitimate government or leadership, hence the need for alternative South Sudan peoples' democratic Government is now long overdue to peacefully reconstitute the failed state in the country from

violent collapse into anarchy and messy disintegration like the Former Yugoslavia (late 1980s - early 1990s), Syria (2011), Somalia (1991), Sierra Leone (1991-2002), Rwanda (1994), Liberia (1989-1997; 1999), Iraq (2011), Pre-September 11, 2001 Afghanistan (1996-2001) and others;

Deeply concerned about the progressive penetration and use of a collapsed South Sudan state as a launch pad by terrorists affiliated with Al-Qaeda, ISIS, Ex- Séléka, Boko Haram and other terrorist groups that are determined to commit acts of terror globally and to spread their version of Islam in the entire African continent and the rest of the world through a failed South Sudan state;

Further accepting that the EPA firmly believes with conviction in a joined-up new Equatoria peoples' Alliance with the peoples' of Upper Nile, and Bahr el Ghazal in South Sudan to end dictatorship, corruption and impunity of SPLM military rule in our country on the basis of the declared and agreed principles of the new alliance stated herein after, to bring change for democracy through Peoples' New Alliance for Democracy And Freedom Action (P-NADAF) by the masses of our people in Upper Nile, Equatoria and Bahr al Ghazal; to address the root causes of crisis of governance and the failed state in our country, and their inalienable rights to participate through a peoples-driven Convention(s) in the state formation Constitutional-Making processes in Upper Nile, Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA) and Bahr al Ghazal;

The EPA, firmly believes with conviction together with all **other willing Parties**, and peoples of our three regions agreeing that negotiation with the current Government of The Republic of South Sudan (R-TGONU), has no real chance of succeeding to end dictatorship in our country, with too many signed agreements dishonored,

10.Principles for transitioning out of South Sudan Failed State

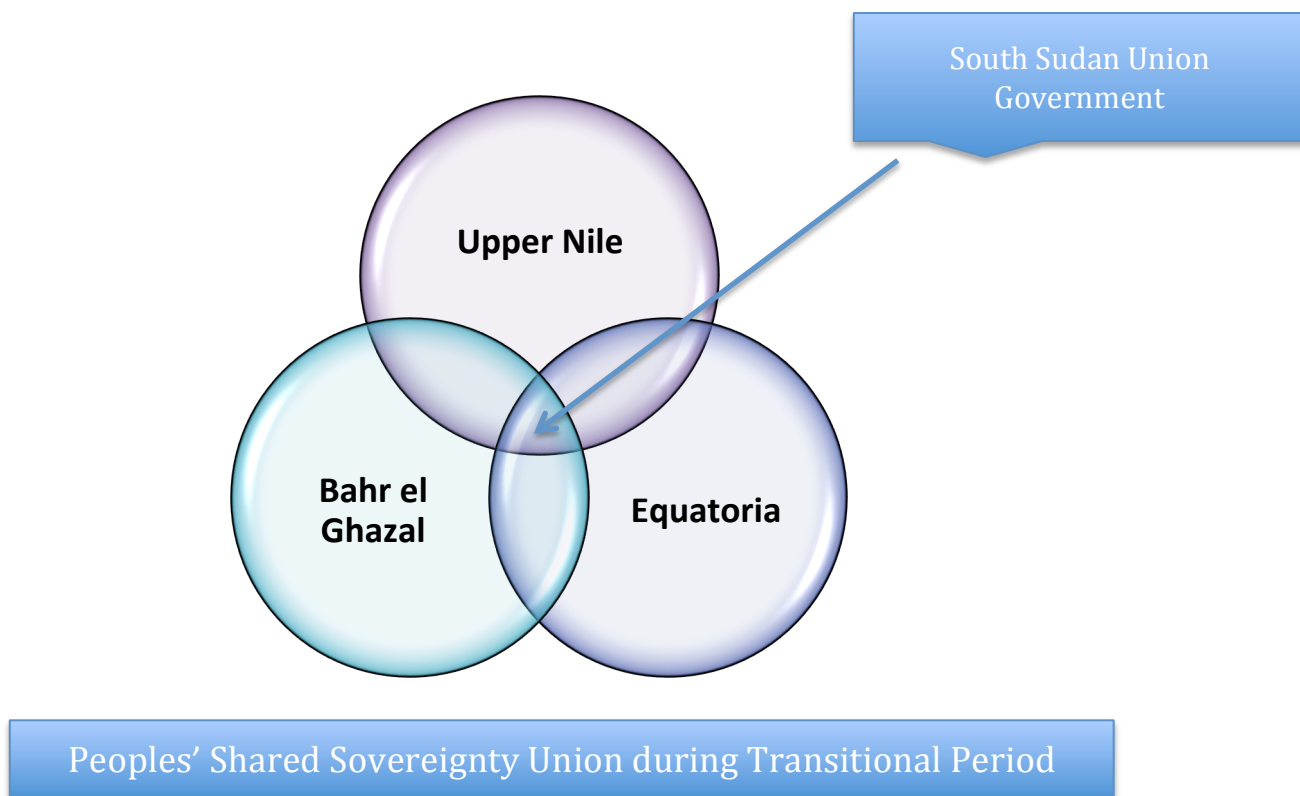
In due consideration of the forgoing narrative of the failed state of The Republic of South Sudan, **Equatoria Peoples' Alliance** henceforth commits to the following Principles of the Alternative Way Forward for South Sudan to transition out of the failed state:

