

THE COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL HEALING, PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

**Comprehensive Strategic Dimensions for Healing, Peace
and Reconciliation for all South Sudanese**

**FROM THE OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL HEALING, PEACE AND
RECONCILIATION FOR SOUTH SUDAN**

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THE WAY FORWARD

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COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL HEALING, PEACE AND RECONCILIATION FOR SOUTH SUDAN

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I. INTRODUCTION

“Behold how good it is for brethren to dwell together in unity” (Psalm 133:1)

“After the death of Moses and accession to leadership by Joshua, the nation of Israel went in and divided the land of Canaan as God had shown. Lest they forget that it was God who had helped them thus far; Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem, and called for the elders of Israel, and their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers, and they presented themselves before God” (Joshua 24:1). Joshua reminded them about their history, the victories they had won in spite of their weaknesses and more specifically, that it is God who helped them all along. Then he challenged them to choose whom they would follow, God, or idols. They chose to follow God.

Dear brothers and sisters, we are in a situation that is very close to that of the nation of Israel. Some of you are privileged to have participated in the liberation struggle right from Anyanya 1 through to the second liberation, which finally won independence for our nation.

You know very well that had it not been for our consistent trust in God, we could have given up in the face of so many difficulties. But God helped us to the end. There was great jubilation when we declared independence. And the whole world joined us in our hard-worn freedom celebration.

Brothers and sisters, it is very important that you remember that it is God who has helped this country to gain its freedom. And we attained this freedom as a united people, from the western end of Bahr el Ghazal to the eastern borders of Eastern Equatoria; from Abyei in the North to Nimule in the South.

All tribes of this country participated in the struggle. This is why it is distressing to see the very people who struggled shoulder to shoulder are now butchering each other as though they have so easily forgotten where God has taken us through. We are one body.

It is worth recalling that the people of South Sudan have been able to stand together in times of need:

- During the Anyanya 1 liberation struggle, leading to the Addis Ababa Agreement
- During the 1983-2005 liberation struggle, leading to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)
- At the time of the tragic death of our founding Father, the late Dr. John Garang de Mabior, when the whole of South Sudan was united in grief
- At the time of referendum, when even the rebel groups implemented a cease-fire so as not to undermine this important national objective
- At the time of declaration of independence, when the whole nation celebrated together
- When the Government of the Republic of South Sudan decided to shut down oil pumps and stop oil export in view of the diversion of oil by the Republic of Sudan, the whole nation supported this assertion of the nation sovereignty
- When the SPLA occupied Panthou/Heglig in response to Sudan’s aggression along the border between the two countries; the whole of South Sudan was united in its support. Even during the Jonglei Peace Conference, dealing with

divisions amongst the tribes of Jonglei State, they were united in offering to play their roles in supporting the territorial integrity of the nation and to defend South Sudan against external aggression.

Is not the healing, peace and reconciliation of our nation as important as any of the above objectives? Is it not possible for the people of South Sudan to be united once again to achieve this key national objective? Make no mistake about the gravity and importance of national healing, peace and reconciliation.

It is no exaggeration to say that we are dealing with the very future of our nation. Without reconciliation, there will be no South Sudan, or at least, it will degenerate into a failed state, with decades of conflict and misery ahead of us.

God created and placed you here in South Sudan to live together in peace and harmony. Life is meant to be shared, loving, honest, being sympathetic and comforting. The people of South Sudan are deeply religious, whether followers of Christianity, Islam or traditional religions.

It is our faith in God, which brings us together and gives us the strength and courage to heal ourselves. In my committee, people of all faith are working together to reconcile our nation, and I call on all of you to do the same. If there is no spiritual foundation, our attempts at reconciliation will be flawed and it will not succeed.

II. THE CONTEXT OF RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH SUDAN

1. Origin of Violence and Polarization

Immediately after the declaration of independence for South Sudan, on 9 July 2011, and before we could finish celebration, we hit the headlines again. But all for the wrong reasons! Hundreds were reported killed, many wounded, children and women abducted and much property, including health centres and schools damaged.

We know that this current wave of violence and dis-functionality can trace its roots to the decades of war, not only the direct war with the North, but also the way the war was pursued in the South by Southerners and between Southerners. The enemies of South Sudan used “divide and rule” tactics, setting tribe against tribe, brother against brother, and sister against sister.

During the early years of the struggle when the leaders of the liberation fighters were still struggling to establish an organized and coherent movement, and in events following the tragic split in our liberation movement in 1991, we again saw division. The time has now come to rediscover our nationalism, putting aside these artificially created divisions.

2. Reconciliation Initiatives

Our President has said time and again that the time for war is over and never again should the brothers and sisters of South Sudan go to war against each other. He is calling on each one of us to take up our personal responsibility to consolidate the pace of building the foundation of a strong and vibrant nation of South Sudan where all of us can be proud to live together as citizens.

The President is saying that enough is enough. Let us not dwell on the past, but let us recognize it and tell its story in order to move into the future, to build our new country. This country is a gift to us from God. What will be our legacy decades from now?

