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Foreword

Fellow Citizens of the Republic of South Sudan

This SPLM Manifesto of Liberation is dedicated to the martyrs, wounded heroes and heroines, widows and widowers and orphans of the SPLA/M for their sacrifice to ensure freedom for all of us in this new nation. We remain forever indebted for their sacrifices, and it is because of that sacrifice we must continue the long march of liberation for the people of South Sudan.

Although the Republic of South Sudan became a sovereign state on 9 July 2011, we still have much work to do to liberate our citizens from the ravages of poverty, lack of basic services, such as health care, education systems, infrastructure, and food security. A new nation comes with new challenges and opportunities. We must face these challenges with innovative solutions and creative approaches for making use of available opportunities. We have a golden opportunity to draw on the experience of the rest of the world and leapfrog into the twenty-first century.

The SPLM will lead a new way of thinking in Africa. We will redefine development beyond just roads and buildings, rather to a new state of mind and a definitive, cohesive culture of freedom, which is one of our cherished political ideals. South Sudan will not be a nation in continuous crisis teetering in a vicious cycle of fragility at the edge of fragility and vulnerability. Our new nation will aspire to be the very light that removes darkness from our continent. We would like to be one of the standard bearers of liberation struggle in the heart of Africa.

Our goal is to establish a strong democratic developmental state committed to principles of good governance, transparency and accountability and to fight corruption. Furthermore, the SPLM shall build a nation where young people, especially girls thrive. We will encourage entrepreneurship and other productive activities, so as to improve the quality of life for every citizen.

The SPLM Manifesto is a framework for freedom and development. It is time we focus on the articulation of a coherent package of political ideals of the SPLM; ideals that will guide us in our nation-building and state-formation projects. Turn the page to a new chapter in our new nation. It is time we as a Party, a people, and a nation look forward to a brighter future

driven by our determined quest for justice, liberty, and prosperity.

As a member of SPLM you must uphold the Manifesto of Our Party and work tirelessly to promote the vision of the SPLM and implement its programme.

Comrade Salva Kiir Mayardit

Chairperson

Sudan People's Liberation Movement – SPLM

Juba, Republic of South Sudan

Chapter One

Historical Background The SPLM and Its Genesis

The Sudan People's Liberation Movement is a revolutionary political party representing a wide cross-section of the South Sudanese people. Having gone through oppression, underdevelopment and enslavement, we are united by a common history of struggle against oppression, different forms of colonialism and societal domination. We are forever inspired by the ideals of human rights and dignity, and by the insistence of our people on respect for fundamental freedoms, social justice, equality, prosperity and democracy.

The SPLM has been the expression of our common hope; to build a new-shared future for all the people of South Sudan based on the principles of freedom, self-reliance, progress and justice for all. The SPLM has been the instrument of our shared aspirations and the cohesive force behind our successful revolutionary struggle to forge our own destiny. The SPLM is determined that our nation's future, like its past, will

be an inspiration throughout our continent and across the world.

The history of the People of South Sudan has been a history of struggle for emancipation and freedom from all forms of oppression, slavery, economic exploitation, political domination, and social subjugation, racial and religious discrimination. This struggle took different forms and employed different methods of resistance depending on the nature of the oppression and could be traced back to the early sixteenth Century Islamic sultanates (1504 - 1821) and the nineteenth century (1821 - 1885) with the Turko-Egyptian occupation of Sudan, the Mahdist State (1885 - 1898) and the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1898 –1956). The independence of the Sudan (1956) transformed the nature of the oppressor as well as the nature and methods of struggle.

The formation of the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) is a continuation of the past struggles of the South Sudanese people, before, during and after colonialism. The rise of the SPLA/M in 1983 was a continuation of the longstanding political dissent culminating into an armed struggle. The SPLA/M resumption of the armed struggle was dictated by the earlier history of struggle against repression that had been temporarily halted by the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972.

Resistance, which has been the natural reaction of the oppressed and marginalized peoples of the Sudan against the various Khartoum governments, took different forms according to the prevailing circumstances. The period extending from 1956 to 1958, was a period of political and parliamentary struggle led internally by both the Liberal Party advocating self-determination and the Federal Party, which saw the solution in a united federal Sudan.

In the towns and urban centers, the struggle against the Islamization and Arabization of Ibrahim Abboud's Military Regime (1958 – 1964) ended with the popular uprising in October 1964. From 1964 to 1969 before Nimeri (1969 -1985) came to power, the political consciousness in the marginalized areas, especially Southern Sudan, Abyei, Southern Kordofan, Beja, Southern Blue Nile and Darfur, took the form of popular non-violent struggle, especially in towns and urban centers. In Southern Sudan, the major periods of organized armed resistance took place between 18 August 1955 to 1972 (Anyanya Movement) and from 16 May 1983 to 9 January 2005 (SPLA/M).

