

South Sudanese Professionals in Diaspora

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## **Unleashing the Potential for Good Governance in the Republic of South Sudan**

A Proposal Addressing the Challenges to Nation Building,  
National Healing and National Reconciliation  
Following the Mid-December Crisis

Let's put South Sudan first  
before our political, party, regional or ethnic loyalties

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## Part I

# Prologue

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### i Executive Summary

Our aim, in putting this paper together, has been to encourage South Sudanese to actively engage with all its stakeholders to identify ways in which the yet untapped vast and rich potential of South Sudan can be unleashed. We have opted for good governance.

There is no tool, we argue, more effective than good governance in unleashing the full potential of a country and its people. We are blessed in this respect. South Sudan is endowed with abundant natural and human resources. These resources are there for the tapping by the government of the day to drive forth development.

We define good governance as a broad-based, inclusive, democratic, regionally and ethnically representative and decentralised form of governance, where patronage gives way to meritocracy and where the supremacy of the rule of law is respected. To realise this we have proposed the restructuring of the armed forces; the establishment of an independent and representative judiciary; the supremacy of the rule of law translated into respect for human rights, freedom of press and association, with multi-party democracy enshrined in the constitution. These ideas are contained in Part II of our paper.

In Part III, we propose how the unleashing of the full potential of South Sudan through good governance can translate into effective delivery of services and rapid economic development. We suggest that gender sensitive provision of education, health care and the creation of favourable investment climate will encourage entrepreneurship leading *inter alia* to economic, human and infrastructure development.

Part IV, the Epilogue contains the conclusion, additional points and reiteration of a few key points. Part I, the Prologue, contains the Executive Summary and the Preamble.

### ii Preamble

In its third year of life as an independent sovereign state, the Republic of South Sudan has had more than its fair share of challenges and calamities. This includes

battling with inter-ethnic conflicts in at least three of its ten states.

The difficult negotiations with the Republic of Sudan over some of the major outstanding post-independence issues led to the shut down of flow of oil, the country's sole mainstay of the economy. This led to the imposition of severe austerity measures.

In mid-December 2013, amidst calls for changes in the government and efforts to reform the ruling party, the SPLM, the country was plunged into a crisis that has spiralled into a widespread armed conflict pitting opposing sides of the same party and army. The result has been massive displacements and loss of lives and property.

IGAD, the patron of the CPA stepped in promptly and with the support of AU, UN and the Troika was able to mediate and commit the parties in conflict to sign a Cessation of Hostilities (CoHA) on January 23rd, 2014. This is to be followed by comprehensive negotiations on February 7th, 2014 to address the root causes of the conflict and emerge with a formula that will, hopefully, bring peace and stability to the long suffering people of South Sudan.

The regrettable conflict has suddenly exposed the malaise and fault lines in South Sudanese body politic. The need to address the shortfalls and gaps radically and speedily, could not have been clearer.

The forthcoming Phase II of the Addis South Sudan Crisis Talks calls for South Sudanese to be engaged in an intensive exercise debating their country's future and destiny. The purpose of this paper is to contribute, in a modest way, ideas, concepts and strategies to that crucial forum.

We were glad, in that respect, to note that resolution 11(a) of the Communique of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union on the "Situation in the Republic of South Sudan" at its 416th meeting held on January 29th, 2014 in Addis Ababa, also calls for the participation of all South Sudanese in the peace process. The relevant section calls for the:

“... participation of all stakeholders, both armed belligerents and those who did not take up arms, including other political actors, civil society, traditional and religious leaders, youth and women.”

We do not in writing this paper purport to be or intend to be exhaustive or detailed. Nor do we think we have all the answers. Our aim has been deliberately measured and simple. It has been to stimulate debate which can help policy makers and politicians to reach informed decisions, within the framework of the current peace talks. More importantly, to ensure that the voices of South Sudanese, especially those with no guns, are heard at the negotiating table too.

There are a number of things on the table currently being discussed by the parties

directly involved in the conflict. These include issues like the humanitarian crisis, cessation of hostilities, the role of “invited armed allies,” which we felt need not take up our time and space here, important as they are. This is because these issues are already on the table and are being addressed. Our aim is to focus attention on the next phase which is about issues like governance, rule of law and development.