As our President said in his opening speech to the National Legislative Assembly on April 23, 2013:

“As we endeavour to achieve true peace and prosperity, we must learn to reconcile our differences for the betterment of our nation. I believe that a process to address reconciliation is indeed imperative for this country. We must work to heal the wounds created during our long struggle for independence and equality. We must work together to build a nation worthy of the sacrifice of our many martyrs and innocent victims. As President, this is one of my priorities for this young nation. But we must create an inclusive and people driven process in order to achieve true reconciliation.”

We cannot have fellowship without forgiveness, reconciliation and healing. We need to exercise mercy towards each other. Now is the time to stand together as a nation, as we have done before when the need is great.

Our President is calling on us:

- to offer the opportunity for each other to come and reason together
- to seek the healing of our wounds inflicted over the long years of war
- for us to find how to rebuild social trust which we have lost over the years
- for the restoration of broken relationships through involvement and active participation of all our people

It is our responsibility to build and bestow a sense of collective responsibility to our children and future generations. Forgiveness is painful but it is the bitter pill we need. We have to swallow our pride for the sake of the survival of our young nation. The pride of tribe, of clan, of class, of creed, of political party, and of personal ambition must not obscure the focus on the future of our nation.

This is our opportunity to talk to each other, starting from ourselves, our families, homes, villages, bomas, payams, counties, states, and up to the national level, to ensure we all participate in this process of national healing and reconciliation.

We have to recognize that we have wounded ourselves through cattle stolen from each other, abducted children and women, land grabbed; we have killed and wounded one another and destroyed our own property. We have spawned a culture of violence, corruption, nepotism, and inequity. We cannot continue this way. Enough is enough!

In this process, we have to judge ourselves. We have the opportunity to come up with the solution to our problems in order to bring about healing, peace, forgiveness and reconciliation. We are responsible for living peacefully and projecting a better image of our country among the family of nations.

Let us show that we can govern ourselves and solve our differences amicably without resorting to violence. In this process, we shall look beyond the present challenges facing our nation and I am appealing for your personal commitment to contribute as honestly as you can to the building of our nation.

I wish to thank the President and Vice President for initiating this process at this time. The timing could not be any better! Following the essential preparatory work done under the auspices of the Vice President, the President has now given me and my team, the responsibility to lead the nation in the process of healing, peace and reconciliation, sharing our feelings, confessing our failures, disclosing our doubts, admitting our fears and acknowledging our weaknesses.

The Bible says that if we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we can have fellowship with one another (1 John 1:7). We are committed to ensure that we work out our share of responsibilities, mutual accountability, encouragement and service. We have to do this with great respect for one another.

Remember that His Excellency, the President is calling on you to understand yourself, to build your nation and to share each other's problems. He is calling on you at this point of crisis, grief and doubt to recognize that we need each other more than we appear to realize. As Archbishop Desmond Tutu once said, "there is no future without forgiveness".

God has indeed spoken to us through his word and through our departed and current leaders. He reminds us in this way:

"...I will restore the crushed spirit of the humble and revive the courage of those with repentant hearts" (Isaiah 57:14-15). Let us heed God's word, humble ourselves before him, and before one another, for the healing and prosperity of our nation.

III. VISION AND MISSION

1. Vision

- To envision a society that collectively confronts individual, communal, and state abuses and human rights violations; clarifies and reconciles its divisive history to ensure the stories of all ethnic communities are represented; upholds the integrity and rights of all individuals including women, children and youth; reconciles South Sudanese in the diaspora with South Sudanese at home; and builds a new public culture characterized by inclusive governance, transparency, accountability, rule of law, and dialogue. The vision is inspired by ongoing consultations for a modern, strong, politically stable, socially inclusive and united South Sudan, where citizens are proud of and uphold their national values for the common good.

2. Mission

- Establishing and strengthening an independent and inclusive platform and mechanism to collectively address the root causes of conflicts in South Sudan; building bridges across the political and social divides; healing and reconciling all South Sudanese, particularly those with the most severe physical and psychological scars; resolving all war-induced community conflicts; and document and establish community narratives of the war and the respective healing and reconciliation journeys.

IV. CORE VALUES

The National Program for Healing, Peace and reconciliation is guided by the following core values: i) Pluralism, ii) Inclusivity, iii) Peacemaking, iv) Social Justice, v) Forgiveness, vi) Healing, vii) Atonement, and viii) Sovereignty.

