

# ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

Presented to the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Convention of the Sudan People Liberation Movement

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## INTRODUCTION

1. The 2<sup>nd</sup> National Convention opens in the year of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the SPLM, and formation of our glorious people's army, the SPLA. In recalling those events, we draw inspiration from and honour the memory of all those who immensely contributed to our liberation by giving their lives and souls so that we be free. The year 2008 also marks the 3rd anniversary of the passing away of the founding father of our Movement and first commander in Chief of our Liberation Army, Dr. John Garang de Mabior who committed his entire life to the service and freedom of the people.
2. At the inception of SPLM/SPLA in 1983, we had a fundamental debate about what type of organization we were to create. We asked ourselves if it was to be an organization for Southern Sudanese struggling for separation and independence of Southern Sudan; or whether it was to be an organization providing a forum for uniting the struggles of all the marginalized peoples of Sudan and the poor in the Centre. We settled for the latter. The Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) then came into being as a liberation instrument of the marginalized and democratic elements and agent of change for building a New Sudan. Indeed, to be a member of the SPLM is to commit one's life to the service and freedom of the marginalized and oppressed peoples of the Sudan. It is to make a humble contribution to the cause of freedom, peace and prosperity in Sudan and Africa. It is to work for changing the world in favor of all our humanity.
3. The SPLM exists to unite all the marginalized peoples of Southern Sudan, Nuba Mountains / Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile, Darfur, Eastern Sudan and the Far North with the impoverished masses in the Centre to transform our country into a democratic, multi-racial, multi-cultural, non-sexist and prosperous New Sudan.
4. The SPLM exists to achieve the right to and guarantee the exercise of self-determination for the people of Southern Sudan, Abyei and the right to popular consultation for the peoples of Nuba Mountains/Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States before the end of the Interim Period.
5. After two decades of struggle, the SPLM signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with the NCP government of the Sudan in January 2005. The CPA became the basis for transition to a democratic and highly decentralized system of governance in the Sudan. The

CPA bestowed on Southern Sudan and the marginalized States in Northern Sudan unprecedented constitutional and institutional powers in the political and economic domains. It ensured the right of Southern Sudanese and other marginalized peoples to govern themselves and participate in the Government of National unity (GONU) at the National level in proportion to their population size.

6. In 2011, the people of Southern Sudan and Abyei shall vote in an internationally monitored referendum to determine their future choosing between unity and secession. This constitutes one of the great achievements by the SPLM. But the challenge remains that the SPLM is called upon to guarantee the exercise of this right by the people of Southern Sudan and Abyei in 2011. Moreover, the SPLM is required to fundamentally transform the Sudan and make its unity attractive to Southern Sudanese.
7. The Nuba and Funj peoples have struggled to achieve the right to self-determination and we in the SPLM pledged in the First National Convention to fight to help them realize that goal. But in the CPA we were only able to guarantee their right to 'popular consultation' that shall be exercised by the elected legislative assemblies of South Kordofan and Blue Nile States, sometime in 2010. The SPLM faces the challenge of winning elections in those two States to ascertain the wishes of their peoples.
8. On 16<sup>th</sup> of May 2008, we shall celebrate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the SPLM, our martyrs and founding members, especially those who are not amongst us here today. We will justly be proud of the great strides we have made in realizing their vision.
9. On our 28<sup>th</sup> birthday in 2011, we will be assessed by the future generations, who will inherit the consequences of our daily action. They will rightfully ask whether we have indeed eliminated racial discrimination, tribalism and marginalization of women in our society and fundamentally transformed the "Old Sudan"!
10. They will ask how far we have gone in building a New Sudan that is truly united in its rich diversity. They will assess the extent to which the prosperity in this country is still concentrated in one region; and whether the fruits of our struggle are the preserve of a privileged few who have taken power in their name; or whether the people do indeed share the country's wealth, which is the inheritance of all Sudanese! They will ask how widely the doors of learning and cultures have been opened to all.
11. And, in asking all these questions, they will want to know about the status of SPLM, and the kind of organization that they are about to inherit:
  - They will want to know how many of us stick to the pledge we had made upon joining the SPLM to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, for the change we have been seeking.

- They will ask us how ready and able is our movement to support the cause of women emancipation by fully implementing the 25% as resolved in the 1<sup>st</sup> National Convention; and mobilize women and take practical measures to uproot patriarchy.
- They will enquire whether we still have the capacity to unite all the peoples of Sudan especially the marginalized for the complete liberation of our country from poverty, marginalization, exploitation, discrimination, exclusion, underdevelopment and oppression.
- They will pose the question as to what contribution the SPLM is able to make during this Interim Period to implement the CPA and achieve a just peace in Darfur, voluntary unity and sustainable development of the Sudan and African continent.

12. The answers we will be able to give in 2011 will depend in large measure on how we conduct ourselves as members of SPLM in the course of this Convention.