In 1953, South Sudanese politicians demanded Federal System in the country as a condition for the independence of Sudan. Federalism continued from thereon as the political objective of the Sudan African

National Union (SANU). In September 1955, the Liberal Party called for Self-Determination. In the Roundtable Conference of 1965, the Southern Front formally called for Self-determination to correct the mistakes of the 1947 Juba Conference of the annexation of South Sudan to the Sudan against the will of its people. Ever since, the majority of South Sudanese rallied behind the demand for Self-Determination.

In 1972 Addis Ababa Accord was signed between the Nimeri regime and the Anya-nya armed Movement, which provided self-rule for southern Sudan. Despite the Peace Agreement, the Nimeri Regime started to dismantle and eventually abrogated the Accord, which provoked the emergence of various pockets of resistance. By way of illustration the following incidences provided the seeds for final push for resistance:

- The Jonglei Canal popular protest (1974);
- the Akobo armed mutiny (1975);
- the Juba Airport mutiny ‘because of discontent’ (1976);
- the Aguet mutiny (1976);
- the popular protest in 1981 against attempts to redraw the Northern boundaries of South

Sudan to annex the oil and mineral rich areas and agricultural land to North Sudan;

- The subsequent dismissal of ex-Anya-nya soldiers and their transfer to North Sudan triggered the formation of what became known as Anya-nya II in Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal Regions;
- South Sudan Liberation Front (SSLF), which actually started a guerrilla war in 1982 and came into the limelight in July 1983 when it seized a number of foreigners in Boma Post.; and
- The total rejection of the imposition of Sharia Law (September 1983),

Furthermore, prominent Anya-nya officers continued to organize within the Sudanese Army with the intention to transform the situation, by both attacking and capturing prominent towns in southern Sudan or withdrawing to the bushes to wage a protracted armed struggle. But, Khartoum seized the initiative and attacked Bor and Pibor garrisons on 16/5/1983. Later on the Ayod garrison attacked Khartoum forces that were sent to arrest its commanders. This was the spark that ignited the tinderbox of armed struggle.

Simultaneously, with the military moves, prominent Southern politicians, civil servants and students

organized several underground organizations to mobilize the masses against the dismantling of the Addis Ababa Agreement. These opposition bodies included the National Action Movement (NAM), Movement for Total Liberation of Southern Sudan (MTLSS), Juwama African People's Organization (JAPO); Council for the Unity of Southern Sudan (CUSS).

In early 1983, the above mentioned political resistance had created the necessary conditions for the armed revolution. The battles of Bor on May 16th, 1983, by Battalion 105 commanded by Major Kerubino Kwanyin Bol; of Pibor Forces commanded by Captain Riek Macuoc; and Ayod Forces, of Battalion 104 in June 1983 commanded by Major William Nyoun Bany, caused desertions in other units of Southern Command and in Northern Sudan. This motivated and encouraged students and other civilians to join en masse the armed struggle, which resulted in the exodus of refugees into the neighboring countries, especially Ethiopia.

Elements of the political and military organizations and officers referred to earlier united and founded the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). The birth and formation of the SPLA/M and the adoption of the first SPLM Manifesto in July 1983 was,

therefore, not an isolated incident, but rather a continuation of the long history of the struggles of the Sudanese peoples.

The SPLM saw the resolution of Sudan's crisis differently from the way others did. The SPLM believed that Sudan's salvation lies in the solution of both nationality and religious questions within the context of a united, democratic and secular Sudan. The SPLM, however, started by necessity in the South, it essentially aimed at spreading its message all over the Sudan.

The SPLA/M developed and grew in strength. By 1989 it extended its military activities and liberated almost all of Equatoria, Upper Nile regions and parts of the Nuba Mountains/Southern Kordofan. The Sudan Armed Forces suffered heavy defeats forcing its contingents to withdraw into neighboring countries. Prime Minister Sadiq el Mahdi's prevarications and refusal to reach a peace agreement with the SPLA/M coupled with the plummeting of his army's morale triggered a military coup on June 30th, 1989 led by the National Islamic Front (NIF), which transformed the war into a jihad (religious war).

The SPLM has encountered a number of challenges emanating from the changes in the national, regional and international situations, as well as internal

conditions in the course of struggle since its inception in 1983. The challenges, for instance, resulted in the 1991 split of the Nasir Faction. The split was a devastating blow to the revolutionary struggle triggering further splits and ethnic and tribal fights ensued; all fueled by the National Islamic Front (NIF) regime with the resultant reversal of our victories and territorial gains.