CORE VALUES	CHARACTREISTICS
<p>1. PLURALISM: ❖ <i>Pluralism means that we seek unity in the midst of diversity.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pluralism as an existential reality vs. a principle or core value. • Ethnic and cultural diversity should be seen as a gift from God: to be a blessing, to be part of the richness of human experience, and to be celebrated. • Pluralism means that we show respect for distinctives, while we focus on the basis for common ground. • Pluralism requires the defining of a common ground, a common set of core values.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We must be honest in saying that diversity has its limits, which must be defined by every society in terms of the range of tolerable deviation from the norm.
<p>2. INCLUSIVITY:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Compassionate inclusion means that we seek to overcome hostility by the practice of unconditional love toward others, including one's enemies</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compassionate inclusion involves distinct moral choices on how we relate to "the other." • Compassionate inclusion requires a willingness on our part to confront our own hostility toward "the other." • In confronting people and groups who are different than ourselves, in terms of ethnicity, class, culture religion or political ideology there are three basic postures that involve distinct moral choices. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The first posture is exclusion. Exclusion means driving "the other" from our midst by means of social ostracism, economic injustice or ethnic cleansing. ○ The second posture is tolerance. Tolerance is a veiled form of indifference. It means "putting up" with the other even when in our hearts their presence is an irritation or imposition. ○ The third posture is inclusion or embrace, which is based on agape or unconditional love. • Love as a principle: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ In the language of the New Testament, there are three Greek words for love. ○ Philia means friendship or affection within families. ○ Epithumia means passion or love between sexes. ○ Agape means charity, compassion, and self-giving love. It is unconditional love. ○ Agape is meant to be a principle by which we deliberately live. ○ Agape has to do with the mind and the will rather than the emotions or the passions. ○ Agape means reaching into the world of the other person to understand, appreciate and value them.
<p>3. PEACEMAKING:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Peacemaking means that we seek the peaceful resolution of conflicts between individuals and groups.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The peaceful resolution of conflicts has three goals: to end the hostilities, bring about a resolution of the issues, and facilitate a restoration of relationships. • Communities and nations are made-up of weak, fallible, broken human beings, who have an inherent tendency toward conflict. It is part of our human nature. Therefore, it is assumed

	<p>that conflict is an ever-present reality when individuals or communities take sovereignty into their own hands. It is fruitless, unproductive and naïve to ask, “How do we avoid conflict?” Instead, we should be asking, “How do we resolve conflict, by violence of words and swords or by peaceful means?”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In a sense, we don’t want to avoid conflict. Conflict is a healthy expression of wrestling with differences. • Conflict is an opportunity to go deeper in a relationship.
<p>4. SOCIAL JUSTICE:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Faith-based social justice means that we seek the common good through transformation of the soul of a community.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social justice is the bedrock of any community or nation that seeks to be free of resentment and broken relationships. • There can be no reconciliation without social justice. • Social justice is inherently tied to issues of privilege, land and economics. • Faith-based social justice means that there is a moral grain to the universe established by God which governs human relationships and structures. • Social justice transcends political philosophy and asks the question “What is the common good?” • Faith-based social justice involves a transformation of the soul of a community
<p>5. FORGIVENESS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Forgiveness means that we exercise forgiveness and repentance as individuals and communities to create the possibility of a better future together.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forgiveness is the cornerstone to healing relationships between individuals and communities. • It is a volitional act of giving up anger and resentment and extending pardon to an offending party. • The act of forgiveness cannot be earned and is not deserved by the offending party. • Forgiveness sets an individual, community or nation free from the burden of anger, pain, hatred, resentment and the desire for revenge. • Forgiveness is powerful; it changes lives and transforms societies by releasing them from the wounds of the past.
<p>6. HEALING:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Healing means that we seek to heal the</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Healing wounded communities and nation is a spiritual and socio-political process that addresses painful historical memories with an

<p><i>wounds of history through acknowledgement of suffering and injustice.</i></p>	<p>eye toward acknowledgement, grieving, repentance, justice and forgiveness.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective identity is meant by God to create a sense of dignity and belonging for each of us. At the same time it also creates a sense of “otherness” in terms of those who differ in race, ethnicity, culture, language, religion or political ideology. • The concept of collective identity has important implications in the interpretation and understanding of history. Sometimes people experience and internalize wounds not because they represent a point of personal offense, but because they arise out of their identification with a particular ethnic, social or religious group.
<p>7. ATONEMENT:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Atonement means that, ultimately reconciliation is the process of finding peace with God.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To be human is to possess spirituality. • To be human is to be on a spiritual quest or journey toward a deeper understanding of three basic questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ where did I come from? ○ why am I here? ○ where am I going? • This experience is known as spiritual hunger. • To be human is to experience a fundamental alienation, which is at the core or essence of the human predicament; the experience of alienation from God, self and others. • Atonement is the process of becoming a person of faith by finding peace with God that leads to transformation of the person.
<p>8. SOVEREIGNTY:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Acknowledging God’s sovereignty is the bedrock of the faith-based perspective.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Orientation toward the divine is the heart of the faith-based worldview. • Faith-based perspective assumes that acknowledging God’s sovereignty is the dividing line between a sacred and secular worldview. • God as supreme authority over people, communities and nations. • Divine providence or intervention in human affairs. • The basis for unity.

V. OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES OF ACHIEVING THE MISSION

South Sudan's long track records of successive initiatives, combined with deep and fresh emotional wounds from the civil war suggest that the road to national healing, peace and reconciliation will be difficult. There are however, opportunities on which any attempt at reconciliation should be anchored. This framework will base its strategies on reducing the challenges while harnessing the opportunities to ensure that South Sudan this time around, achieves genuine and sustainable reconciliation

1. Opportunities

- a) **Growing Public Demand:** Public aversion to the return to war and continued international support to the consolidation of peace in South Sudan are strong conditions, which make the attainment of the vision for reconciliation plausible in South Sudan. The desire to heal and move on, rather than being fixated in the past, is strength common to most South Sudan ethnic communities. Reconciliation can better thrive in such a context, where there is the eagerness to put the past to rest and embrace the future;
- b) **Presence and Experience of a Robust Civil Society Sector:** South Sudan's civil society organizations have made remarkable contributions to peace during the long conflict history. Local churches under the umbrella of the Sudan Council of Churches (SCC) and the New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) initiated mediation between the parties and provided the blueprint for peace. The women's movements also played a pivotal role in ending the civil war and advocating for structural transformation.

These groups have attained technical skills and built international networks that, if harnessed, can effectively ensure the implementation of the programs to be derived from the framework. The cross-religious and ethnic composition of civil society organizations is a critical platform for dialogue and reconciliation across ethnic and religious divides.

- c) **Ongoing Institution Building Efforts:** South Sudan has made considerable progress in institution building including strengthening the justice and rule of law sector. These foundations if strengthened to be more inclusive can provide the basis for sustainable reconciliation in South Sudan.

The above opportunities (not exhaustive) intermingled with the following challenges and obstacles that must be removed to maximize the opportunities.

2. Challenges

- a) **Lack of consensus on the definition and vision for peace and reconciliation:** There are strong competing notions and visions for peace building and reconciliation, which make it difficult to arrive at a consensus on what constitutes peace building and reconciliation in South Sudan. Without a broad consensus on what makes for peace building and reconciliation, it is difficult to craft a national peace-building and reconciliation vision and roadmap. Political interests and historical grievances drive some of the conceptions and it will take sustained dialogue between groups to arrive at a consensus and set our country on the path of healing, peace and reconciliation. The framework recognizes this challenge as integral to the search for reconciliation.
- b) **Generalized trauma and impunity:** The string of political violence and disruptions in the history of South Sudan as well as the nature of the violations during the civil war have contributed to deep and widespread psychological trauma across all communities in South Sudan. Most communities are stuck in the past and are desperate to find closure. It will take a long process for deeply traumatized societies to heal and recover. While this framework does not make

- full healing a precondition for reconciliation, it recognizes that without some measures of psychosocial healing, individuals and their communities will find it difficult to move on and to establish civic and social trust critical to recovery.
- c) **Lack of peace building and reconciliation champions:** In most societies the success of national healing, peace building and reconciliation depends, to a large extent, on a moral and inspiring leadership with the capacity and courage to convene conflicting and estranged communities. South Sudan's polarized political culture, further fragmented and made even more hostile during the war years, has left the country without strong reconciling and moral authority that could play a convening role for healing and reconciliation.
 - d) **Acrimonious and hostile politics:** Trust among political leaders has eroded as manifested during the 21 years of war, with political leaders referring to one another with dehumanizing names. There is also an erosion of trust between political leaders and the public.
 - e) **Presence of leaders of the war:** Still with us are former faction leaders and key supporters who hold leadership positions. In some communities the command structures from the war are seemingly intact and local government structures remain those created out of coercion during the war. In such context where the logic of the violation was to entrench impunity, it is difficult for victims to reclaim their voice, confront their perpetrators, and together heal and embrace a new future. This factor is not only the most difficult obstacle to reconciliation; it complicates the restoration of justice, rule of law, and security.
 - f) **Limited capacity:** Reconciliation in South Sudan is complex and it will require combination of skills, technical and financial resources as well as strong and coherent institutional environment to thrive. These resources are in limited supply in South Sudan. Extensive training and resource mobilization will be required to ensure the efficient and effective implementation of this framework.

VI. DEFINITION OF HEALING, PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

The term "reconciliation" generally refers to a process of addressing past abuses and conflict root causes; healing traumas from mass violence; rebuilding broken relationships as well as institutions to sustain reconciliation gains. In the case of South Sudan, what constitutes healing, peace and reconciliation is in itself contested, giving the multiple definitions and positions on reconciliation.

This National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation defines reconciliation as *a multi-dimensional process of overcoming social, political, and religious divides and mending and transforming relationships; healing the physical and psychological wounds from the war; and confronting and addressing historical and structural injustices, particularly conflict root causes, including ethno-politics, inter-ethnic, religious, social, and regional exclusion, corruption and impunity as well as human rights violations.* It is a process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future.

Genuine peace building and reconciliation in South Sudan must usher in a new and reconciled beginning. This should be facilitated by public acknowledgement and accounting for individual and collective responsibilities; offering public apology where necessary; committing to the short and long-term reparation of victims and their communities; addressing ongoing ethnic and land-based conflicts. It must ensure policies and actions are conflict sensitive and deliberately seeking to foster social cohesion and equity in service provision.