We have not arranged the topics covered in this paper in any particular order of importance or priority. We felt that any attempt to prioritise the topics would mean devaluing the importance of others. To us, they are all of equal weight, and deserve to be treated as such, regardless of the order in which they appear.

In writing this paper we have benefitted from a number of individuals, who have opted to remain anonymous. We respect that and appreciate their help.

These are difficult times for South Sudan. And difficult times call for tough decisions. Our country is bleeding. Our long suffering people, more than ever before, yearn for peace. We can only deliver on this when we put our country first, before our political, party, regional, religious and ethnic loyalties.

The only glue, in our view, that can bind us together fast and securely as a nation of equals and enable us to unleash the full potential of South Sudan, is good governance. The issues of governance should therefore, be at the center of the current peace talks.

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## **Part II**

# **Governance, Democracy and the Rule of Law**

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## **1 Stronger and Effective Federal Government**

The current leadership struggle within the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM) has exposed to us some fault lines in the government system.

The fault lines include an army recruited from predominantly two rival ethnic groups coupled with poor training, lack of credible opposition parties and an untrained civil service creating a potentially explosive situation.

Clearly the model of Government adopted on 9th July 2011 when the South Sudan became the world's newest nation is faulty, does not work well and has not served the people of South Sudan well.

A highly centralised system staffed with hand picked people with no proper qualifications or experience is flawed right from the start!

A system of appointments made on the merits of qualifications, experience and potential talent will contribute effectively to the development of a credible civil service capable of delivering on services and thus pre-empt disenchantment and potential civil unrest.

## **Our Proposal:**

1. A Federal system of government based on the three traditional geographical regions of Bahr El Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile should be embraced. This will cut down on an inflated civil service and release money for vital developmental projects.
2. Each Region will have a government made of people from its state.
3. The Federal Government will be tasked with overseeing Defence, Foreign Affairs, the Treasury (Finance), Higher Education; Scientific, Social and Medical Research; Telecommunications; the Federal Assembly, Civil Aviation, River Transport; Federal Court of Appeal, etc.
4. The Federal Government should be lean and efficient. Eighteen Ministers, six from each Region, should suffice to complement the Regional Governments.
5. If the President comes from one Region, the vice President should come from another and the Speaker of the National Assembly from the third region.
6. Regional cabinets will be limited to eight Ministers and eight Undersecretaries with no Deputy Ministers.
7. The Army shall be recruited based on clear criteria and using an agreed proportional representation formula to counterbalance any events such as occurred on 15th December 2013.
8. The police, prisons and wildlife may be recruited locally.

## **2 Corruption, Accountability and Transparency**

Corruption and transparency are opposite sides of the same coin, just like day and night. Where there is transparency, corruption lessens. Where there is corruption,

transparency is a rare commodity.

Where there is little management and administrative capacity for the provision of public services, corruption finds a ready breeding ground. Another factor is the prevalence of weak institutions and lack of long-term planning capacities.

Over 90% of the population of South Sudan live on less than US\$2.00 a day. Corruption is one of the factors perpetuating this poverty as the poor are most likely to be misinformed about their rights, making them easy targets for corrupt officials.

Increased centralisation of political and administrative authority which excludes local communities from more inclusive decision-making, growth and development, encourages corruption.

## **Our Proposal:**

To escape the poverty and corruption trap and promote transparency we propose:

1. Citizens need to get organized and start to speak up and demand accountability from their leaders. The creation of a strong civil society is a powerful weapon in fighting corruption.
2. Citizens need not compromise on the quality of services being offered to them. Services like education, health and clean water must be demanded as an entitlement and a right, but not as a favour from leaders.
3. Members of Parliament and politicians need to be held accountable on their election pledges and promises.
4. The more people have a say in how they are governed, the more they become aware of the powers they have and sense of duty, reducing the opportunity for people in authority to abuse their power. An effective civil society is an asset here.
5. The better informed the citizens are the more oversight they can have in monitoring government programmes. This benefits both: the poor get their services and the officials are held in high esteem for service delivery.
6. People need to have a voice in the way in which they are governed. There is need to establish public forums where the citizens and government officials meet to discuss programmes.
7. Community radios are important vehicles for holding government officials accountable. Here irregularities in services can be discussed and complaints made. This is a very effective tool in fighting corruption and for inspiring communities to demand accountability. This means there must be freedom of speech. Fear of reprisal must also be addressed.