In 1991, the Politico-Military High Command of the SPLA/SPLM turned the challenges into opportunities in a changing geopolitics following the collapse of the Soviet Union and end of the Mangisto Regime in Ethiopia. The Politico-Military High Command adopted in its meeting in Torit, the Torit Declaration. The central message of the Torit Declaration was that South Sudanese people have one common enemy, which is underpinned by our desire for the right of self-determination for, around which the people of southern Sudan must all unite. After much effort, in the Abuja I and II Peace Talks in 1992 and 1993 respectively, the two delegations agreed on a common negotiation position for the South. It was further consolidated in the Washington Declaration of 1993.

The second opportunity was the SPLA/M First National Convention held in 1994 in Chukudum, Eastern Equatoria. The Convention was not only historic, but a turning point in the history of the

liberation struggle. It defined, the New Sudan, for the first time as consisting of the five regions of Bahr el-Ghazal, including Abyei, Equatoria, Upper Nile, Blue Nile, Nuba Mountains (or Southern Kordofan). The declaration of New Sudan (NS) triggered series of structural reforms. The three conventional branches of government – Legislature in the form of National Liberation Council (NLC), executive in the form of National Executive Council (NEC), and judiciary – were established.

SPLA/M convened its first National Convention in periods between 2nd to 12th April 1994 in Chukudum, Eastern Equatoria, brought about structural reforms of separating the SPLA to deal with military issues, the SPLM to manage the political strategy of the Movement, and the Civil Authority of New Sudan (CANS) to handle the issues of the Civil Administration in the Liberated Areas.

The NEC was now the instrument for waging war of liberation through the SPLA under the Secretariat of Defense on the one hand, and on the other for undertaking development and delivery of services through the Civil Authority of New Sudan (CANS). The SPLM began to articulate some elements of its coherent package of political ideals. Justice, liberty, and prosperity that are inscribed in our coat of arms and the National Anthem symbolize the

foundation of our political ideals. In this regard, the Peace Through Development and SPLM Strategic Framework for War-to-Peace Transition underpinned by the call for taking towns (services) to the people in the rural areas were based on this foundation.

The SPLM/SPLA, in 1995 jointly formed the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) with the Northern Sudanese political opposition against NIF regime. This was an opportunity, which enabled SPLM/SPLA to deploy the New Sudan Brigade (NSB) to engage the enemy militarily in Eastern Sudan under the Asmara Declaration 1995, while at the same time engaging it in peace talks through the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) 1997. The NIF returned to IGAD negotiating table and accepted the Declaration of Principles (DoPs).

In January 2002, the formal reunification of the SPLM/SPLA brought unity to the Movement and in July 2002 the Right to Self Determination for the People of South Sudan was signed in the Machakos Protocol. The SPLM, after lengthy negotiations, successfully concluded the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with the Government of Sudan (GoS), which was signed on January 9th, 2005 in Nairobi, Kenya mediated by IGAD and witnessed by regional and international organizations.

The SPLM recognizes the role played by the chiefs and traditional authority during the liberation struggle, in providing both material and human resources. Addition to that they used customary law to maintain peace and order among various communities of South Sudan.

On July 9th, 2005, the Chairman of SPLM, Dr. John Garang de Mabior, took oath of office in Khartoum as the First Vice President of the Republic and President of the Government of Southern Sudan. On the 30th of July, Dr. John Garang died in a tragic helicopter crash in Ariangongorok- Eastern Equatoria, and the Deputy Chairman of SPLM, Gen. Salva Kiir Mayardit was unanimously elected by the SPLM Leadership Council as the Chairman of the SPLM. On August 11th 2005, he took oath of office in Khartoum as the First Vice President of the Republic of Sudan and President of the Government of Southern Sudan.

The SPLM led the process of CPA implementation. The belligerence of the NCP towards the implementation of all the fundamental components of the CPA, such as Power Sharing, Wealth Sharing, Security Arrangements, Abyei Protocol, Southern Kordofan and Southern Blue Nile Protocols and South-North Border Demarcation, impeded all SPLM's efforts to make the implementation possible. The SPLM had to zealously guard the process of the

implementation of the CPA particularly the conduct of Referendum on time, in order to enable the people of South Sudan to freely choose between unity and secession.

In May 2008, the SPLM held its second National Convention in Juba. The Convention adopted the second Manifesto, the SPLM Constitution, and all its structures. The Convention equally elected the SPLM Leadership. With the success of the Convention, the SPLM consolidated peace and unity amongst South Sudanese and focused on the implementation of the CPA.

The SPLM's determined stewardship, since its inception in 1983, and its commitment to the ideals of the people of South Sudan formed the basis of its landslide victory in Mid-term Sudan General Elections 2010.