The National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation also will extend the scope of healing, peace and reconciliation beyond South Sudan, to include

South Sudan's Diaspora communities. Some of our communities in the diaspora are perhaps more fragmented and traumatized than the resilience of those who remained in the scene during the war period.

The National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation will identify and collaborate with capable and resilient security and justice and rule of law sectors, social and economic infrastructures, and economic growth as enablers for sustainable peace building and reconciliation. These are not in themselves peace building and reconciliation.

Peace building and reconciliation begins with confronting and ensuring redress for wrongs and violations committed at a historical juncture of our society. Bypassing this first step in pursuit of economic growth and development, urgent and important as they are, often establishes post-war societies on shaky or feeble grounds, where wounds fester and the risk of violence recurrence is higher.

At this juncture we applaud the foresightedness of both the President and the Vice President of the Republic of South Sudan, for instituting the agenda for National Healing, Peace and Reconciliation in a time such as this. The French author Victor Hugo once said that there is nothing quite so powerful as an idea whose time has come. Faith-based reconciliation is an idea whose time has come.

While reaffirming that genuine peace building and reconciliation cannot be achieved without justice, the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation will emphasize social interaction and restorative justice, as not only the plausible form of justice in the short-to-medium term, but also invaluable to restoring South Sudan's broken society.

Reparation or restorative justice here means a comprehensive and inclusive process whereby individuals, groups, institutions and the larger society, directly or indirectly affected by violent acts in the war and before, engage in dialogue to establish the 'truths'; accept individual, institutional, and collective responsibilities; resolve and repair past wrongs; and chart a new and shared future, with the firm commitment to 'never again'. It is also about social justice where all members of the South Sudan society have equal and fair access to social services, including health and education, as well as economic opportunities.

The pursuit of restorative justice, however, does not preclude retributive and reparation mechanisms. Programs derived from the work of National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation will not serve as substitute nor interfere with any future endeavour to establish special courts for legal redress where necessary.

Ideally, a reconciliation process involves five interwoven and related strands, and these are:

1. ***Developing a shared vision of an interdependent and fair society:*** The development of a vision of a shared future requiring the involvement of the whole society, at all levels. Although individuals may have different opinions or political beliefs, the articulation of a common vision of an interdependent, just, equitable, open and diverse society is a critical part of any reconciliation process. As John Mbiti, an African philosopher once said, "I am, because we are." In other words, as Africans, and indeed as South Sudanese, somehow, our identity should anchor on our interdependence.
2. ***Acknowledging and dealing with the past:*** Acknowledging the hurt, losses, truths and suffering of the past. Providing the mechanisms for justice, healing, restitution or reparation, and restoration (including apologies if necessary and steps aimed at redress). To build reconciliation, individuals and institutions need

to acknowledge and take responsibility for the wrongs of the past, accepting and learning from it in a constructive way so as to guarantee non-repetition.

3. **Building positive relationships:** Relationship building or renewal, following violent conflict, addressing issues of trust, prejudice, intolerance in this process, resulting in accepting commonalities and differences, and embracing and engaging with those who are different to us.
4. **Significant cultural and attitudinal change:** Changes in how people relate to, and their attitudes towards, one another. The culture of suspicion, fear, mistrust and violence is broken down and opportunities and space opened up in which people can hear and be heard. A culture of respect for human rights and human difference is developed, creating a context where each citizen becomes an active participant in society and feels a sense of belonging.
5. **Substantial social, economic and political change:** The social, economic and political structures, which gave rise to the conflict and estrangement are identified, reconstructed or addressed, and transformed.

VII. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF HEALING, PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

Bearing in mind the above definitions and the various processes, this section elaborates the priorities, and strategies, including conceptual framing, and outcomes and outputs. It also presents a framework for monitoring and evaluation of the various components.

The National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation aims to achieve three inter-related goals:

1. Transforming individual, community and societal mindsets;
2. Rebuilding and strengthening inter-group relations; and
3. Dismantling and replacing polarizing institutions with more inclusive institutions as safeguard for 'never again'.

Seeking to align with the country's National Vision, the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation will develop thirteen inter-related components, framed as indicated below, to confront the legacies of the past, manage the present, and forge a shared and reconciled future. This strategy is also informed by ongoing and past reconciliation efforts including the most recent one, which was chaired by the Vice President of the Republic of South Sudan.

Whereas some sequencing may be necessary in the implementation of the strategies, the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation argues that successful and sustainable peace building and reconciliation is guaranteed when all components are comprehensively addressed. This may entail both simultaneous and sequential actions across time and space.

