

**REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FOR
NATIONAL SALVATION
(REMNASA)**



Statement on the trio-SPLM factions Peace Agreement mediated by IGAD-Plus and the REMNASA's view for addressing the contemporary South Sudan's political crisis

(August 18th, 2015)

Preface

Every civil strifes are caused by lack of peace, therefore you cannot bring an end to civil strife without bringing meaningful peace for those starving for Peace. Peace is our fundamental rights which lay strong ground for our revolutionary struggle against regime of the SPLM – which IGAD-Plus and SPLM as political parties failed to understand.

Therefore, if we are in state of civil strifes, or armed struggle against SPLM regime; it is because we hold on just believe of our rights to defend both our collective and individual rights – which SPLM is unable to uphold for the last three decades. These are rights to the freedom from marginalization and domination, injustice and persecution, dictatorship and corruption as well rights for decent life and self-determinations, etc.

We need peace and because of our starvations for peace, we have to get into state of destabilizations first, in order to get stability. In this regard, we are not fighting because we need war, but because we need peace, and if we have any means to reach peace without war, then that means cannot be avoided at any cost – but this means still seem unveiled even by the so called Compromised Peace Agreement that IGAD-Plus is trying to impose on people of South Sudan.

Therefore, peace we are in search of as nation, can only be brought in collective manners by involvement of every concerned parties all together in round table for peace searching, as well sustaining the peace found; though with SPLM, but not under SPLM to avoid the collapse of the peace found.

This document attempts to search for possibility of resolving the contemporary south Sudan's political crisis that can bring sustainable peace – through peaceful means – if the means to attain peace through peaceful means is bought as option by every part.

We have power to bring peace to our people, but this can only be possible if every party who are grieving against certainties in our Nation is brought together on roundtable - to reason for better understandings, - to reach desired compromise with objective of

finding common grounds that can bring sustainable peace and set South Sudan on democratic path. Peace is the only means for our national democracy. Therefore, we cannot call for democracy without seeking for just peace because peace is tool for enhancing democracy - which can only happen not through violence but dialogue when all concerned parties, meets for common reasoning.

Even as we have armed ourselves to fight; we can confess that, peace is everything in our mind; therefore, we are ready and willingly for all options to attain national peace at any cost – if SPLM and IGAD-Plus are willing to bring sustainable peace.

Our Nation is in state of desperateness for peace, and we hope, we will all together reach a compromise for the interests of our Nation.

With Best Revolutionary Regards

Col. John Sunday Martin

Revolutionary Movement for National Salvation (REMNASAS)

The Genesis of the Contemporary political Crisis

Everything that are real, living or none living, bad or good, has its' genesis and that is the bona fide cause of its existence. Some of these reality, you can just pick and throw it away; while others requires to be uprooted and then, to be develop mechanism to prevent from happening again.

South Sudan as a nation not only in problems but it has problems that has taken sharp of politics and therefore, to address these very problems; it must be address through political means but from the root causes. The roots are what matters if we have to find solutions to our national problems.

We have widely been taken into believe that, the current political crisis started with alleged coup plot that happened on the eve of December 15th, 2013 which resulted in assumed massacre of 20,000 Nuer tribesmen by the tribal militia forces of president Salva Kirr in Juba alone

However, we cannot start to address the current political crisis from there - because the event of December 2013 can still be said as effects, and not the cause of our problems.

The real problems of our nation that become the causes of the current political crisis are four folded, such as:-

1. Tribalism
2. Military Dictatorial rule which is resulted in bad governance and rule of law
3. Corruptions, and
4. Lack of social services

These problems mentioned above which we identified as major causes of contemporary national political crisis, are not only affecting ordinary citizens but also some vast cadres of the ruling party (SPLM); whereas those affected cadres of the ruling party started to feel it and demanded first, for internal democracy within the party so as to create space for meaningful internal

changes – to achieve national changes – through addressing the problems of tribalism, dictatorship, corruptions and lack of social services. However, the demands by those cadres of the SPLM seem to be also impossible to some extent because those very cadres who turn to be demanding for internal democracy for meaningful changes within the party, to some extent are the very people that contributed to these problems. In this regard, it all sounds like a game of blame in order to win, or game of minds to accent for personal interests on expense of others within the system.

This resulted in internal difference, and conflicts of interests between the top cadres of the SPLM, reshuffle of cabinet again for political interests of few, and sucking of the Vice President of Republic, Dr Riek Machar by the President of the Republic, Salva Kiir in 2013. These events are due to internal power struggle as for some, it is all about sustaining themselves into power, or to accent to power. In this regard, there was, and is nothing there as national interests than simple individual interests using national platform.