### 3 Restructuring the Armed Forces

The South Sudanese have suffered some of the worst brutality, violence and gross human rights abuses at the hands of a series of vicious military regimes in the Sudan. Understandably, they have learned to distrust and fear any military.

After the long struggle for freedom culminating in secession from the Sudan in July 2011, the people of South Sudan have a right to expect to raise their own professional armed forces that will respect, honour, value and protect them.

The current military is heavily dominated by two ethnic groups and is not representative of the population. As recent events have shown, political rivalry and tension between these groups can quickly degenerate into widespread violence with dire consequences not only to them, but to everyone else.

It is important to remember that South Sudan has over 60 ethnic groups. This means that the vast majority of the citizens do not see themselves represented in the military.

The people of South Sudanese yearn for a disciplined, professional, ethnically representative and balanced military that not only protects them, but also helps the country to live up to its promise of justice, liberty and prosperity for all.

#### Our Proposal:

1. In the name of peaceful co-existence, fairness and long-term stability, the armed forces need to be restructured to reflect the diversity of the country. After the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, the army was composed of an equal number of men from Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile. That formula served the people well at that time and it should work well today.
2. It should become the Army of South Sudan, or any such an appropriate name.
3. The reconstituted armed forces need to put the country and its people above any personal, political or ethnic loyalties. They need to develop a culture of political neutrality, respect for human rights, professionalism and service to the people.
4. Urgent selection of trainees for a South Sudan officer corps at Sandhurst (UK), West Point (usa) and other Military Institutions in South Africa and the IGAD Region. The selection process must be rigorous, supervised externally taking into account temperament, basic secondary school education, interest, ambition and personal Health. The numbers must be proportional to the population and size of South Sudan. This calls for proper funding of the current commission dealing with demobilisation.



5. A gradual process of demobilisation of the current SPLA must start through the following processes (A) retire those who have reached pensionable age (B) get the young militia (boy soldiers such as the White Army) into schools through a targeted programme which is properly funded. Some of the soldiers may still be re absorbed into Army of South Sudan.
6. Formation of a Rapid Mobilisation Force. This will be an elite fighting force without ethnic bias, which may be deployed at short notice in the events of outbreaks of violence such as happened on 15th December 2013.
7. Limit seriously the promotions of generals, brigadiers generals, colonels etc to a few, so that the various ranks are meaningful and inspire hard work to achieve them.
8. The nation should show its gratitude to the ageing cadres in the armed forces by offering them generous retirement packages. The demobilisation commission has a role to play here too.
9. The army needs to have proper barracks built for its use, slightly removed from population centres. The movement of members of armed forces with guns in public should be restricted.

## **4 Effective and Efficient Taxation System**

South Sudan has just emerged out of a long civil war. This means it has one of the most challenging operating environments in the world for business.

The Cabinet Affairs Minister is reported in late 2013 as having said that a good proportion of the tax collected at Nimule does not reach the government coffers.

It is important that a political climate, which is conducive to change and entrepreneurship, is transparent, and is willing to tackle corruption and tax evasion is established as a matter of priority.

The establishment of an operational, unified revenue and customs agency has to be at the center of any reform to the taxation system. This may be referred to as South Sudan Revenue Authority.

### **Our Proposal:**

1. A new Revenue Authority should be established. It would be responsible for the collection, management and establishment of a new system aided by the use of IT. If necessary, a foreigner with a proven track record can be hired to establish the system and manage it for some time.

2. A new and improved audit practices and skills with regular training opportunities to upgrade skills with a new code of conduct be introduced.
3. A robust enforcement of customs systems at road and other entry points is called for.
4. Consider exempting investors from customs duty on all imports for investment goods, including capital goods and raw materials.
5. The need to expanding the tax base to include: Corporate income tax, Social security contribution, Dividends tax, Vehicle tax, Capital gains tax and VAT.
6. All payments at ports such as Nimule should be made at a bank to be situated nearby, with no cash exchanging hands with the officials.
7. Any late payment should incur penalties and the taxation office should also pay interests on any re-imburement for over payment being claimed by a tax payer, and such payments should be within a fixed period.
8. There is need to seriously consider scraping the current practice of inter-state taxation. Goods must only be taxed once at the international port of entry.