The National Program for healing, Peace and Reconciliation also argues that ongoing national and state transformation initiatives including the provision of basic social services, decentralization of governance, constitutional, security sector, and justice and rule of law reforms, as well as the modernization of the national legislature, will provide enabling conditions for the attainment and sustainability of peace and reconciliation in South Sudan. Below are the 13 thematic components of healing, peace and reconciliation for all South Sudanese:

Accounting for the Past (Looking Back)	Managing the Present (Looking Within)	Planning for the future (Looking Forward)
1. Community-based Truth-telling, Atonement & Psychosocial Recovery 2. Memorialization 3. Reparation 4. Diaspora and Reconciliation	5. Political Dialogue 6. Inter-ethnic Reconciliation 7. Conflict Prevention and Mediation 8. Women’s Recovery and Empowerment 9. Children and Youth Recovery and Empowerment 10. Social Cohesion	11. Inclusive People’s History 12. National Vision and Collective Identity 13. Transformative Education System

The 13 components described (below) intend to achieve the goals of the vision and mission of the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation, building on the ongoing and past efforts in promoting national healing and reconciliation and the overall vision for a united, peaceful and economically prosperous South Sudan. The rationale, strategic outcomes, and core outputs proposed are described in this section.

1. **Community-based Truth-telling, Atonement, and Psychological Recovery:** A vicious cycle of the civil war in South Sudan was the targeting for destruction, local community safety nets and social norms and values. Considering the scale of the crimes and the conditions of peace, the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation will make use of the Grassroots Reparation Mechanisms (GRM) and transitional justice mechanism, to redress, atone for, heal, and resolve community conflicts incurred in the wake of the civil war—taking into consideration the protection of victims and fundamental human rights of all members of the community. The objective is to promote community based healing and reconciliation as the foundation for social cohesion and national unity.
2. **Political Dialogue:** South Sudan’s political landscape is deeply polarized and this undermines rebuilding of the state and national unity. This component will focus on establishing platforms for dialogue to resolve perceived or real grievances among political leaders; transform constitutional and other institutional structures and history that entrench socio-political estrangement; and reframe the polity of the state. The aim is to restore civic trust and facilitate reconciling leadership and inclusive politics.
3. **Inter-ethnic Reconciliation:** South Sudan’s inter-ethnic conflicts including land disputes escalated to more complex and violent heights after the civil war. Building on ongoing government and civil society efforts to resolve these conflicts and rebuild inter-ethnic and inter-tribal relations, this component will deepen dialogue on the root causes and mutual abuses and violations that took place between groups during and after the war.
4. **Shared National Vision:** The National Visioning exercise, which is already underway, aims to transform South Sudan into a reconciled, viable and prosperous nation in shortest period possible. This component aims to build on the reconciliation pillar of the visioning process. It will foster the building of strong unified national identity that embraces the narratives, symbols, and aspirations of all ethnic communities.
5. **Diaspora and Reconciliation:** South Sudanese in the Diaspora have played a pivotal role throughout the history of the conflict and civil war as well as the post-war reconstruction efforts at home. There’s much political awakening amongst South

Sudanese in the Diaspora. The war has contributed to the sharp increase in the Diaspora community from different sides of the divide. The Diaspora communities remain active in South Sudan's political landscape. In order for the Diaspora community to continue to serve as a vital resource for post-war state building, there is a need to foster reconciliation and unity among them and also between the Diaspora communities and those in South Sudan.

- 6. Inclusive People's History:** South Sudan is one of the few countries in Africa that lack shared national narrative from which nationhood or some form of collective identity could be derived. The country's taught history is exclusive, documenting only the Arab history from the North, now the Republic of Sudan. Reframing South Sudan's national narrative and correcting the historical wrongs is critical to the country's reconciliation. This component will build on the ongoing work and findings of the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation on the rewriting of South Sudan's history.
- 7. Memorialization:** Honouring the memory of those victimized by the civil war and institutionalizing the memory in a shared narrative of South Sudan will go a long way to heal the individual and collective wounds and foster unity. It is evident that the civil war was characterized by mass killing including massacres in communities across South Sudan. There is a need to identify and document individuals and sites among various communities. The aim of the memorialization component is to create an enabling space to humanize and honour victims of the war and document national regrets and apology for the violation they suffered. The community based memorialization process will help communities develop and own a shared and reconciling narrative as basis for community healing and recovery.
- 8. Reparation:** The civil war has left all South Sudanese with scars for life, but there are thousands others who continue to carry physical disabilities including war-related particles in their bodies. While individual reparation programs may be economically difficult, the state is obliged to address the continued physical wounds and provide for those disabled and made completely destitute by the war, in addition to community based direct and/or symbolic reparation. This component will seek to address both aims.
- 9. Children and Youth Recovery and Empowerment:** The civil war has created huge generational gaps with the vast majority of young people who lived through the war deprived of opportunities to education and social skills critical to lead productive lives. Addressing the capacity, livelihood, and political inclusion of children and young men and women is an issue for reparation, social justice, as well as an opportunity for economic growth will contribute immensely to the process of peace and reconciliation.
- 10. Women Psychological Recovery and Empowerment:** South Sudanese women were the most violated during the civil war. They were sexually violated and maimed as instrument of war. This dishonor of women brought shame to all ethnic communities and South Sudanese as a whole. In times of peace, structural inequalities including socio-economic exclusion and lack of access to economic opportunities have undermined the progress of women and girls in South Sudan. Economic empowerment of women is essential for restorative and social justice to them. In addition, to restore the soul of South Sudan, the country must publicly exonerate itself of the violations and ensure women who bear the physical and psychological scars and those who were made destitute benefit from some forms of reparation. Special attention must be paid to providing women access to economic opportunities, addressing sexual and gender-based violence that persist since the end of the war, ensure women play key role in the national reconciliation and peace building process.
- 11. Social Cohesion:** The South Sudan civil war and the long history of divisive politics and systems of governance have polarized South Sudanese communities. This dimension aims to foster intra and inter-ethnic cohesion through social, cultural, and

economic activities, including sports, cultural dances and festivals, collective community projects and the transformation of social structures that previously perpetuated polarization.