13. At the conclusion of our 1<sup>st</sup> National Convention in Chukudum in April 1994, and in spite of the split of 1992, we reaffirmed our commitment to building the SPLM as the critical force for liberation and democratic change in the Sudan. We described ourselves as "the living bearers of an unbroken legacy of Sudanese struggles for freedom, justice and equality. After 14 years, we find ourselves seized here today by the same underlying principles, traditions, songs, slogans, spirit of activism and with the same organizational goal of those years, resonating through the venue and deliberations of our Convention at Nyakuran this week.

14. On this basis, we declared that the SPLM is united and more determined than ever to strengthen its role as the voice of the people of Sudan, an expression of the aspirations of all, particularly the marginalized Sudanese. When we signed the CPA, our late SPLM Chairman said "the Sudan shall never be the same again"! We were going to take towns to the people and not to allow our people end up in the slums of towns. We promised our people: education for their children, hospitals, clean water and good roads. In March 2005, we declared loud and clear in Nakwathom (New Site) that "this time is payback time".

15. On 8<sup>th</sup> July 2005, an SPLM delegation led by its visionary leader and founder Dr. John Garang de Mabior was welcomed by about six million person —an incredible, unprecedented sea of people turned out in Khartoum. It was a referendum on the vision of New Sudan. The Sudanese people voted with their attendance at 'EL SAHA EL KHADRA' that day for who they regarded as their leadership for a better future.

16. On the following day — 9<sup>th</sup> July 2005 —the country entered a transitional period ushering in a new constitutional order based on the CPA and Interim National Constitution (INC). Hopes were filling up the air until the tragedy befell on 30<sup>th</sup> July 2005.

17. The death of Dr John Garang de Mabior was such a great loss that the Sudanese people lost hope and shed tears like never before. At that moment friends and foes alike thought it was the end of SPLM and the vision of New Sudan. But the SPLM leadership and the command of our gallant SPLA came in unison with a single mind and heart to choose comrade Salva Kiir Mayardit as the new Chairman of SPLM and Commander-in-Chief of SPLA. The SPLM under his wise leadership lost no momentum and pursued the full implementation of CPA with the aim of building peace and achieving the democratic transformation of the Sudan.
18. Under the leadership of General Kiir, we reaffirmed the solemn pledge to abide by the principles and objectives of our Movement and remain committed to the vision of our late Chairman. We pledged to actively participate in the work of SPLM without expectation of material advantage or personal gain. We committed ourselves to work towards making the SPLM an effective instrument of liberation in the hands of the people and defending the unity, cohesion and integrity of our organization and the masses it leads.
19. At this 2<sup>nd</sup> National Convention, we have a profound and solemn responsibility, both as individual delegates and collective to ask ourselves whether we have acted over the last 14 years to realise our goals and unite the SPLM. Among the key tasks facing this convention are to:
  - Review the progress of our struggle to build a better life for all since the signing of CPA in January 2005;
  - Review the organizational challenges we have faced over the last three years and consequently assess our effectiveness as an organization to pursue the goals of national liberation and democratic transformation of the Sudan;
  - Consider how best to add our voices and energy to the efforts of making our region a better place to live in;
  - Identify the goals and objectives of the SPLM in the period leading to the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Convention and 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of SPLM in 2013;
  - Decide what is to be done to strengthen our MOVEMENT, the SPLM, so that it can achieve those goals;
  - Elect a leadership collective with the ability to lead us to the end of the Interim Period and beyond to the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of SPLM and 3<sup>rd</sup> National Convention — a leadership with the capacity to take us forward in building a caring society as we advance towards 2011 when the fate of Sudan shall be decided.
20. We will do so under the banner of this Convention: "No to War and Yes to New Sudan".

## **THE MEMBERSHIP AND STRUCTURES OF THE SUDAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT**

### **THE SPLM MEMBERSHIP**

21. The mass membership of the SPLM is our driving force to deliver a better life for all. The rights and duties of SPLM members are clearly spelled out in the Interim Basic Rules and Regulations and hereafter in the constitution that we shall adopt in this convention.
22. Over the two years we have increased our membership significantly (see tables 1&2). From several thousands of unregistered members in 2005, the membership of SPLM in both Southern and Northern Sectors has increased to more than 4,000,000. At this figure, the membership of the SPLM is larger than it has ever been.
23. The incoming National Liberation Council (NLC) may wish to set a 6-million-member organization as a goal for the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Convention.
24. On one hand, the ability to recruit and register new members is a good sign that the organization can renew itself. While on the other, the astronomic growth in membership poses serious challenges to our ability to retain and impart our vision and core values on new members.
25. There is an overriding need to ensure our structures have the ability to absorb the large number of Sudanese citizens who want to be members of the movement. Therefore, our recruitment systems must have the ability to guarantee that new members understand and are imbued by the vision, core values, and objectives of the SPLM.
26. Lack of resources and absence of a well functioning political school and training program have impaired the ability of SPLM to induct new membership. This has had serious implications on SPLM political work and social, economic and political transformation which aims to unite SPLM members around the goal of improving the lives of all in the Sudan.
27. Delays in issuing membership cards particularly at Boma and Payam levels have led new members to question the integrity of the State Secretariats. Furthermore, there have been a lot of complaints about screening process of new applicants. There are cases where members of other political parties and security personnel obtained cards while committed members failed to do so.
28. In some instances, SPLM leaders at various levels have been biased towards certain candidates inflating or manipulating registration to influence internal elective processes.