## 5 Asset Recovery

In April 2012, the President of the Republic of South Sudan, General Salva Kiir reportedly wrote to 75 serving and former cabinet members requesting them to return any embezzled funds to the national treasury. The sum was believed to be around \$4.5 billion.

In the letter, the President wrote: "We fought for freedom, justice and equality. Yet once we got to power, we forgot what we fought for and began to enrich ourselves at the expense of our poor people."

The spirit of the letter was commendable. Some would however, have preferred this plea to have been followed by some form of firm legal action.

This has not been the case. Neither has there been any feedback on how much fund was recovered and who from. Equally, what has not been clear is the absence of time frame for refunding of this funds. Neither is it clear whether the plea is still being actively pursued.

The government has created an anti-corruption tsar to combat illicit financial gains and flows, which have proven to be a major obstacle to the economic development of South Sudan.

The commission is still to publish the number of prosecutions (successful or otherwise) and how much it has recovered in order to determine whether it has been value for money since its establishment.

Lack of transparency from the Commission may lead some to question not just its efficiency but its effectiveness as well. Transparency is important. And justice must be seen to be done and working.

## **Our Proposal:**

1. It is generally agreed that asset recovery is a more cost effective strategy against graft, embezzlement of public funds, diversion of unspent funds budgeted for implementation of projects and corruption, than perhaps the legal avenue alone. This is because it ensures that the embezzler's ill-gotten wealth is not depleted by legal fees or stashed further away beyond reach in between the start of prosecution and sentencing, which takes years. The focus should therefore be mainly on asset recovery.
2. Time is nearly always of the essence in these circumstances. The freezing, confiscation and repatriation of assets must be done in haste if a good proportion of the assets are to be salvaged.
3. Revamp the Anti-Corruption Commission with competent individuals at the helm and proper funding to be an effective vehicle for rapid tracing, freezing and return of ill-gotten wealth, capable of winning the trust of the citizens. It must have the power to prosecute as well.
4. Formulate a proactive policy and legal framework and establish international cooperation to expedite the recovery and returning of illegally acquired assets safely stashed away in foreign lands.
5. Avail sufficient legal and technical expertise to the Commission to robustly pursue investigations within and across the borders of South Sudan.
6. Be ready to immediately trigger a thorough investigation on a mere suspicion of embezzlement without any undue political interference and without waiting for evidence to accumulate first.
7. Ensure senior government officials, cabinet members and Members of Parliament declare their assets before assuming office and on leaving. These declarations must not be safely locked away but must be published for the public to scrutinize.
8. Corrupt officials are barred from holding government posts for a fixed period and are not rewarded with promotions or simply transferred to other departments or states.
9. Assets recovered like buildings must be properly catalogued and published before either being sold off or turned into government asset.

10. Ensure that the 75 government officials and any others not included in the President's letter must be pursued to recover assets and any cash embezzled, or cleared if no evidence can be found of any illicit actions on their part.
11. There are international bodies such as the Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative (StAR) established in 2007 which works to end safe havens for corrupt funds. StAR provides developing country governments with advice, knowledge and technical assistance on how to effectively recover stolen assets and helps developing countries establish institutions, use the appropriate legal tools and channels for recovering stolen assets, and build the skills and knowledge of practitioners involved in the asset recovery process.

## **6 Land Grabbing and Internally Displaced Persons**

There are two types of land grabbing we consider here. The first is by foreign companies or nations. The second is by individuals. We may also add the risk posed by IDPs to community relations. Apart from being sources of conflict, land issues also cause land insecurity.

### **Large Investors**

Agriculture has suffered from decades of neglect in South Sudan. Investment is needed to improve productivity. It is true foreign investment in especially agriculture can help countries to create jobs, and increase export earnings through the use of more advanced technologies. Some would add that leasing land to foreign companies for agriculture is one way out of agricultural stagnancy.

There are a number of companies and foreign governments that have been leasing large areas of land in South Sudan often without the knowledge of the local people of the area. The deal is usually by some well placed and connected individuals.

There are concerns that poor villagers will be forced off their land and agribusiness will marginalise family farming.