Due to that, the relationship between the top cadres remained soar and what seem to be internal political business of the political party (SPLM), turned faster on tribal lines as well tribal alliances and then into what is widely stated as coup plot on the night of 15th, December 2013.

It is difficult to prove whether the said failed coup plot happened or not, but the fact is that;-

1. There was attempted to disarm Nuer tribesmen within the ranks and structures of the Presidential Protection Unit by Dinka Tribesmen and then,
2. There was resistance by Nuer tribesmen to comply with disarmament order which resulted in military confrontation between the two tribesmen within the Barracks – whereas the Nuer tribesmen were defeated.

The consequence of the said alleged failed coup plot is the assumed massacre of Nuer tribesmen in Juba by Dinka tribesmen that promoted the Nuer tribesmen within the ranks and structure of the SPLA under overall command of Lt. General Peter Gatdiet to revolt and declare war on SPLM regime under President Salva Kirr.

But then, the alleged Juba massacre cannot be taken as real problems for the current crisis – because these are not the causes of various rebellions against the SPLM regime. the real problems are these that already stated above – whereas, President Salva Kirr cannot take all the blame and responsibilities for every messes of the South Sudan Government of SPLM that stanch current national political crisis; in fact, it is a collective making whereas some of those now claiming to be saints and have armed themselves against the very leadership of Salva Kirr, contributed and are part of the problems of dictatorship, corruptions, tribalism and lack of social services that South Sudan is facing – who, because of their individuals selfish interests for power, is claiming to be saint – fighting against what they had constructed.

The Implication of the contemporary political crisis on the Nation

The danger of any situation is measured by its implications on the local populations – that directly or indirectly affects the lives of those facing the situations. Every political crisis has its implications on populations and therefore, political crisis is actual humanitarian crisis because it imposes threats on both individual and collective rights – thus, every approaches needs to be considered to address it as fast as possible before it is too late.

Though we believe that, south Sudan has been in political crisis even before the birth of Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 until now, as there had been armed revolts one after another; but this current political crisis can be worse because it is widely spreading in every part of the Nation and its' implications are:-

- 1) **General insecurity and Massive displacement:** - the ongoing crisis has caused major human insecurity directly from the warring factions and indirectly from lack of services whereas it has displaced about a million people while leaving over two millions with less food, unclean water and no social services such health and education.
- 2) **Worsen economic situations:-**the country's economy is at the stage of collapsing as economic activities has stop and investments is low due to insecurity fears. The 60% of the total revenue are spent on defense rather than to provide social services and improve social infrastructures to promote socio-economic development. South Sudan's military expenditure is \$1.08bn in 2014 while the Country solely depends on oil revenue by 98% of its revenue of which, the gross oil income is \$3.38bn. After deducting \$884m in payments to Sudan for the usage of the pipeline and other fees and another deduction of \$781m repayments of loan to donors and international financiers, Juba remains only with \$1.715 billion from oil revenues and spending \$1.08 billion

on defense means the country remained with only 0.076 which is about 40%. We spend much of defense while leaving the general population without services and there are no any infrastructure developments to enhance socio-economic development and recovering.

- 3) **Prolongation of military dictatorial reign:-** South Sudan as a nation is supposedly to carry out her first post independent general elections where people can freely chose leaders of their choice – should the election be free and fair – which would have at least with foreseen pictures bring an end to military dictatorial rules and entrust the nation to democratic leadership, that will uphold democratic principles; to enhance good governance and rule of law, to protect and defend the rights of citizens in both administrative, legislative and social services providence arena.

This could have brought an end to the sufferings of the vast populations of this nation. But due to the contemporary political crisis; democratic system of regime change is total ruled out as the term of this military dictatorial, tribal and corrupt regime of unified SPLM under collective leadership of Salva Kirr and Riek Machar is prolonged for another three years. The prolongation of the term of unified SPLM through the act of Compromised Peace Agreement imposed by IGAD is like prolongations of the sufferings of south Sudanese under this regime for another three years – which we cannot accept it by what so ever circumstance.