## SPLM Membership per State

**Table 1: Registered Members in Southern Sector States**

<b>Sate</b>	<b>Number of counties</b>	<b>Number of payams</b>	<b>Number of Bomas</b>	<b>Number of delegates</b>	<b>Total registe Members</b>
Northern Bahr El Ghazal	5	42	459	1,050	579,709
Western Bahr El Ghazal	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Warap	6	50	122	----	-----
Lakes	8	50	157	267	232,562
Upper Nile	12	77	665	504	269,790
Unity States	9	66	300	1,152	1,156,481
Jonglei	11		69	270	250,000
Western Equatoria	10	48	174	255	180,891
Eastern Equatoria	8	51	274	700	909,241
Central Equatoria	6	46	180	849	312,403
South Kordofan	13	-----	-----	-----	-----
Blue Nile	6	42	559	420	301,514

**Table 2: Registered SPLM Members in Northern Sector Secretariat**

<b>Sate</b>	<b>Number of Counties</b>	<b>Number of Payams</b>	<b>Number of Bomas</b>	<b>Number of delegates</b>	<b>Total registe Members</b>
Khartoum	7	43	272	96,496	
El Gezira	7	42	574	45,056	
Kassala	10	32	154	18,089	
Gedarif	7	32	447	40,716	
Northern State	4	36	245	17,774	
Northern Kordofan	9	36	278	5,536	
Sinnar	6	21	154	14,585	
Red Sea	8	25	266	4,645	
White Nile	8	25	447	23,800	
Nile River	6	19	79	8,450	
Northern Darfur	14	24	-----	60,860	
Western Darfur	15	33	-----	75,250	
Southern Kordofan	9	45	-----	86,500	
<b>Total</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>2,916</b>	<b>419,707</b>	

### **SPLM political work at Boma, Payam, County and State levels**

28. The strength of SPLM is underpinned by the popular support it receives from all communities across the Sudan. Hence, SPLM presence at the Boma level is critical as it constitutes the primary vehicle for maintaining and enhancing the mass characteristics of our movement.
29. The strength of a Boma should be measured against its role in mobilizing communities around issues of local transformation and development and its capacity to remain in dynamic contact with communities in a state of constant mobilization.
30. As a result of recent mobilization and reorganization of SPLM structures, over 5000 Boma offices were established. These offices need to be empowered so as to carry out a range of functions, including:
- (a) Remaining in constant touch with the different elements of the community through campaigns and local programs that seek to respond to local concerns;
  - (b) Mobilization recruitment, retention and involvement of members;
  - (c) Engaging local councilors and holding them accountable to the community;
  - (d) Acting as a channel for information;
  - (e) Mobilization and involvement of women and youth in a campaign that address their issues;
  - (f) Maintain a dynamic contact with veterans; and
  - (g) Uniting and maintaining a cohesive and inclusive leadership collective which is able to bring the community together to resolve common problems.
31. At the moment, most Boma, Payam and County offices are unable to perform the above functions. Some of the key issues and challenges faced by these offices include:
- Few active members who are not even well trained and oriented
  - Absence of strong political consciousness
  - Lack of adequate financial and administrative resources
  - Organization of the poorest and marginalized sections of the community who feel that they have supported the movement during the arm-struggle and that time has come for pay back.
  - Difficulties in convening meetings due to the large geographical areas, poor road conditions and transportation difficulties.
  - SPLM leaders locked in unhealthy power struggle leading to disunity, lack of cohesion and sectarianism among members.
32. As a result of the problems expressed above, SPLM Boma, Payam and County offices are weak or have no relationship with community structures or forums. In many instances, SPLM

is out of touch with local development concerns of the community (See Annex B). This may allow other political parties to exploit the genuine grievances of the community leading to loss of confidence in our movement or SPLM-led Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS).

33. Effective political work is dependent on strong SPLM relationship with all forums, structures and organizations operating in the community; such as school governing bodies, community policing units, traditional leaders, churches, mosques, spiritual leaders...etc in order to convert these structures and forum into places of popular organization and democratic participation.
34. However, SPLM organs at all level massively supported the decision by SPLM IPB to recall SPLM Presidential Advisers, Ministers and State Ministers from the Government of National Unity (GONU) in protest against the lack of implementation of the CPA by NCP and its violation of the spirit of partnership with the SPLM.
35. Evidently, SPLM should devote time and resources to improve the quality of mass work and cadreship development at the grassroots level.
36. Most State Secretariats function reasonably well with respect to having an office building, Secretaries, staff and some organizational meetings. The majority of State Secretariats have had very limited mobilization and have neglected County Secretariats and other lower structures.
37. Furthermore, a good number of SPLM State leadership have been caught up in misunderstanding and power wrangling which has made them very ineffective as leaders even in their communities. Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Western Bahr el Ghazal, Warap, Eastern Equatoria, Upper Nile, Bentiu, Lakes, Gedarif, Northern Darfur, Northern State, White Nile and Southern Darfur States are among the States where political work has been seriously hampered due to poor relationship within State leadership.
38. These unhealthy relationships between comrades made it very difficult for State secretariats to play their role of coordination, support to Counties' work and engaging various States' sectors on SPLM transformation agenda in addition to overseeing the activities of State and local governments.