### **Local Land Grabbers**

This is mostly in urban areas where well-placed individuals have forcefully taken over plots of less powerful individuals. The courts have been too slow if not ineffective in resolving these issues. Left simmering they become flash points.

### **The Internally Displaced Persons**

The war has displaced a number of individuals and communities. These individuals and communities have been hosted by a number of other communities, who have shown a great deal of generosity. It is important not to abuse the goodwill of these

communities during the war as well as after the cessation of hostilities.

The forceful occupation of land as is currently in Nimule, which has been widely publicised to no avail, does not harbour well for community relations and national cohesion.

## **Our Proposal:**

1. There must be a proper system put in place to ensure that the local people are adequately consulted before any piece of land is leased out to foreign companies or given to the government.
2. Individuals or communities whose lands are affected have to be compensated. Any compensation packages have to be done transparently.
3. A specialized tribunal needs to be set up to deal expeditiously with issues of individual land grabbing including plots.
4. Once there is cessation of hostilities, all current and old IDPs must leave the place they have taken refuge in, without any reservations. They should not be allowed to transform themselves into settlers or land occupiers, through the use of force. This is in the best interest of community relations.
5. The government has a duty to ensure that the presence of IDPs in any area does not generate into forceful occupation of host communities' land.

## **7 The Rule of Law**

The first duty of any government is the protection of the lives and property of its citizens.

A lot of blood has been shed, often unnecessarily, during this conflict. This has generated a lot of ill-feelings, mistrust and at times generated the desire for revenge.

Many people have lost their loved ones. Others have lost property, including houses, which were either erased down completely or occupied by others as part of the spoils of war.

The estimate of people killed ranges from 1,000 to over 10,000. Even if only one person were killed, that is one death too many. Something must be done.

## **Our Proposal:**

1. A national reconciliation process must be initiated headed by individuals with the moral authority to win the trust of the nation. Without this, it will not be worth the paper it is written on.
2. A team of experts, preferably from outside the country should be invited to investigate the killings. Anyone found guilty and complicit in the murders, especially crimes against humanity, must face the full wrath of the law.
3. The bedrock of our democracy must be the freedom of association enjoyed by the members of the public, freedom of press, the right to join a political party of one's choice without the fear of harassment by the dominant party or the security organs.

## 8 The Constitution

The present constitution is a Transitional one. There is need for a permanent constitution, a center piece of good governance, in order to:

Prevent confusion about what is legal or not within the law of the land;

Act as a reference point in the resolution of problems or controversies that may arise between or among the Executive, the National Assembly, and the Judiciary;

Ensure structural separation of powers among the branches of government, including judicial independence;

Ensure the protection of individual and group rights, against both other individuals and groups and the government;

Provide for ultimate judicial (Supreme Court) review of governmental decisions and lower court rulings;

Reassure the public that those in power are running the country properly and that public funds are being effectively managed;

Serve as a constant reminder that those running the country are doing so democratically and in an accountable and transparent manner with clarity in the methods by which decisions that impact the citizens' lives are taken.

### Our Proposal:

1. The Constitution must be transparently drafted by an independent and inclusive body that is receptive to recommendations from civil society, as soon as is feasible after the completion of negotiations in Addis Ababa.

2. The draft Constitution must be debated, ratified and passed by at least 75% of the members of the National Assembly; and ideally subject to a national referendum to ensure popular and broad legitimacy, as soon as possible but not before enough time has passed to allow public discussion about it.
3. To amend the Constitution, a majority of two-thirds of National Assembly members must vote in favour of the tabled amendments.
4. The Constitution must ensure that the Judiciary and legislative body (The National Assembly) are independent and not subject to arbitrary Government sanction without recourse to the Assembly.
5. The Constitution shall limit the term of office of the President to **two** consecutive five year terms.
6. The Constitution shall prohibit the President from leading by decree in a democratically elected Government.
7. A multiparty system shall be enshrined in the Constitution.
8. The Constitution shall mandate that no citizen, including those holding public office, shall be above the law.
9. The Constitution shall require that the Army of South Sudan, the police, and prison warders are above politics.
10. All citizens, regardless of gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or religious belief shall be equal before the Law and shall be eligible for appointment or election to a public office, should they satisfy the requirements for such an office.
11. Key components of the rule of law must be established and made to be well understood in the political and social spheres in addition to the legal arena. These key elements of the rule of law include: clearly written and generally understood laws, consistently and predictably applied; equal application and enforcement of laws for all citizens, regardless of social, political or economic status; and non-discriminatory access to justice for all, regardless of the identities of perpetrators and victims.