12. Conflict Prevention and Mediation: There are multiple community and land-based conflict in South Sudan since the end of the civil war. The capacity for nonviolent conflict resolution including GRM structures that once played these roles has been weakened by the civil war. Rebuilding capacities for conflict resolution and dialogue in communities will go a long way in sustaining peace and reconciliation.

13. Transformative Education System: Education is a vital resource and schools are critical environments for deepening and sustaining society's understanding and reckoning with its violent past. Schools can contribute to fostering shared future and breaking barriers between groups. It can also socialize future generation in the use of dialogue and nonviolent actions to pursue public and civic agendas. Quality education itself is a conflict prevention strategy as it promotes more enlightened problem-solving skills. This dimension will recommend that transformed South Sudanese schools and teachers as viable resources for healing, reconciliation and national unity.

VIII. LEVELS OF RECONCILIATION

While not bound to any single model of reconciliation, we will draw heavily on the tried and tested work of Mennonite Paul John Paul Lederach, who proposed a pyramid model for peace building and reconciliation, that is, Top Leadership as level number one, Middle-Range Leadership as level number two, and Grassroots Leadership as level number three.

Peace building has both horizontal and vertical dynamics. Reconciliation needs to take place within all levels, and between all levels, ensuring that there is constant interaction at every level.

The People to People Peace Process can serve as a practical example. After the 1991 split in the movement, the NSCC first attempted to reconcile the two leaders, Dr. John and Dr. Riak (high level). When this failed, NSCC went back to the grassroots. Peace and reconciliation took place between the communities on the ground. From the grassroots, the wisdom of the elders then led the NSCC to the mid-level ("We have made peace, it is our sons who are the problem now").

From there, pressure grew on the principals to make peace at high level, and at the same time NSCC and SCC entered the high-level national peace process via their Entebbe Conferences and their International advocacy.

The People to People Process also demonstrates some of the key elements of peace and reconciliation:

- The need to foster trust;
- Telling of our stories;
- The use of traditional reconciliation methods;
- Acknowledging that the community is the primary actor and must be ready to take responsibility for making peace;
- The importance of symbolism and imagery;
- A commitment to truth;
- A peace agreement that has practical measures for implementation and follow-up;
- Empowerment
- A long-term process, requiring patience and perseverance.

IX. SHORT TERM & LONG TERM ACTIVITIES

1. NATIONAL PRAYER WEEK: JULY 1-9, 2013

Activity	Date
a) Nation wide prayer and fasting week	• 1-7 July 2013
b) Muslim community in the country prays alone in their Mosques	• 5 July 2013
c) Christians pray in their various churches	• 6 July 2013
d) National Day of Prayer for South Sudan	• 8-9 JULY 2013

2. NATIONAL COMMITTEE'S VISITS TO THE TEN (10) STATES

States	Dates
a) Central Equatoria State	16-18, AUGUST 2013
b) Jonglei State	15-17, JULY 2013
c) Upper Nile State	22-24, JULY 2013
d) Unity State	25-27, JULY 2013
e) Northern Bahr El Ghazal	1-3, AUGUST 2013
f) Warrap State	4-6, AUGUST 2013
g) Western Bahf El Ghazal State	29-31, JULY 2013
h) Lakes State	7-9, AUGUST 2013
i) Western Equatoria State	12-14, AUGUST 2013
j) Eastern Equatoria State	20-22, AUGUST 2013

❖ ORIENTATION OF MEMBERS

Orientation of members of the National Reconciliation Committee is scheduled to take place at the beginning of December at Peace Village in Kuron, lasting for up to one week.