39. Many SPLM State secretariats failed to expand their revenue generating base beyond the monthly grant provided by the Sector Secretariats. Collection of membership fees, monthly membership subscription and donations have been seriously neglected.
40. The highest membership contribution in the Southern Sector was realized in Lakes State, where SPLM State Secretariat reported collection of over 180, 000 SDG per month. Unity State collects about 48,000 SDG while Western Equatoria State (WES) collects about 35,000 SDG to 40,000 SDG. Most States collect 15,000 SDG – 20,000 SDG. Some States have not collected any membership subscription at all. No report from the Northern Sector on membership contribution was available.
41. There are variations in the way revenue generated is being utilized. For example, Western Equatoria State used their membership contribution to sponsor the holding of congresses at all level; while Warrap chose to spend it on building a big SPLM State Office. All State Secretariats turn around to the Sector Secretariat for the financing of their political activities. This must be reduced in the future.
42. The SPLM Southern Sector has the advantage of competing with less popular political parties; and thus occupying most of the political space in Southern Sudan. Whilst in the Northern Sector, the SPLM was being introduced into a new area.
43. The greatest achievement is that SPLM has over 4 million registered numbers distributed all over the Sudan. These numbers have been organized into structures coming from grassroots to the national level which could easily be turned into a tool of transformation in the hands of the people.

## **NATIONAL STRUCTURES OF THE SPLM**

### **INC, IPB and GENERAL SECRETARIAT**

44. The INC was decreed by SPLM Chairman in February 2006. Initially, 54 members were appointed to carry out mandates defined in Article 13 of the Interim Basic Rules and Regulations.
45. The membership of the INC rose to 119 to provide leadership between the National Conventions. The selection was done in such a manner as to ensure ethnic and geographic balance and reflect the racial and cultural diversity of our country.
46. During the period under review, the INC held 5 meetings, including a meeting prior to the holding of the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Convention.
47. In its meetings, the focus has consistently been on:
  - Review of status of SPLM mobilization and reorganization campaign

- Review and endorsement of Resolutions and decisions adopted by the IPB and Chairman of the SPLM;
- Discussion of matters related to the organization and governance and ensuring that corrective measures are put in place where needed; and
- Review of the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and delivery of proper guidance and directives as appropriate.

48. INC failed to deploy its members in sectoral policy committees to assess and monitor implementation and the impact of our policies; guide State and local structures in their engagement on governance issue and engage with governance and civil society structures on issues related to policy areas, which they are responsible for.
49. During the period under review, the INC adopted a range of resolutions to ensure that indiscipline is no longer tolerated within the SPLM and that the organisational programme is implemented.
50. The INC has remained throughout the last two years a forum for rich, dynamic and substantial debate. All views found expression as issues were duly raised and discussed.
51. Another key shortcoming of the INC is the general lack of participation of INC members in the mass political work of the movement, especially the mobilization and reorganization campaign.

### **Interim Political Bureau (IPB)**

52. The IPB was decreed by SPLM Chairman in February 2006, with a total membership of 21. Its mandate and functions are defined in Article 14 of the Interim Basic Rules and Regulations.
53. The membership of the IPB was enlarged to 43 members to ensure ethnic and geographic balance.
54. During the period under review, the IPB held more than 4 meetings.
55. Among its great achievements was the adoption of the historic Resolution to recall all SPLM Presidential Advisors, Ministers and State Ministers from the Government of National Unity (GONU) in protest against the non-implementation of CPA by the NCP and its violation of the spirit of partnership with the SPLM. The IPB set up the SPLM Crisis Management Team (CMT) to manage the ensuing political crisis. The CMT was subsequently endorsed and transformed into a standing body by the INC.
56. One of the shortcomings of the IPB is its reduced role in terms of leading the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) and lack of political leadership of the Government.