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## Part III

# Delivery of Services

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## 9 Promotion of Investment

The South Sudan Investment Authority (SSIA) was launched in December 2013 and was opened by President Salva Kiir Mayardit and attended by scores of International potential investors.

Investment in any country, however, is highly dependent on the political climate, especially security. The current insecurity in South Sudan, unless significantly improved, will hardly enthruse investors to stake their money in South Sudan.

Prospective investors are unlikely to invest in a country where civil servants demand kickbacks to facilitate the processing of their paperwork. Serious actions need to be taken to address any such issues which have the potential to deter investment in South Sudan.

The absence of significant stride made in infrastructure, power supply, utilities and the Agricultural sectors eight years after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) is not a good advertisement to attract foreign investment. These areas need to be addressed as a matter of urgency.

Investment is the key to development.

## **Our Proposal:**

1. Fostering of peace and disciplined security forces are a pre-requisite to development, and can only actively encourage investors to return or start coming to South Sudan
2. Robust laws need to be enacted and enforced against unscrupulous civil servants who demand prospective investors for back-handers to process their paperwork.
3. Investors need to be encouraged to report civil servants who seek financial favours in exchange for assistance to process their paperwork, covertly, if necessary.
4. Attract well known hotel brands such as the Marriott, Hilton, Holiday Inn etc to open Franchises in South Sudan. Investors are often attracted to such facilities where they form their initial bases for their operations.
5. Establish a one stop shop process under one roof in one of the ministries where all paperwork will be processed to cut down on bureaucracy and time.
6. The process of applying for a licence to receiving the licence must be transparent, speedy and published. It should not take more than one week. It costs money to live in a foreign land. Things should be made easier for genuine investors bringing in opportunities to the country to generate revenue and employment.



7. All payments should be processed through a bank. No cash should change hands, at any stage of processing applications.
8. Should investors need local counterparts, this must not be members of security forces or cabinet members and their immediate family members, for the security of the nation or conflict of interest.
9. While foreign investment is critical to development, it must enhance and not harm national welfare – peace, human rights, the environment, etc. As such, the Government must be free to regulate foreign investment where necessary to protect national welfare, and investment agreements and treaties must acknowledge this.

## 10 Investment in Education

The strongest asset of any country is the quality of its skilled population. Some of the current problems in South Sudan stem from lack of educated and skilled human resources.

An educated population is an informed population. An informed population is most likely to weigh information and takes actions accordingly, rather than resort to violence as a default solution.

Lack of investment in the education system in South Sudan means that our scarce national resources are being drained by parents, who want the best for their children, by sending them to schools in neighbouring Kenya, Uganda and Sudan or further afield. This is clearly a vote of no confidence in the education system of South Sudan, a situation that needs to be rectified urgently.

The enrolment and recruitment of female students in South Sudan should be of concern to all. They say, if you educate a woman, you educate a nation. We need to embrace that seriously.

There has not been any significant investment in tertiary education since the signing of the CPA in terms of staff development and infrastructure. This cannot be allowed to continue. We cannot afford to gamble with the future of our children and nation.

The need to diversify the education system to include vocational and technical education should be embraced as a matter of urgency to kick start our development efforts.

### Our Proposal:

## **Primary and Secondary Education**

1. Free Universal Primary Education must be introduced through annual grants to all the states.
2. A pledge must be made to ensure no child is left studying under a tree without shelter from the elements by 2016.
3. Each state needs to ensure that it has a number of outstanding mixed secondary schools of international standing and with consistently high pass rates.
4. Links with schools or colleges overseas need to be encouraged for the provision of voluntary support, donation of educational materials and the healthy exchange of ideas between pupils and even staff.

## **Vocational and Adult Education**

1. Each state needs to have at least one vocational school to train badly needed practical skills in electrical work, plumbing, brick laying, carpentry, motor vehicle etc.
2. An Adult literacy campaign and provision is essential to provide a safety net for those who can no longer enter mainstream education but wish to improve their personal circumstances alongside their children. This has been done successfully in neighbouring Uganda with some success.
3. The introduction of distance education projects need to be seriously considered.