How to resolve the contemporary political crisis,

Today, we have total misconstrued the real problems of South Sudan and as a result, we have developed unrealistic means -that will not resolve these problems and bring sustainable peace and stability for south Sudanese. The ongoing efforts of International Community and every concerned parties won't yield any sustainable fruits because we seem to have taken into a believe that, the problems that brought South Sudan into crisis are internal problems of the SPLM family between SPLM-IG, SPLM-IO and SPLM-FD while forgetting that, the real problems are the problems that ordinary citizens have against the SPLM; because these three SPLM Families are the manufactures of South Sudan's problems such as Dictatorship, Corruption, Tribalism, lack of Social Services Deliverance/ National Development as well discrimination and injustices.

Therefore, even if the differences between the three SPLM families are resolved and there is meaningful power sharing deal; it won't solve the South Sudan's problems by an inch – because this will be like bringing back the same old leaders who contributed to our problems back into leadership and that won't make any changes for the nation in term of improving on odd policies and practices that are affecting the nation today. If they have failed to address the issues that we are facing since their guerilla era until the era of being in full administrations of this Nation, – then forged their internal differences as national problems for personal interests; how can we expect them to address these problems now? The questions are:

- Whether they have changed so as to change policies and practices that they once constructed, which are facing us as a nation today, and
- Whether resolving the internal problems of the SPLM will resolve our national problems?

There no possibility that, the IGAD-Plus imposed peace agreement will bring sustainable peace that we demands because it seem to be focusing more on addressing the internal problems of the SPLM as political organizational as well few individual politicians on the expense of the South Sudan as a Nation.

We hold on strong believe that, solutions to our problems may temporary depends on urgent change of the systems which may require change of national leadership so as to create space for pure democratic transformations to enhance, good governance and rule of law, sustainable peace and development – which is total parallel to IGAD-Plus approaches. In this regards, the SPLM-IG and SPLM-IO plus the SPLM-DF Peace agreement will not resolve the crisis in South Sudan because it never seeks to address matters of interests that will bring meaningful Peace and stability in South Sudan, but satisfactory of the selfish desires of individual leaders and SPLM as organization, whose ambitions is power, rather than the will, and interest of South Sudanese; while the nation at large has case of unhappiness against them.

We as REMNASA believes that, the current national crisis is not only the problem of SPLM amongst themselves as party that is wreaking sufferings of our people, but also problems of south Sudanese at large against the SPLM who have now reached their selfish agreement with reason of, to continue to rule.

REMNASA believes that, in order to find durable solution to our National problems in peaceful means through round table as well, to put the Country on true democratic path; this may involves:-

- 1) **The isolations of the SPLM regime;** SPLM is a dishonest political organization which never engages in any meaningful negotiation with any opponents. It has never done so with various regimes in Khartoum during bush struggle as well it never done so with past armed organizations revolted against its administration during its' guerilla era and even after the signing of CPA as ruling party of the Republic of South Sudan; thus even the Compromised Peace Agreement was never reached in good faith, but simple imposition of IGAD-Plus on them.

As matter of facts, since Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in 2005 and until South Sudan became an Independent Country; there have been many rebellions

against SPLM regime and instead of engaging into meaningful regime change with any of the past rebels, it dodges negotiation and foiled most of these rebels with amnesties, which is not the way to address the national crisis knowing for the very fact that; rebels are not criminals but patriotic citizens whose acts of rebellion are motivated goodwill to protect popular interests of the people – in a situation where the Government becomes criminal – like the government of SPLM today.

SPLM leaders never reached this peace agreement in good faith – hence this Peace agreement will not address any of our nation problems; so the unified regime of SPLM must be isolated by the International Community on diplomatic fronts, and it should not be availed any military and economical supports. In fact, travel and as financial sanctions must be imposed on identified leaders who had contributed indirectly or directly for causes the south Sudan's crisis for their own individual interests.

2) The engagement of all political parties as well civil society organizations in negotiation process to ensure meaningful peace deal that everyone will be happy with it. As matter of fact, the current peace agreement is not aimed to address the real problem of south Sudan but to address the internal problem of the SPLM as political party that resulted from lack of internal democracy and political corruption. Therefore, this peace agreement signed by the three SPLM families (SPLM-IG, SPLM-IO and SPLM-FD) is useless as it remain peace agreement without roadmap since it is not only the these three SPLM's factions that has problem amongst themselves, but the majority of the people of South Sudan that has the real problems with them.

In this regard, there is strong need to call on new peace talks between the unified SPLM and every political faction's as well civil society institutions so as to represent the real

needs of the people from every angle and to reason together so as to reach common ground that will not only produce peace, but sustain it too. If anyone with problem is engaged in direct peace talks then if peace is reached, everyone can recognize it and work to sustain it.