1. Foster cooperation between EPA and peoples of Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA), Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal regions together with other opposition groups to end dictatorship in South Sudan and based on mutual interests that are in the common public interest for all, and respect for diversity of thoughts, ideals and freedom to exercise or express them.
2. To work to earn the trust of the masses of our peoples in Equatoria, Upper Nile, and Bahr el Ghazal for a joined up struggle with civil societies, professional associations, youth & women organizations' participation to bring an end to military dictatorship and democratic change in the country using all legitimate means.
3. To ensure and uphold the principle of union of diversity of sovereign peoples' interests for peaceful co-existence of the peoples of South Sudan and acknowledging the lack of trust and damaged social fabric caused by divisive policies of the ruling SPLM hegemonic elites in Juba.
4. Overhaul the failed state in the country, to bring about democratic legitimacy in which people of each in Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA), Upper Nile, Bahr al Ghazal elect their leaders from their regions in unfettered free and fair elections.
5. Urge the international community to support and stand with the people of Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA), Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal in their quest for change, peace, democracy & sustainable prosperity for all

in the country under a new Transitional Peoples' Shared sovereignty Union in the Republic of South Sudan for a defined Transitional Period agreed by them

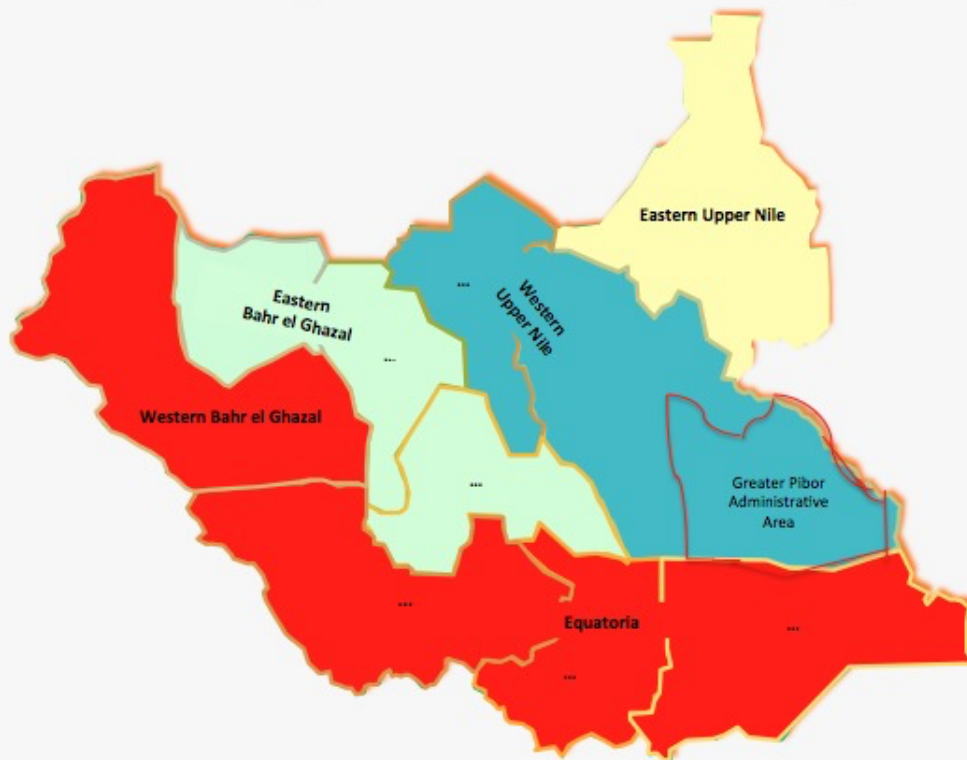
11.The Alternative Transitional South Sudan Union Government

The target Transitional Union Government (T-UG) proposed to bring The Republic of South Sudan out of a Failed State that it is in, would be constituted from the constituent historical provinces of Southern Sudan at the time of Sudan's independence on January 1, 1956, and which were subsequently made into the autonomous three regions of Equatoria, Upper Nile, and Bahr el Ghazal in 1982.