## **SPLM General Secretariat**

57. The Interim SPLM Secretariat was decreed by SPLM Chairman in February 2006. Its composition and functions are clearly spelled out in Articles 15 and 16 of the Interim Basic Rules and Regulations respectively.
58. The Secretariat experienced difficulties as the Deputy Secretary-General for Southern Sector, Dr Luka Monoja turned down his assignment due to lack of resources. The departure of comrades Abdel-Aziz Adam El Hilu and Yasir Saeed Arman ensued, dealing another blow to the efforts of transforming the SPLM into a mass political party.
59. The monies accruing to the SPLM from the Pre-Interim Period was denied. It took several months of political wrangling to secure the release of dues of the Secretariat.
60. However, the situation improved by the return of comrade Yasir Arman and his appointment and that of comrade Dr Anne Itto in October 2007 to the positions of SPLM Deputy Secretaries General for SPLM Northern and Southern Sectors respectively.
61. In January 2008, the Secretariat was given a boost through the appointment of comrade Abdel-Aziz Adam El Hilu as the Deputy Secretary-General for Organization.
62. During the period under review, the Secretariat developed plans and programs to reorganize SPLM, starting from where the SPLM Advanced Team and SPLM Political Cluster have left off. In so doing, it has been consistently informed by a number of Resolutions adopted by the INC and IPB.
63. The Secretariat has increased financial support to Northern Sector in the last quarter of 2007 to complete organization of SPLM in Darfur. The Secretariat laid down plans and availed funds for launching a massive political campaign in the Northern States led by the Chairman of SPLM.
64. The SPLM Chairman and Secretariat have engaged with civil society organizations, especially Islamic and Christian organizations. During Idd ul-Fitr, Udhiya and Christmas festivities the SPLM Chairman treated Muslim compatriots in Juba to "Iftar" meal during the holy month of Ramadan last year; and attended Christmas functions including a get-together party with Christian Leaders in Khartoum. The Secretariat organized a tour of visit to many Sufi Orders and Sheikhs during Idd al-Udhiya, as well as attending Christmas mass prayers and celebrations with fellow Christian compatriots.
65. The Secretariat plans to establish relations with the ruling parties in China, India and Malaysia (including opposition in India and Malaysia). We have received invitation from the Chinese Communist Party through the Chairman of SPLM upon his visit to China in 2007. The SPLM needs to engage those countries to ensure efficient development and management of oil resources to the benefit of the Sudanese people.

66. The Secretariat has also engaged the Norwegian Labour Party and Christian Democratic Party of Norway. As a result, an MOU was signed between SPLM and NPA to support organizational and capacity building of SPLM.

### **The SPLM Youth League**

67. The SPLM Youth League aims to unite and lead young men and women in confronting and dealing with the problems that face the youth and in ensuring that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the SPLM and life of the nation. The Youth League continues to play its historic role as the vocal and radical voice of militant youth, acting within the broad policies and political discipline of the SPLM.

68. The SPLM Youth League membership remains predominantly the marginalized Sudanese, with high participation of young women. Whilst its membership has always been drawn from the unemployed youth and youth educational institutions, there has been an increase of membership from young professionals and youth in business.

69. The SPLMYL has completed the reorganization and formation of Youth League structures in both Southern and Northern Sectors; and is now gearing up for the holding of the 1<sup>st</sup> SPLM National Youth Convention.

70. Affirmative action was applied as young women were represented in accordance with the 25% rule in all structures of SPLMYL. They were also allowed lean and free competition for the remaining 75% slots. For example, a young lady was elected as chairperson of SPLMYL in Nasir County, Upper Nile State.

71. The Youth League has extended its reorganization campaign, including through the establishment of SPLMYL branches on university campuses. In all States, there are Youth League State Executive and Councils (SEC) branches. Much more work is needed to strengthen those branches

72. The Youth League's programme of action has been guided by their Juba Conference, held on 23 - 26 July 2007. Its pillars include:

- **Organisational Development and Youth Mobilisation**, including through the recruitment of the youth into the ranks of the organization and ensuring their participation in the implementation of SPLM programmes and policies.
- **Civic Education:** The Youth League has undertaken a campaign for maintaining the welfare of the youth and sensitizing about HIV/Aids and Sexually transmitted Diseases (STDs). Environmental protection is an integral part of this program.

- **Transformation of Education:** the focus has been on campaigning for the review of curricula and media of instruction at schools in addition to ensuring access by all students — rich or poor — to free education.
- **Youth economic empowerment:** The Youth League reached an understanding with the national Ministries of Investment and Foreign Trade to support programs aimed at investing on skills development of the youth in collaboration with the private sector.

73. The SPLMYL engaged on gender issues, governance and legislature and international exchange programmes in the media.
74. A delegation from the SPLMYL consisting of its Chairman, comrade Akol Paul Kordit was sent to Johannesburg to participate in African European Youth Forum. The forum drew young leaders from the African and European continents. The aim was to frame the youth agenda for incorporation into the agenda of the AU/EU summit in Lisbon which took place in 2007.
75. The SPLMYL also sent a delegation to attend the conference of International Union of Socialist Youth, held in Germany in August 2007. The SPLMYL is a sitting member of International Union of Socialist Youth.
76. A delegation from the SPLMYL consisting of two members of Interim National Council (INC), comrades Akol Paul Kordit and Mary Poni Wani participated in the 23<sup>rd</sup> National Congress of the ANC Youth League, held in Bloemfontein on 2<sup>nd</sup> – 6th April 2008.
77. Since the Youth League serves to prepare leadership for the SPLM, the SPLM must continue to take an active role in nurturing, guiding and mentoring its youth wing. At the same time whilst it is a prerogative of youth to be radical and outspoken, this should in no way be an excuse for flouting organisational discipline of the SPLM.