The SPLM and the Independence of South Sudan

The SPLM led the people of South Sudan on January 9th, 2011 to exercise their right of Self Determination through voting in the Referendum. The result of the referendum was 98.2% in favor of independence. On July 9th, 2011 South Sudan declared its independence. The Republic of South Sudan was recognized by the

Republic of the Sudan and was equally unanimously recognized by the African Union as its 54th member as well as by the United Nations General Assembly as its 193rd member. The achievement of independence and the formation of a new Republic of South Sudan marks a decisive turning point in the history of our struggle. Independence has brought new responsibilities and challenges to rethink the roles and values of the SPLM in the new context of a multiparty democracy in South Sudan.

The SPLM, by virtue of its history as the unifier of all the people of South Sudan, its indispensable role as the vanguard of national liberation, and the great sacrifices that have been made by so many of our martyrs in its name, will always occupy a unique role in our history and future. The achievements of the SPLM and our members set very high standards of commitment and dedication to our common cause and benchmarks against which all of us will be measured in the future. But going forward, our tasks are different.

In the new context, the SPLM, reflecting the values we have embraced, shall strive to be a pioneering,

democratic institution with leadership committed to safeguarding the people's rights and freedoms. We shall advance the development agenda of South Sudan. The SPLM shall be held accountable to the people, and all who serve the Party or the state shall be made to understand and demonstrate positively that the actions they undertake are those which best serve the needs, interests and requirements of all our people.

The aspirations and interests of the people of South Sudan shall be our only priority. The SPLM shall fulfill its historic destiny in these new circumstances, it shall continue as a dynamic engine for national transformation and the embodiment of our national aspirations. It shall be the repository of South Sudan's shared hopes, and the architect and builder of a new and inclusive society. The SPLM is committed to sustained reforms and transformation of the Party, our mission and our strategic objectives from the imperatives of armed struggle and national liberation to be the leading promoter and cementer of our national unity and nation building.

To continue its historic role effectively in the new phase of struggle for emancipation that comes with

independence, our Party shall articulate a forthright vision for the future of the nation, identify the principles to which it is committed, and define the practical objectives that it will pursue to realize that vision and defend those principles. The SPLM shall proceed with confidence in its right to lead, and accept that in time its right to lead will be contested, perhaps vigorously. The SPLM shall become a true servant-leader of the people.

The SPLM shall continue to mobilize and rally our people to safeguard our independence, consolidate peace, develop our country and build our nation.

Chapter Two

The Vision of the SPLM

The SPLM vision is a free, peaceful, and prosperous South Sudan based on principles of a just, fair, and secular, democratic system of governance where all citizens are stakeholders in managing their affairs irrespective of race, religion, culture, ethnicity or gender. This vision is born of the long liberation struggle and ideology, is to build an inclusive, united secular democratic developmental state to spearhead rapid human and sustainable economic development and environmental green economy. The SPLM, rooted in its African culture and heritage, shall steadfastly lead, promote, and maintain South Sudan as a stable African Nation.

We are first and foremost South Sudanese and forever African. We have chosen our path to collective and individual development cognizant, and justly proud of our African identity. We are determined to build upon and adapt our great African heritage.

The SPLM recognizes that the accumulation and creation of wealth and knowledge is the foundation of modern economic life, and we equally recognize that modern economic life cannot be built in isolation from the global economy at large. We recognize that building a knowledge economy will not be the work of a day or even a few days. We are resolved to pursue economic transformation, however, with the same rigor and dedication that we waged the long struggle for independence. We believe that the construction of a new economy and society is the necessary and fundamental task for the true emancipation for all our people. The SPLM asserts that the purpose and fundamental justification for the existence of our State is to strengthen the capability of every woman, man and child to participate fully in, contribute amply to, and benefit in just proportion from the economic, political and moral life of our nation.

In our vision, development and democracy are inseparable and indivisible imperatives of the State we will build. This is a vision befitting a People, a Nation and a Republic in which every family martyred, and in which every citizen took personal responsibility in choosing consciously freedom and

independence. The SPLM accepts this daunting challenge of transforming our economy top to bottom so that all South Sudan's people may be equipped for full and equal opportunity to participate in our knowledge economy and to engage the world beyond our borders and beyond our continent.

The SPLM, as a liberation movement, has learnt much from the struggles for emancipation in sister nations and peoples across the whole world. We choose to construct in South Sudan a multiparty system of representation and participation. The SPLM shall hold regular, predictable, fair and free elections. And we shall ensure orderly and peaceful transition of power that follows. Democracy is a practice and an ever perfecting culture, not a ritual.

Our vision of democracy goes far beyond the exercise of the ballot and the regular rotation of ruling elites. We insist that responsible participation in the political-economic affairs of our nation are the duty of all citizens at all times, and that this right and duty can and must be exercised in many different ways at all levels of society.