The overriding consideration in the proposed Transitional South Sudan Union Government for the way forward out of the Failed State, is the principle of Peoples Shared Sovereignty Union, and the variation of the three regions of Upper Nile, Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA), and Bahr el Ghazal into five (5) autonomous Regions of Equatoria, GPAA, Western Bahr el Ghazal, Eastern Bahr el Ghazal, Western Upper Nile, Eastern Upper Nile for the purposes of peaceful co-existence during a Transitional Period as follows:

Transitional Peoples' Shared Sovereignty Union



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12. Mandate of Transitional South Sudan Union Government

- 1) Upholding the fundamental principles of Human and Peoples' Rights under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPRs) and the Charter of the United Nations which recognize the people's right to self-determination and the exercise of that right freely by the people of Upper Nile, Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA), and Bahr al Ghazal regions for their peaceful co-existence in a shared sovereignty union.
- 2) Upholding that sovereignty is shared and vested in the people of Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA), Western Bahr el Ghazal, Eastern Bahr el Ghazal, Western Upper Nile, and Eastern Upper Nile regions for the purpose of the country's governance during the Transitional period.
- 3) The Peoples of Upper Nile, Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA) and Bahr al Ghazal (or variation of them into 5 regions) shall fully participate in choosing their peoples' representatives to the Constituent, Legislative and Executive organs of the Transitional Governance arrangements through Peoples' Constitutional Conventions.
- 4) Commitment to accountability for war crimes, gross human rights violations, economic crimes and atrocities committed against civilians during the war shall be tried, as well as recovery of looted and stolen financial resources from government coffers by those who held and breached trust of public office, including companies and private business owners who acquired wealth illegally or by illicit and corrupt means and made profits at public expense.
- 5) To provide fundamental structural security sector reforms in each autonomous region and which are

inclusive and reflective of ethnic diversity of the country's population in Upper Nile, Equatoria and Bahr al Ghazal.

- 6) Disband and reconstitute the infamous National Security Service (NSS) and bring those who committed gross Human Rights violations or financial crimes against the citizens and the State to trial and due process of justice, reconstituting the NSS in each region with a mandate for information gathering and decision making by oversight bodies which are accountable to the people through the Regional Parliaments.
- 7) Recovery of all looted public resources from individuals, politicians, army generals, firms and business owners, including foreign firms or business partners who facilitated corruption and the looting of public coffers and state resources for personal benefit or business profit.
- 8) Bring President Salva Kiir to trial for the 2013 civil war, genocide and crimes against innocent civilians in Juba who were massacred in door-to-door (D2D) ethnic cleansing by the State security apparatus under the President's chain of command.
- 9) End the emergent socio-economic cleavages being fueled by the corrupt and hegemonic political economy of the SPLM tribal elites in the country.
- 10) Repatriation of Refugees and Internally Displaced People (IDPs) to their original homes and the conduct of Census to determine population distribution in each region to inform autonomous Regional Government Policies.
- 11) End all forms of land grabbing and occupation in Equatoria, Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal regions by IDPs and repatriation of IDPs to their original homelands, and allow return of refugees to their ancestral homelands in their respective autonomous regions.

13. Media and Press Freedoms under Transitional South Sudan Union Government

- 1) The state of emergency that is censoring the media and limiting democratic space in the country shall be lifted and all political detainees shall be released,
- 2) The Right of Access to Information shall be enforced in each autonomous region to serve the Public's Right to know, transparency and accountability of public institutions which hold information in trust for the public,
- 3) The media shall be independent and press freedoms shall be protected,
- 4) State control of the TV and Radio media outlets shall be ended and interference with independent editorial of the media content or news prohibited by law,
- 5) South Sudan Broadcasting Corporation shall be reconstituted, restructured and the oversight of its regional branches shall be through independent Media and Communications Authority or Commission of each autonomous region
- 6) Media oversight bodies shall be made publicly accountable to the people through Parliament.
- 7) General Provisions
 - i) Without prejudice to any principle or provision of the proposed way forward in the Transitional South Sudan Union Government, the peoples of Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA) and EPA will cooperate and closely work together with others to overhaul the failed state in our country
 - ii) The peoples of Equatoria (inclusive of GPAA), and Western Bahr el Ghazal seek to work together with EPA to support through (P-NADAFa), a fundamental democratic transformation through political mechanisms, including through peoples' alliances and all legitimate self-defense means

feasible, and popular uprising of the masses to effect revolutionary change, together with all the political forces, concerned citizens, who are non-signatories to or have lost faith in legitimacy of R-ARCSS, 2018, or with anyone who is opposed to the divisive SPLM policies of hegemony wreaking havoc, spreading blood and violence in the country in order for them to remain unchallenged in power to rule with impunity.