### **The SPLM Women League**

78. The SPLM Women League (SPLMWL) has the responsibility of building a vibrant women organization that shall propagate the vision, mission and program of SPLM amongst the women and in the society in general. It strives for the mobilisation and pursuit of advancement and emancipation of women from all forms of patriarchy.
79. The Women League aims to provide leadership to society through uniting, mobilizing and reviving the spirit of activism of Sudanese women around common challenges and objectives. Ensuring women representation and participation in all SPLM structures and activities is another objective it seeks to achieve.

80. Intensive mobilization campaigns were undertaken in Lakes and Blue Nile States. Discussions were conducted with the SPLMWL representatives in Western Bahr el Ghazal, Southern Kordofan, Central Equatoria and Eastern Equatoria States.
81. The 25% rule was applied in the Southern sector to elect women to congresses at all level up to the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Convention. Mobilization workshops will be resumed after the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Convention in the Southern Sector.
82. Formation of the SPLMWL was completed from the Boma to State level in Western Darfur. In Northern Darfur and Southern Darfur women were represented as 'women league'. In the other remaining States in Northern Sector, the 25% rule was the basis for electing women to State congresses and to the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Convention.
83. Currently, the organization of women league is undertaken at sectoral level, with the organized women structures falling under the "Secretariat for Popular and Syndicated Organizations" in the two Sectors. Issues related to the current structure include:
- 1 Relationship between SPLM Women league and the rest of SPLM structures:
    - (a) Shall it remain under the "Secretariat for Popular and Syndicated Organizations"?
    - (b) Does the National Women League fall under the General Secretariat or the two Sectors (Northern and Southern Sectors)?
  - 2 What is its relationship with the other SPLM related women organizations such as New Sudan Women Associations?

## **Diaspora**

82. SPLM Secretariat for External Affairs organized the first ever SPLM Leadership International Conference, held in Juba in July 2007. The conference drew six regions: Europe, America, Middle East, Canada, Australia, and Africa. The conference was attended by 150 SPLM Chapter leaders from all over the world.
83. The conference was addressed by the Chairman of SPLM, Secretary-General, Speaker of the National Assembly, prominent leaders of Southern Sudan and members of SPLM Interim Political Bureau (IPB). In attendance were representatives from progressive political parties in Africa who came to share their political experience.
84. A delegation from SPLM General Secretariat visited the United States of America (USA) in August 2007 and toured five States. The delegation met with the leadership of SPLM Chapters in New York, Colorado, Arizona, Washington DC and Nebraska. The visit triggered massive mobilization and recruitment of new members' campaign across the US.

### **SPLM Chapters in the Diaspora**

85. Since its inception in May 1983, SPLM leadership has proudly named the Diaspora the “7<sup>th</sup> Front” due the great role they played during the liberation struggle.
86. The total number of organized SPLM Chapters in the Diaspora stands at 72, with total registered membership of 20,806 (See table 3).
87. There are no SPLM Chapters in South America and South Asian countries; however a few committed SPLM members live in those continents/countries.

**Table 3: Total Number of SPLM Chapters Worldwide**

<b>S/N</b>	<b>Country / Continent</b>	<b>Total Number of SPLM Chapters</b>	<b>Number of Registered Members</b>
1	USA	31	5000
2	Canada	14	2125
3	Europe	9	1486
4	Australia/New Zealand	7	4000
5	Middle East & North Africa	7	1133
6	South & Horn of Africa	4	7062
	<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>20,806</b>

### **Contribution of the Diaspora**

88. The Diaspora compiled the application of 20% of national civil service – the share of Southern Sudan in GONU. The Diaspora undertook this task on voluntary basis in Juba.
89. The Diaspora contributed 5 tractors to the Government of South Sudan (GOSS) and trained 15 doctors who are currently working at Juba Teaching Hospital. They have also donated 200 buses to SPLM Secretariat which are expected to be delivered anytime soon.
90. The Diaspora sponsored a school project in Nyabegok for which they mobilized \$15,000.00 (Fifteen Thousands US Dollars) for the construction of the school.
91. A member of Diaspora drilled 10 boreholes in Tonj; built a school in Aweil and a high school in Kwajok. Another school is being planned for construction in Bor.
92. A group of Diaspora volunteers worked in Southern Sudan State governments in areas of education and health for six months.