Good governance is at the heart of democracy and development. Good governance is achieved through transparency, and even more through inclusion, in decision-making; through opportunities to give voice to concerns at all levels of governance, and through exercise of the right to ask questions and to demand appropriate answers. Our democracy shall best strengthened through devolution and decentralization, procedural justice and the development of administrative law in ways that give individual citizens and communities the right to challenge State decisions that have not been arrived at by legal means or that bring undue harm to any citizen. Our democracy shall empower our people to seek appropriate redress whenever they have been made to suffer for the failings of their government. Our democratic developmental state will be defined not only by the legal framework of a written constitution; rather, it shall be inscribed in the daily exercise of democratic rights and duties. Our democratic developmental state shall often rely on indirect methods and policies to achieve these ends. Among these instruments shall be a broad reliance on nationally regulated and controlled market processes that reward initiative and rationalize the use of scarce

resources. But our developmental state shall also engage in more direct intervention, particularly through public investment in education and health, in infrastructure, and in scientific and technological advancement, to assure the inclusive expansion of our people's productive capacities and to guarantee the level of access to essential social services that is compatible with human flourishing.

The SPLM is committed to build a national state that directs human and economic development so that the people of South Sudan retain ownership and the power to exercise effective stewardship over our wealth, particularly your natural resources and endowments, and continually advance the progress of our nation. We are equally determined to restore, protect and develop our environment as part of South Sudan's national patrimony, by developing our sustainable green economy and renewable energy sources to boost our agricultural, livestock, forestry and other resources. To realize these overarching goals the SPLM shall regulate and establish the necessary regulatory frameworks and instruments to advance rapid national development.

The SPLM shall pursue political and economic development simultaneously as the most effective means of fostering nation-building, national unity, harmony and social cohesion. In pursuit of these noble imperatives, we shall apply the best of our national experience and heritage as we consciously and decisively develop our strategies and plans, reflecting deeply on world experiences and their relevance, and then develop our national capacities to deliver them. We shall be disciplined, adaptive, energetic and innovative in the practice of self-governance and as well as in the marketplace. We are confident that our People have the determination for the battle of building our state and national knowledge economy with gusto. As a party, the SPLM shall strive to be exemplary in the practice of democratic empowerment, paying particular heed to the needs of the most disadvantaged, especially our children, people with special needs, women and youth. We shall insist upon transparency and accountability, and engage all in the constant search for improvement.

The ultimate vision of nation-building aims at building capacities of a democratic developmental state is our understanding that the true wealth and

strength of our society resides in the capacities of our people for self-directed, effective action as superbly demonstrated in their management of the CPA implementation. The most effective democracies foster continuous learning at all levels, use competitive institutions to promote, reward and channel ambition that serves the public interest. Having liberated ourselves from political domination, our people have acquired the moral agency and resources to become a tiger economy and mature democracy. This is the definitive meaning of a democratic developmental state.

Our ultimate goal is the full empowerment of the people of South Sudan as agents of their own destiny in the economic no less than in the political life of the nation.

Chapter Three

The Core Values of SPLM

The nature of our history and liberation struggle for freedom and independence has necessitated the SPLM from its first Manifesto (1983) formulated key principles that guide our Movement. These principles are underpinned by following core values:

- Justice;
- Liberty; and
- Prosperity.

The SPLM faithfully affirms the validity of the above core values and now and for the time to come.

1. Equality

The SPLM concept of equality is rooted in the understanding that all men and women have inalienable rights to be respected fully as human beings, that all human life has equal worth and that all human beings must be afforded equal dignity.

Equality in this sense underlies SPLM's approach to justice; respect for the equal dignity of all human beings; to ascertain economic, social and political empowerment. This would require developing institutions, which foster and secure empowerment and equity.

Our conception of equality, of respect for the equal dignity and worth of all citizens, motivates our understanding of democracy. It also requires that the SPLM creates opportunities for equal participation in collective political decision-making, action, and accountability.

Equality also motivates our approach to the distribution of wealth and income. The SPLM therefore regards equality as one of its core values that must be achieved, especially that our needs and requirements vary greatly according to time and circumstances.

To redress this imbalance in wealth and income distribution we believe that the state must be empowered with the authority and the capability to take measures to accelerate the accumulation of skills, capabilities and resources, including capital. Such

measures may include one-time or persistent redistributive measures, such as collection of taxes to fund education and health objectives. They may also include the conditional, transparent, and accountable grant of special rights of access or ownership in the interest of the common good.

Our conception of equality also permits us to adapt regulated market economy as a practical approach toward accelerating the accumulation of skills and capabilities of our people in order to redress the income and wealth disparities. It also leads us to insist that the legitimacy and sustainability of all institutions, including the market system, must ultimately be conditioned upon their proven effectiveness in enhancing respect for the equal dignity of all human beings.

2. Justice

Justice is the ultimate virtue and guiding principle of a legitimate state. Denial of justice is what has forced our people to resort to armed struggle since 1955 and resolve to give the ultimate sacrifice for justice and liberty.