Sustainable Peace and Future Governance of South Sudan

1-Day Conference,

The Sudanese Peace Programme, Charity No. 1177019

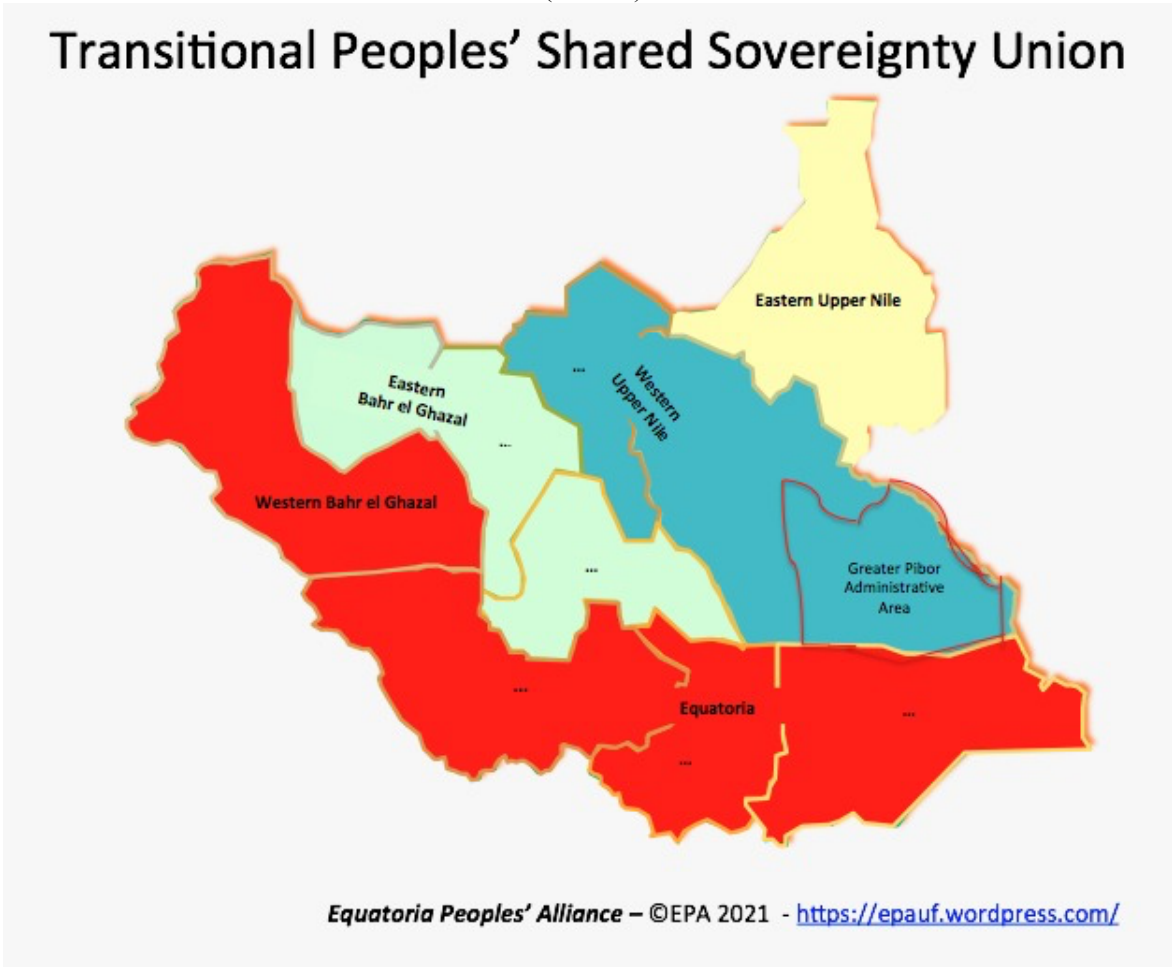
University of Manchester, Saturday, 23rd October 2021

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EPA discussion paper presented by: Dr. Hakim Dario

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The alternative Union of the three historic provinces of Upper Nile, Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal and variation of them into Three (3) Or Five (5) viable autonomous Regions as the Units of Governance during Transitional Period under a Transitional South Sudan Union Government (T-SSU)



Shared Sovereignty Union for South Sudan – Five (5) to Six (6) Regions or units of governance during the Transitional Period. Building Blocks: Equatoria, inclusive of Greater Pibor Administrative Area (GPAA), Western Bahr el Ghazal, Eastern Bahr el Ghazal, Western Upper Nile, and Eastern Upper Nile