## **Tertiary Education**

1. A super university, The University of South Sudan with constituent Colleges in Malakal, Wau and Juba should be considered to perhaps supersede the current disparate, ineffective, understaffed and under resourced older Universities of Juba, Baher El Ghazal and Upper Nile and the new ones of Rumbek and Dr John Garang Memorial and Northern Bahr el Gazhal.
2. Some Faculties such as Medicine, Law, Engineering, Education, Agriculture will need to be based in one campus until they are well developed, then other similar faculties may be opened in the other Regions when the time is right. This will concentrate resources and expertise in one centre to ensure maintenance of high standards and development of a single staff development programme for the whole country.
3. Crucial to the success of all of the above points is adequate funding. A reasonable fee structure and a potential to generate income through provision of courses such as in computing, hiring out of rooms for meetings and accommodation during University Holidays, need to be considered seriously.

4. Our universities need not just be centres of teaching, they have to excel in research as well. Funding and facilities need to be availed.
5. The current situation where the ministries remunerate their staff better than the universities is not sustainable and will not attract the best brains in our higher institutions of learning. In fact, it acts as a brain drain from the universities.
6. The universities need to have and manage their own budgets and should not be subjected to public service administrative overseeing. They need to be allied to a national council for higher education.

### **Staff Development Programmes and Scholarships**

1. A clear and transparent system needs to be put in place to ensure that any scholarships from friendly countries and institutions are published, advertised in all the states with adequate time limit.
2. The selection procedures for the beneficiaries of such scholarships should equally be transparent.
3. Each ministry must have a scholarships committee with clear guidelines, well kept minutes of meetings and a selection procedure for candidates applying for advertised scholarships. The committees must be composed of professionals, civil servants, representatives of the local University and an official of the Ministry of public service and education. Such a transparent process will ensure that the right people are selected for higher training.
4. All effort must be exerted to ensure that there is a robust staff development programmes for university staff.

## **11 Healthcare challenges in South Sudan**

South Sudan's health care is in a perilous state and has one of the worst health care indicators in the World. The figures in respect to this are well documented and do not need reiterating.

The problems span both primary and secondary health care. In primary care the problems are predominantly infections/ infestations with poor nutrition and often a lack of access to health care.

Many of these issues can be dealt with by health care workers with limited training. There are however many conditions that require hospital treatment.

Trauma is particularly common in South Sudan especially from gunshot wounds and road traffic accidents and is likely to increase. It is estimated that injury accounts for 12% for the world's burden of disease and that by 2020 more than 1 in 10 people will die from injuries.

There are currently upwards of 1000 trauma admissions per year to Juba Teaching Hospital with a mortality of approximately 12%. More extensive lists of medical, surgical and obstetric conditions which are common in countries such as South Sudan and would commonly be treated in first referral hospitals have been documented by WHO.

An article in Gurtong stated that the Government of South Sudan currently spends several million US dollars per year on sending patients abroad because of the lack of confidence in the hospital service (personal communication). This may seem profligate but how many foreign workers would choose to be treated or for their families to be treated in South Sudan if requiring hospital care?

So far health aid has concentrated on primary care and there are well over 100 NGOs in this field in South Sudan. Secondary care has received little attention and although official figures indicate that there are around 30 "hospitals" they are hardly hospitals as we know them.

On the medical side most are staffed by 1 or at most 2 doctors plus some clinical officers, they have no running water, do not have any facilities for x-ray nor any but the most basic investigations. Areas such as the wards and operating theatres are Spartan in the extreme with little, if any, equipment.

The skills and training of nurses and midwives is also haphazard and weak. Few if any district hospitals include any nurse or midwife at the registered level. The low population density in some regions and very poor roads makes access to hospital for many patients a further problem.

Maternal mortality in South Sudan is the highest in the World standing at 2054 per 100,000 live births and the infant mortality stands at 234 per 1000 live births.