The SPLM shall strive to create conducive environment for attainment of the highest standards of administration of justice at all levels of governance in our society.

Central to the realization of this core value of human justice, is the establishment of a society in which the dignity and worth of every citizen is respected and supported. The demand of human justice requires that the SPLM shall promote universal ideals that uphold sustainable justice in all aspects of our society. Also the SPLM shall aspire to articulate just economic, political and social policies that promote happiness for all the generations to come.

The SPLM aims to build a fair, just and a progressive nation-state that fosters through correct policies and viable institutions for attainment of the vision of inclusive justice in all its dimensions.

3. Freedom

Freedom is paramount to human, social, political, and economic emancipation, which are the foundation of liberty. It has the same absolute value as human life. The people of South Sudan have suffered enough for

their right to freedom. Only a free South Sudan can lay the basis for prosperity and security of its citizens. Freedom survives in a society that strives for justice.

As a Party we shall, in light of our struggle tradition, define freedom as capability. This rebalances our understanding of freedom beyond merely negative conceptions of “freedom from” toward positive and proactive conceptions of “freedom to.” We took up arms to gain freedom to self-determination, and consequently, freedom to statehood and nationhood. It was never freedom simply from the oppressors.

Guarantee of fundamental human and economic rights for all of our people is at the core of our vision of freedom. Without such a commitment, there can be no freedom. But the protection of certain rights is not sufficient to guarantee freedom. More is needed.

In our vision, building freedom means not only providing certain minimum guarantees of human rights, though these are foundational, but even more importantly, enhancing the capability of our people to participate fully in the economic, political and moral life of the nation.

Our vision of freedom is rooted in the dignity and inherent worth of every citizen. It is a balance of obligations between full guarantee of rights and obligations achievable through acquisition of world class capabilities through learning and experience.

Freedom, whether of individuals or of nations, consists not so much in our ability to withdraw from society, but in our ability to engage in society on terms that are mutually beneficial. It is naïve and unworthy to conceive of freedom as the ability merely to act as one chooses; or to consider any constraint on our actions as a compromise of essential freedoms. Instead, freedom is the power to negotiate mutually agreeable and sustainable conditions and terms for living and flourishing together whether as individuals, communities or nations.

4. Unity

The SPLM concept of “unity of purpose” has been the necessary condition for our national drive for independence. This concept of “unity of purpose” will therefore, preserve our national integrity.

We are a diverse nation, and we value our unity in diversity by insisting that respect for the equal dignity of all human beings necessitates respect for their right to assert and preserve collective identities and values.

Our unity can and must consist in our continuing commitment to the principles of freedom, justice, equality and prosperity we have identified, and in our collective insistence that all practical judgments of policy and institutional design must ultimately be guided in light of their effectiveness in advancing these fundamental purposes and values. It is our shared commitment to these values which alone defines our life and our unity as a nation. Our enduring commitment to achieving a society that reflects the deepest values of our never-ending national liberation struggle is what provides our unity.

5. Prosperity

One of the SPLM core values is to create enabling environment for the pursuit of happiness and prosperity by our people. As such we define a

prosperous society as one that strives to achieve prosperity for all.

The SPLM aspires for a state of prosperity that signifies the ‘capacity of people’ to lead a dignified life conceived as intrinsically complementary and indivisible. We shall therefore aim to achieve the economic dimension of prosperity by growing and diversifying our economy as measured in gross domestic product (GDP) as an act of emancipation from poverty. We shall work towards a shared accumulation of wealth as a society and its equitable distribution among our citizens and future generations. In turn this economic measure must be accompanied by a move towards substantive justice and cultural development. The SPLM’s perspective is a deep reflection of our people’s communitarian spirit and egalitarian traditions with our achievements measured against global indicators.

6. Progress

Progress has been a rallying cry of struggle for independence, and it must be an essential aspect of our continuing struggle for national liberation. True

national liberation comes not with the achievement of formal independence, but with the achievement of full and effective empowerment and sovereignty of all citizens and of the nation as a whole.

By articulating our vision of the principles of sovereignty, security, justice, prosperity, freedom, and equality we have defined the ultimate ends of our collective lives the purposes for which we have waged our war of national independence, and for which we shall continue the struggle for full national liberation.

In order to achieve our goal, the SPLM must develop credible roadmap for constructing our future, based on learnt lessons from our history. Therefore we hold ourselves fully accountable to each other, and in memory and honor of our struggle, so that we measure our progress toward achieving these goals.

Chapter Four

The Mission of SPLM

Mission

The SPLM mission is to bring about fundamental change and democratic transformation of South Sudan by restructuring power on new basis that allows establishment of governance, where political and economic authority in the management of the country's affairs at all levels is people-based, so that individuals and groups have and effective say in the allocation and management of resources in decisions that affects their lives.