## **SPLM National Parliamentary Caucus**

93. The SPLM Caucus has the responsibility to oversee the implementation of organisational policies in the context of governance and legislation. It has to work collectively as a cohesive SPLM detachment in Parliament to realise the objectives of creating a multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-lingual democratic and prosperous Sudan. Caucus has to achieve these goals within the context of evolving and implementing people-centred legislation, effective oversight systems and ensuring the involvement and participation of the people in our system of government.
94. In the past three years the National Assembly faced the challenge of putting in place an entirely new system of laws, regulations and policies, whilst undertaking a complete revision of the institutional architecture of governance in the whole country. The Parliament seeks to meet the legislative challenge while discharging its oversight function of keeping the executive branch of government in check.
95. In the period under review, there is still a backlog of laws that require to be harmonized with the CPA and Interim National Constitution.
96. The SPLM needs to strengthen the Caucuses as critical instruments for robust oversight, mutual accountability, collective leadership and discipline amongst cadres deployed to government, parliament, State legislatures and municipalities. What we need is to strengthen coordination and interface between the Caucuses and other SPLM structures to give credence to the principle that SPLM is the ultimate strategic centre of power.

## **Media and Communications**

97. The role of SPLM media has been critical to our mass work over fifteen years. SPLM Update was consistently published every week, becoming an important channel of communication between national leadership, Diaspora and general public inside the country.
98. SPLM Radio and SPLM Update constituted the main media outlet on issues of SPLM policy, programmes, activities and positions. They played significant role in countering the propaganda machinery operated by the NIF/NCP to spread rumors and misinformation about the movement during the armed struggle.
99. "al Mad al-Jadid" – a monthly publication in Arabic language - is now published in conjunction with the Secretariat for Information and Culture of SPLM Northern Sector Secretariat. This news bulletin provides extensive coverage for SPLM political and cultural activities. Over 24 editions were published during the period under review.



100. Since 2007, additional efforts have been made to engage with media in an informal setting. This has included hosting media briefing dinners by the Secretary-General around topical areas of New Sudan vision, SPLM programme and policies.
101. A strong argument was made against the use of 'mouthpiece' to advance SPLM ideals, policies and programmes. Instead, the exercise of media control by the SPLM through share-holding was seen as the right approach to influence the editorial line of numerous daily newspapers as practiced by the National Congress Party (NCP), Umma Party and Popular Congress Party.
102. The SPLM website (SPLMToday.com) is becoming a major source of information about the SPLM, its history, activities and policies. It is updated on an ongoing basis with new statements, speeches...etc. The site is well maintained and subject to constant improvement.
103. The Secretariat has set up a technical team to look into the possibility of establishing a Satellite TV and FM radios.

### **International Relations**

104. The SPLM and the SPLM-led Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) continued to take a proactive role in the international arena - in some international organisations and forums.
105. As a partner in the Government of National Unity (GONU), we have contributed towards the normalization of relations between Sudan and State of Eritrea. The SPLM is currently working to end the border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea and reconcile the two countries.
106. The SPLM sent a delegation consisting of two INC members, comrades Yasir Arman and Dr Anne Itto to participate in the 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference of the African National Congress (ANC) held in Polokwane on 16 – 20 December 2007. The delegation interacted with a dozen of progressive movements and parties from around the world, mostly from the African continent.
107. An SPLM delegation, which included the Secretary-General, deputy Secretary-General for Southern Sector, Secretary for External Relations, Deputy National Treasurer as well as members of Southern Sector Secretariat visited South Africa in April 2007 to build bilateral relations with the ANC. The delegation, which was warmly received, met with the then Deputy President of ANC, comrade Jacob Zuma, comrade Myakayaka Mavivi, Head of International Relations sub-committee of the NEC as well as the leadership of Women and Youth Leagues of ANC. We discussed the political situation in Sudan and South Africa, the challenges of reconstruction and development in addition to the common challenges of party building and mobilization strategies. The signing of MOU to formalize relations and political

- cooperation between the SPLM and ANC was agreed. To that end, the SPLM invited the ANC leadership to visit Southern Sudan.
108. The Secretary-General led an SPLM delegation comprising two members of IPB, comrades Kuol Manyang Juuk and Dr Anne Itto to attend the 14<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independence of the State of Eritrea. The delegation met with the national leadership of the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) and discussed a range of bilateral issues.
  109. The SPLM signed an MOU with the PFDJ of Eritrea, paving the way for the establishment of number of joint ventures in Juba, including an Insurance company.
  110. During the period under review the SPLM-led GOSS sent numerous delegations to participate in meetings of the African Union Peace and Security Council (PSC) held in Addis Ababa. Those meetings focused on the restoration of peace and stability and resolution of perennial conflicts in the African continent. Our delegations gave extensive briefings on the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) prompting a Resolution by the PSC to remain seized of CPA implementation in Sudan.
  111. In December 2007 the Secretary-General led an SPLM delegation to participate in a Security Summit of the Great Lakes region held in Addis Ababa and facilitated by Dr Condoleezza Rice, US Secretary of State. Amongst others, the meeting reviewed the status of CPA implementation and called on President Bashir to resolve the impasse over the implementation of Abyei Protocol.
  112. In July 2007, the Secretary-General visited Egypt and interacted with the leadership of National Democratic Party (NDP), the ruling party in Egypt. It was agreed that contacts between SPLM and NDP be sustained with a view to developing party-to-party relations and supporting the reconstruction of Southern Sudan.
  113. The SPLM sent a delegation to participate in the congress of Pan African Women Organization (PAWO) held in Johannesburg on 14-17 February 2008. Five hundred delegates from across the continent attended this historic congress, including comrade Dr Anne Itto. The discussions were focused on women empowerment and effective participation of women in conflicts resolution, peace-building and reconstruction processes in the African continent.
  114. SPLM leadership met in Nairobi with former Kenyan President, Daniel Arap Moi who is currently President Kibaki's Special Envoy on Sudan and General Lazarus Sumbeiywo, Chief Mediator in the Naivasha peace talks. The meeting was organized by the Secretariat for External Affairs.
  115. The SPLM and SPLM-led GOSS remain seized of the conflict in Northern Ugandan pitting the Ugandan People's Defence Forces (UPDF) against the Lord Resistance Army (LRA). We continue to interact with the leadership of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) and