Nearly 100 to 150 Doctors who have returned from various parts of the Sudan after Independence have no appointments in the Ministry of Health. Almost all are eligible for further training to become primary Care Physicians or Hospital specialists but there is no provision for this in the foreseeable future

## **Our Proposal:**

1. To work closely with the UK based South Sudan postgraduate steering committee and the St Mary's Hospital, Newport, Isle of Wight (UK)-Juba, the Wau-Poole Hospital, The Rumbek-West Dorset Hospital and the Winchester-

Yei Hospital Links to instigate structured postgraduate training of the medical officers currently unemployed to build capacity in the Health sector.

2. Fund the completion and opening of the postgraduate Training centre in Juba, progress on which has slowed during the recent crisis
3. Fund volunteer Nurses from the UK to support hands-on training at the Colleges of Nursing and midwifery in Juba, Wau and Malakal
4. Recommend the projects suggested by the Juba Link for the Rehabilitation of Hospitals in the South Sudan to prospective funders so that there is a continuum of care between primary care (well funded and supported) and secondary care.
5. Ensure that the government builds or refurbishes at least one hospital in each of the old districts. These must be properly equipped and stocked with running water and 24 hours power supply.
6. Referrals to foreign countries is proving to be a drain on our meagre resources. This is not sustainable. We need to put an end to this and divert the money into our poorly stocked hospitals.

## 12 Civil Service Restructuring

Only a qualified, skilled and highly motivated human resources can be expected to deliver on services.

The development of our human resources and skills has to be on the top of our list.

There are a lot of qualified young people who are unemployed. This is wasteful. It is storing problems for the future.

### Our Proposal:

1. There is a need to overhaul the civil service, by putting the right people in the right places.
2. In areas like the diplomatic mission minimum qualifications of a bachelor degree, language proficiency, and even the passing of a civil service test need to be considered.
3. For any job opening, first priority has to be given to South Sudanese, unless it can be proven there is nobody else suitable. Even then, this must be on a temporary basis.

4. Within the ministry of Public service and in collaboration with foreign affairs there needs to be a department to vet and scrutinise qualifications obtained from abroad. A hot line to encourage whistle blowers to come forward would be an effective tool.
5. There is a lot of skilled human resources in the Diaspora. A genuine effort must be exerted to entice them to come back home and contribute to the building of the nation.
6. All posts need to be advertised and competed for in an open and transparent way.
7. Serious and urgent thoughts have to go into how to deal with the looming pension crisis.

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## **Part IV**

# **Epilogue**

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## **13 Just a Few More Proposals**

We make the following recommendations, as a way of reiteration and conclusion:

1. Once the modalities and mechanism for monitoring the CoHA are in place and the peace talk extends into the issues of governance, democratization, and resource management, all stakeholders need to be involved. Admission must not be based solely on the size of one's gun.
2. The stakeholders to be involved should include, the various political parties, women's groups, youth groups, religious leaders, academics, the Diaspora, and the civil society.
3. The sitting president should, in our view, be allowed to complete his remaining term of office, as we are less than two years away from an election, and so as not to set a dangerous precedent. However, a broad based and inclusive government should be formed to lead the nation into the next election.
4. The task of the new government has to be the conducting of a national census; completion of the writing of the constitution; and running of the forthcoming election on time.

5. A neutral force, not a partisan one, acceptable to all may be necessary to help with the process of professionalising the army, for about 18 months.
6. The reform and restructuring of the armed forces, the security services and the civil service should be a matter of urgency.
7. All political parties must pledge to include the management and diversification of the economy away from oil as part of their manifesto and programme of action.
8. The Petroleum Act needs to be strengthened to ensure transparency at all levels of its operations: export, extraction, transportation, refining etc. The environmental impact must also be monitored closely and responsibly.
9. A master plan to improve the skills level of the youth and to create meaningful employment for them must be adopted as a matter of urgency. This has to be in addition to heavy investment, which is so far lacking, in the education system of South Sudan.
10. A free and independent media not subjected to the whims of politicians and capable of conducting investigative journalism unhindered is essential for the promotion of good governance and fighting corruption. The freedom of the press needs to be respected. Harassing of journalists needs to stop. The Media Act needs to be passed.
11. A programme to remove all sorts of weapons (guns) from civilians has to be embarked on without favour.
12. No economy runs without energy. Concerted efforts need to be exerted to ensure a national grid.

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## Notes on the Contributors

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The contributors are all South Sudanese professionals in the Diaspora: two medical doctors and three academics.

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