The SPLM strategy is therefore to unite the people of South Sudan and to transform South Sudan from mostly backward society into a modern democratic state that upholds fundamental human rights, rule of law, justice and viable prosperous state with skilled human resources.

The Justification for the Mission

With the achievement of independence, the central organizing purpose of the SPLM has changed. Having secured mastery over our own land and natural resources, the SPLM's indispensable task is to consolidate and deepen our political independence by developing strategies and building institutions and capabilities for advancing social progress through rapid economic and social development. The SPLM shall not succumb to the temptation of wastefully consuming the fruit of our natural endowments. Instead we must prepare the ground carefully and sow the seeds of our future wealth.

In the last five decades, the States that invested heavily in their peoples' education are today the new emerging masters of world economy. Those who did not invest are harvesting misery. Reflecting deeply on the requirements and the challenges of building our national wealth and well-being, the SPLM recognizes that it is confronted by new and unparalleled opportunities and also unprecedented challenges for achieving rapid and inclusive growth in the world economy of today. Ideas and money flow around the

world at the speed of light; but competition in international markets is fierce and unforgiving: as a Party and a Nation we must rigorously strive and compete for a prosperous and democratic future.

The SPLM shall ensure social progress and economic development through deeper engagement with the world beyond our borders. We must continually prepare ourselves to be the defenders, champions and advocates on our own behalf. With globalization, the world has become one global knowledge based village. The SPLM shall take charge, adapt and leapfrog from South Sudan's current status of underdevelopment by accepting this reality and by charting a new mission.

The urgent mission of the SPLM is to construct a knowledge economy in South Sudan in order to build a nation and a society capable of realizing over a reasonably short time the ideals and principles of our national liberation struggle: Peace, Freedom, Justice, Equality, Unity, Prosperity and Progress.

SPLM must be ambitious, wise, prudent and patient in applying national resources to this task. Our strategic objectives are already clear: We must become an

economically free knowledge economy and society. This requires an educational revolution aimed at achieving zero-illiteracy in the next twenty years. This is an absolute imperative. Seventy-two percent of our population is under 35 years of age and literacy among them is in single digits. Achievement of this objective in turn requires a world-class educational system, a mind-set and culture of discipline and excellence.

The SPLM shall summon, as it has always done, the necessary courage and the discipline to engage the outside world pragmatically, through educational, technological and scientific collaborations as well as through commercial ventures. We must be confident but also vigilant in our determination to ensure that our people benefit in fair and just proportion from this engagement.

Chapter Five

The SPLM Strategic Objectives

The SPLM strategic objectives have been formulated in order to guide a focused and efficient approach to how we shall govern. They are translations of our core values, principles, vision and mission into practical realities and they are as follows:

1. Promotion of Multiparty Democracy

The SPLM is committed to establishing a democratic multiparty system of governance in which the rights and freedoms of all citizens are secured and protected by the Constitution. The Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan shall be secular and the supreme law of the land. The executive, legislative and judicial branches shall each respect the separation of powers in their respective spheres of jurisdiction, as defined by the Constitution. The SPLM, in order to secure justice to our citizens, shall guarantee the independence of the judiciary, and full adherence to

the tenets of the rule of law. The SPLM shall ensure peaceful transfer of executive and legislative powers through regular, predictable and fair presidential, parliamentary and local government elections. The SPLM shall uphold and respect the rights of minorities and guarantee their representation and participation in the life of the country.

The SPLM struggled for the establishment of a nation-state empowered to foster and defend equality, social justice and freedom. With the achievement of independence, the SPLM assumes leading responsibility to transform South Sudan's objective reality according to this vision. We shall aim to build a strong state, with meritocratic accountable autonomous bureaucracy and empowered public and private sectors to achieve sustainable peace, economic growth, and poverty eradication.

The sovereignty of South Sudan lies with its people who expressed their will through their heroic struggle for recognition and in their decisive and overwhelming decision for independence in the Southern Sudan Referendum of January 9, 2011. Under SPLM leadership, the government shall see to

it that the people's sovereignty is exercised and protected as a sacred trust by the elected President of the Republic on behalf of the whole of the people of South Sudan.

The SPLM shall ensure the effectiveness of system of decentralized governance, in the delivery of services to the people. In order to ensure that this system is efficient and effective, there shall be regular review of the decentralized system of governance. Moreover, the SPLM shall ensure that the decentralized system of governance is not used to entrench ethnic and religious chauvinism, parochialism and regionalism to the detriment of national unity and progress.