3. TRAINING OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION CHAMPIONS

The ten States are grouped into clusters of three:

Groups	State Clusters
a) GROUP #1: 150 DELEGATES (50 FROM EACH STATE)	❖ Central Equatoria, Western Equatoria, and Eastern Equatoria State • Church representation

	<p>(10)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Muslim representation (5) • Civil Society Group (5) • Women representation (10) • Youth representation (10) • Grassroots/traditional leaders (men & women) – (10)
<p>b) GROUP #2: 150 DELEGATES (50 FROM EACH STATE)</p>	<p>❖ Jonglei, Upper Nile, and Unity State</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Church representation (10) • Muslim representation (5) • Civil Society Group (5) • Women representation (10) • Youth representation (10) • Grassroots/traditional leaders (men & women) – (10)
<p>c) GROUP #3: 200 DELEGATES (50 FROM EACH STATE)</p>	<p>❖ Western Bahr El Ghazal, Northern Bahr El Ghazal, Warrap, Lakes State</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Church representation (10) • Muslim representation (5) • Civil Society Group (5) • Women representation (10) • Youth representation (10) • Grassroots/traditional leaders (men & women) – (10)

4. ACTIVITIES OF THE PEACE AND RECONCILIATION CHAMPIONS

The mobilizers will be expected to carry out the following programs:

- a) Meeting the Government authorities in the area;
- b) Meeting with traditional leaders at the grassroots levels;
- c) Meeting with women, youth, and civil society groups and church leadership;
- d) Calling for rallies in the public squares, and holding seminars;
- e) Training local mobilizers in Payams and at Boma levels.
- f) Enquire from the communities:
 - o What are the issues and problems facing their communities?
 - o What are some of the external problems facing their communities?
 - o What kind of South Sudan they want to see?
 - o How do they want to solve some of the problems they have identified, both internally and externally?

5. STATE-BY-STATE CONFERENCES

Following the mobilization exercises by our Peace and Reconciliation Champions in their respective states, the Committee for National Healing, Peace and Reconciliation will convene state-by-state conferences, to address some of the issues that have been raised in the course of mobilization processes.

6. NATIONAL CONFERENCE IN JUBA

The mobilization exercises by peace and reconciliation champions in the various States and State-by-State Conferences by the National Committee for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation will culminate into the National Conference to be held in the national capital, Juba.

7. NATIONAL RECONCILIATION COMMITTEES' SCHEDULES

While all the activities are in progress, the national high-level committee members, comprising of ten people will be seeking audiences with:

- a) The President of the Republic of South Sudan;
- b) The Vice President of the Republic of South Sudan;
- c) The Speaker of the National Legislative Assembly;
- d) Members of the National Legislative Assembly;
- e) Generals in the SPLA forces;
- f) Generals in the Police Services and other regular forces.

The National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation will also initiate meetings with all the local and international NGOs working in the Republic of South Sudan. We will also seek audience with individual citizens of South Sudan at all levels.

X. DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE AND THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT

The high-level National Reconciliation Committee of the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation is at the final stages of setting up a National Secretariat, to be headed by a General Secretary, who will be answerable to the Chairman of the National Reconciliation Committee.

Already, the National Reconciliation Committee has set up State Committees for the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation in all the ten States. The State offices will be referred to as the **Reconciliation Coordination Offices**, and the State Coordinators for the various States will be answerable to the Chairman of the respective States, who have their own State Committees for Reconciliation.

Roles of the National Secretariat, National Reconciliation Committee, and State Coordination Offices

The National Secretariat, under the leadership of the General Secretary is responsible for day to day running of the administrative office of the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation. As a technical person, the Secretary General is also charged with the responsibility of implementing the policy of the National Reconciliation Committee as well as developing training manuals for training purposes. This also applies to the State Coordination Offices in the various states.

XI. MONITORING AND EVALUATION

A monitoring and evaluation mechanism will be designed and executed by an independent institution with supervision from the advisory team of the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation, to ensure effective multi-stakeholder monitoring of activities of the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation. The institution will vet the M & E section of all programs and projects to be designed by the National Program for healing, Peace and Reconciliation. The National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation, through an open bidding process will select the independent M & E service provider. The independence of the M & E function will foster accountability and transparency in the operations of the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation.

The Independent M & E institution will provide on-site surveillance, regular feedback to implementing agencies, and facilitate financial expenditure tracking. M & E plans developed by each implementing agencies will be jointly agreed with the M & E support institution. These will also be shared with the Reconciliation Technical Advisory Committee for mutual exchange and to ensure complementarity and synergy are captured and duplication avoided. The independent M & E support institution in close collaboration with the implementing agencies will make regular overall progress report to the National Program for Healing, Peace and Reconciliation.

Conclusion

Lastly, I appeal to our citizens (and especially the media) to avoid rushing to label parts of the process as “success” or “failure”. Reconciliation is a long-term process and it will have its ups and downs. If one part of the process is seen not to be working well, lessons will have been learned and it will be redesigned.

If there is conflict or controversy, it is simply an indication of another area where reconciliation is needed. The “success” of the process will be judged by the state of the nation in five, ten or twenty years’ time, not on short-term issues. Therefore let us be patient as we move along. Let us all join hands to remove every obstacle from the way of the people of the Republic of South Sudan.

In conclusion, I want to reiterate that God has spoken to us through his word and through our fallen and current leaders. He reminds us that, “...I will restore the crushed spirit of the humble and revive the courage of those with repentant hearts” (Isaiah 57:14-15). Let us heed God’s word; humble ourselves before him, and before one another, for the healing and prosperity of our nation. (2 Chronicles 17:14).

May the peace of God rule in our hearts now and always.

Thank you and God bless you and God bless South Sudan.