3) Dissolution of the regime of the day (SPLM) and replacing it with broad based Multi-party Government:

We hold on believe that, the only way forward is the dissolution of the regime of SPLM and the establishing a broad based multi- system; without the current President of the Republic of South Sudan, Salva Kiir, as well the rebel leader Dr. Riek Machar because:-

- a. Any government with the two leaders (Kiir and Riek in leadership) under unified SPLM will be none productive; due to fact that, peace has never been brought by dictators and men who believe in military and tribal supremacy like the two prodigal politicians, and their followers.
- b. The mandate of the unified SPLM regime whereas both Kiir and Riek is part of, has expired long ago on 9th July 2015 and there is no ground to sustain them in any leadership as honor of mandate of election.

We believe that, the power sharing in this multi-party government of the interim period whereas Kiir and Riek must not be part of, should not be in term of percentage by the political forces but on democratic principles of election and even if it may means that, the transitional Government will not be elective, but power sharing proposal shall be on the bases of political party dimension. Besides that, there should be clear framework that needs to be discussed upon, special for those individual who will, on the ticket of their political parties, take position in the Transitional Government of the Nation Unity. This requires that, any

person that shall take position in the transitional Government:

- a. Must be elected by their individual political parties and on the ration of region*
- b. Must be scarf in certain attributes such as Integrate, with no any corruption cases that still demand investigation for disappearing of billions of US dollars from public funds during and after the Interim period of CPA.*
- c. Must be clean of any war crime and crime against humanity during the period of the armed conflicts in the country*
- d. Must not be active military person and this means that, any person carrying military title shall be banned from any position in Transitional Government*
- e. Must be Academically competency, and hard working as well committed and service driven*
- f. Must be Nationalistic and not that which has already engaged in any form of tribal and/or regional politics of interest*

Besides these, there must be clearly defined modality for the National Transitional Government of the National Unity so as to:-

- a) Open up for true democracy and protect the democratic rights of every individuals and groups as merit by the Transition Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan that again needs to be developed. More so; Abolish*

death sentence, as death penalty is in conflict with fundamental rights of person, – especial in situation where the country has poor judiciary system, and particular where the justices system becomes pathetic and against both, individual and collective rights

- b) Ensure that, there are transparency and accountable leadership whose interests are not above the national interests, and brings the corruptly officials to justices*
- c) Ensure that, there is a free and fair justices system, which is total independent, with vast power to bring to justices any person, including the Head of State, and ensure that, everyone has access to free and fair justices system.*
- d) Ensure that, there are free and fair redistributions of Social Services and Development {SSD}, as well fair political representations and involvements of every ethnic groups in Governance, rather than only some ethnic groups - {That is to say, the transitional government of national Unity must disband tribalism and nepotism to accommodate every ethnic groups in Government systems and structures}*
- e) We must acknowledge with great profound that, Human rights is the core foundation of any past, and present liberation struggles in South Sudan; even the ongoing tribal conflicts in the country, has all its foundation on strives of various tribes to uphold their rights. Therefore, the transition Government of National Unity must have clear defined mechanisms to protect and promote human rights.*

f) Hold free and fair national elections within agreed time frame of at least two years from that date of implementation of peace agreement, whereas the national election must be under direct supervision of International Community in this regard -UN

- 4) **Extraction of unlawful foreign troops;** there must be immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign mercenaries hired by any party and then urgent need to deploy neutral warfare forces under UN to oversee the implement of the agreement, as well back the interim Government in fight against those who will attempt to cause political confusion in the country through use of military.

- 5) **Demand for justices system;** justice is medication for healing wounds caused by atrocities committed by certain organizations or individuals against innocent souls during an events. We are wounded because of actions of others and if we have to live in peace without any tensions of any kind, there is a need for justice, and to hold to accountability those involved in war crimes and crimes against humanity. This can be done through international back independent tribunal – which needs to be established to carry out systematic investigations of war crimes and crime against humanity committed during the events of the conflict and to prosecute those responsible for such war crime and crime against humanity. In this regard, the chapter of war crime and crime against humanity investigation will not only start with the current conflicts but issues of war crime and crime against humanity committed during SPLM’s guerilla warfare starting from 1993 until this moment because these are very reasons that continues to inspire conflicts as many feels like justices is denied.