- LRA. Our objective has been to promote dialogue between the two protagonists and find a peaceful solution to the long-running civil war in Northern Uganda.
116. Late 2007, a permanent ceasefire agreement was signed by the LRA signaling a big step towards reaching a lasting peace. Efforts are currently underway to persuade the LRA to strike a peace deal with the Government of Uganda.
  117. The SPLM sent a delegation to Ethiopia to strengthen relations with the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). Bilateral meetings took place culminating in the signing of an MOU between the SPLM and EPRDF on 07 December 2007.
  118. An SPLM delegation visited Uganda and met with the Deputy Secretary-General of National Resistance Movement (NRM). The delegation consisted of the Secretary for External Affairs. An agreement to exchange visits and between the leadership of the two organizations was reached.
  119. During the period under review a delegation consisting of two INC members, comrades Abdel-Aziz Adam El Hilu and Yasir Saeed Arman attended a workshop in Germany in October 2007 on the politics of transition. The objective was to network and share experience amongst 8 resistance and liberation movements from Latin America, Asia, Europe and Africa that signed peace agreements and are currently undergoing war-to-peace transition.
  120. The Secretariat for External Affairs organized a consultation workshop on National Election Bill in Juba. The workshop was attended by 140 participants, including INC and IPB members and discussed election system and democratic transformation in Sudan.
  121. The Secretariat for External Affairs also jointly with Northern Sector organized a meeting with a host of Sudanese political parties in Khartoum. The aim was to explain the SPLM position on Election Bill.

#### **SPLM Taskforce on Darfur (ToD)**

122. The SPLM Chairman decreed the setting up of SPLM Taskforce on Darfur (ToD) to help resolve the Darfur conflict.
123. The ToD developed a plan of action and initiated contacts with the various Darfurian Movements.
124. The ToD invited the Darfurian movements to a meeting in Juba to enable them to interact among themselves and with the SPLM. The meeting culminated in the unification of 14 Darfurian movements and encouraged them to reach a common platform for negotiation.
125. The SPLM aims to use its position within the GONU to encourage and persuade the NCP to prioritize the resolution of the Darfur conflict on the national agenda. The SPLM is currently engaging the Region with the aim of garnering support and building consensus around the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Darfur.

## **The Way Forward**

126. The process of SPLM mobilization and reorganization gave rise to some negative trends that require to be halted. Below are some examples:
1. Corrupt practices such as dishing out money to buy voters and manipulate the electoral process.
  2. Use of force and threats to intimidate voters
  3. Voting is conducted along tribal and sectional lines
  4. Lack of programs and debate as a basis for informed voting and choice of leaders
127. The Secretariat has set out a strategic plan for 2007 – 2009 to underpin the transformation of SPLM culminating in the holding of the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Convention. The scope of the strategic plan has been widened to cover the period of post-convention leading to the General Election. It has laid down the following agenda items:
1. SPLM transformation and party building [recruitment, internal organisations, etc.]
  2. Strengthening of the SPLM Institutions [General Secretariat, State and County structures]
  3. Developing Party Financial and monetary instruments
  4. Empowerment of SPLM Women and Youth Leagues and Other Affiliate Syndicated Organizations
  5. Development of an effective SPLM internal and public communication
  6. Policy Research
  7. Political and civic education and awareness raising at All Party Levels
  8. Partnerships and Alliance Building
  9. Strengthening SPLM strategies for winning the General Election
128. The operationalization of this strategic plan shall effectively address the negative trends alluded to earlier and turn around the currently alarming situation that exists within the SPLM. The political and civic education at all party levels shall ensure that SPLM membership is well versed on SPLM vision, mission, core values and objectives. It will produce quality membership with tremendous ability to put the SPLM case across and robustly defend it at various forums. See Annex (A).
129. The above agenda items –if fully implemented - shall deliver a strong SPLM capable of managing the war-to-peace transition, providing leadership to our people and delivering a New Sudan of freedom, peace and prosperity.