- 6) **Establishment of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC):** there is a demand for the establishment of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that cannot compromise

the need for justices to ensure security, and peaceful transition, as well National healings and this shall be from grassroots levels to top

- 7) **Integration of Military Forces into one Independent National Army under Name “South Sudan Army”**: there is no way one nation will have two or four independent armed forces under various command. Therefore, there should be clear framework in regards of the integration of all military forces into one independent National Army, as well disarmament of all parties including general populations. The integration must be based on the individual soldiers’ moral, mental, physical and academic competency, as well on the ration of region so as to avoid marginalization of other regions in the national security apparatus.

The above seven points are of paramount and can be believed as best roadmap for attaining sustainable Peace and political stabilities in South Sudan.

As matter of facts;-

1. Ending the hostilities between the families of SPLM as well bring all the three families of SPLM (SPLM-IG, SPLM-IO and SPLM-FD) together to reconcile and to unity in Governance of South Sudan will not resolve the national crisis as well;
2. Calling for general elections can not resolved our problems as a Nation special in a situation where no proper democratic ground is leveled to ensure free and fairs elections. Based on South Sudan’s experiences of election rigging and political intimidations by the use of state machinery by those in power positions as it has happened in the past elections that caused armed rebellions in the Country.

3. Imposing sanctions and armed embargo will not be of any great help but will prolong conflicts that will worsen the ongoing humanitarian crisis this nation is facing because:-
 - a. We are talking of people that owns millions of dollars in cash as well in investment and whether sanctions is imposed against them, they can still earn better living as well cause them to take the little that are supposedly to be for the poor for themselves while blaming everything on sanctions.
 - b. They are the people who already armed themselves with deadly weapons – who has gigantic supporters drawn on tribal lines –with backing of some states with some specific interests in the country; thus armed embargo won't be helpful but will prolong the real war because there will never be defeat or victory just like what happened for us in the last two decades of north south civil war.

The current steps of International Community under sanatorium of IGAD- Plus can resolve the internal problem of SPLM as family but not our problems as nation; if all parties who represents the will and interests of the people from all works of life at national levels are not involved in any peace – searching means – such as roundtable – peace talks.

In summary, we would stated that; people's resolutions for armed struggle as a key when peaceful political dialogues and approaches attempted with, to restore the culture of democracy, good governance and rule of the law, and fight corruption in the Country has fails, due to lack of political will by these in power positions.

This means that, if any Peace agreement like this one between SPLM's families mediated IGAD-Plus fails to involve all political forces as it has; then the peace agreement itself will fail to address the root causes of the our national political crisis, as well

to put country on path of sustainable peace. In this regards, we must expect worse because people will have no options, but to carry on with armed struggle, in order to achieve democracy and freedom which remain the ultimate goal of any armed revolutionary struggles existed, is existing, or will exist in the South Sudan- because our struggle against the regime in Juba has its foundation on the respect for human rights, which is continuously, been violated, by the SPLA\SPLM families.

This means that, armed struggle that people resolves for in regards to situation of south Sudan is not the end, but only a mean to achieving the objectives of democracy that we the people of this great Nation, is failing to experience

Conclusion

Our problems are simple manifestations of bad leadership; we as a nation lack leaders who are visionary as well democratic to unity, and deliver services without discriminations of any forms. In this regards, the solutions to our problems will start with a need for qualitative leadership who can set the country on path - to address challenges this nation is facing - with all its 'present and future insinuation.

In fact, three out of the five south Sudanese live on less than \$3 a day; a third of children are malnourished and great number of the population does not have enough food, clean water, and with no access to proper health and education systems, as well are living under miserable condition of life. Despising the country wealthiest that would have, at least provide better serves to the all. Unfortunately, due to poor leadership, the need to develop the nation and bring basic services to the ordinary people is total forgotten. Besides these challenges, insecurity seems to getting out of hand and government has completely failed to address the problems of insecurity due to tribalism and corruption by individuals in power positions, as well lack of proper defined mechanisms by the Government for enhancement of good governance and rule of law.

These problems are the causes of our national political crisis which again are simply manufactured by lack of national, democratic and visionary leadership under the regime of SPLM. This means that, to find solutions to the problems of South Sudan, it will require us as Nation - with goodwill supports from International Community to dissolve SPLM's regime, so as to enhance better ground for the establishment of responsible, and democratically Leadership urgently.

Our problems cannot be solved through military to some extern as this may be costive on our nation. Peaceful means through meaningful dialogue between every concerned parties will be the best options - which can only be possible - if those entrusted

with the responsibilities are willingly to bring every concerned parties on roundtable at once, in the forth peace talks.