2. Separation of State and Religion

The SPLM shall ensure tolerance and respect for religious diversity, and a separation of state and religion. All religious faiths in the country shall have freedom to practice without hindrance or intimidation, provided that this freedom is not abused or used for political or divisive purposes. Religious beliefs shall not be a basis for exclusion from political activity or

exclusion from holding public office or any other sphere.

3. Maintenance of Peace and Security

The SPLM shall ensure a stable environment for peace and security for all the people in the Republic of South Sudan. Every outrage against humanity, all forms of horrors, hatred and genocide were visited upon us in the course of the last seven hundred years (7 centuries). Millions were taken away as slaves, millions were further forcibly assimilated through Arabization and Islamization, and in our recent history at least three million martyrs molded into earth by ‘the Sudan Jallaba State’. Our Peace, Freedom and Prosperity, Defense and Security are, therefore, categorical imperatives upon which we shall guarantee our very existence, consolidate our independence, deepen our sovereignty, reclaim our territories and maintain our territorial integrity. These are the strength upon which we shall build a just democratic state and a prosperous nation in fulfillment of SPLM’s ideals.

The SPLM envisages that the National Army shall be the defender of our sovereignty, territorial integrity

and democracy. At the core of its doctrine shall be the protection of the independence, democratic gains and economic interests of our nation. It shall be, without fail, educated, professional, representative, empowered and transformed to achieve these national goals. The National Army shall reflect our diversity in its formation and composition. Its veterans and rank and file shall be held in the highest esteem, in honor of their historic sacrifices and struggle for our independence. They shall, in turn, hold the rights, dignity, security and interests of our people. They are the People's army. They are the army of a democratic developmental state under the rule of law.

The National Army is an indispensable foundation of our national security. The SPLM shall commit to a total defense strategy in which every woman and man in our country shall play an effective role.

The SPLM shall equally ensure full implementation of the legislation and regulations of the Law Enforcement Agencies in South Sudan and build their capacities in order to protect the rights of the people, their lives and properties.

4. Culture and Heritage

The SPLM shall strive to promote and develop our multitude ethnic cultures, arts and means of livelihoods. This is because South Sudan comprises of diverse nationalities and ethnicities. Since time immemorial our people have struggled to preserve their rich cultures against foreign domination and assimilation.

The SPLM policy on culture shall aim at preserving and promoting all positive elements of our cultures, in which behavioral and attitudinal changes are geared towards productivity, discipline and pursuit of excellence. South Sudan, therefore, shall be a nation-state which is a salad-bowl of all these cultures in pursuit of nation building.

5 Health Care

The SPLM shall ensure effective, accessible, and affordable health care system in the Republic of South Sudan. This is because the conditions of far too many South Sudanese is grim. For instance, infant and maternal morbidity and mortality rates are among the highest in the world. Access to adequate nutrition, clean water and appropriate medical services are

fundamental human rights that shall be protected as a primary responsibility of the State.

In the light of the preceding paragraph, the SPLM is committed to establish an efficient and effective nationwide Primary Healthcare System and Universal Healthcare Service from the Boma to the National levels. The SPLM policy is to make health services accessible and affordable to all. This in turn requires the expansion and training of the healthcare workforce and development of pharmaceutical industry for production of generic medicine to reduce the cost of the service. Our policy is targeted at reducing infant and maternal mortality rates, and combating diseases such as malaria, HIV/AIDS, etc in order to improve the well-being of our citizens. The SPLM shall promote, protect and develop indigenous knowledge and know-how in treatment and healing of infirmity.

6. Provision of Universal Education

The SPLM stands for formal education and alternative learning as the main tool of social transformation, modernization and development of South Sudan. It is also an important tool for nation building and integration. The SPLM shall make concerted efforts to provide universal and quality education for all. The

quality of such education cannot be guaranteed without the reforming and assurance of a South Sudanese national curriculum and consistently high standards of teaching.

The SPLM shall launch an education revolution with the declared goal to eliminate illiteracy in the framework of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SPLM shall specifically target adult and inclusive education to eliminate illiteracy among both women and men. In addition, it shall establish centers for vocational and technical training and to provide much needed skilled labor.

In order to ensure rapid human capital and resource development the SPLM shall aim to have efficiently managed boarding schools in every county in the country. To ensure the education of girls, the SPLM shall commit to the construction of at least three boarding schools (grades K-12) for girls in each state.

The SPLM shall allocate adequate financial resources for building, world-class universities, in collaboration with regional and international centers of learning and research with focus on science, technology, and

innovation. The SPLM shall aim at creating higher education that encourages critical thinking, innovation research and development (R&D) on various aspects of society including natural resource development and management.

7. Women Empowerment

The SPLM is committed to the total emancipation of women from the vices of segregation, patriarchal domination and male chauvinism. Historically, culturally, socially, economically and politically, South Sudanese women have been systematically denied their most basic rights to equal participation in the political and economic life of the nation. They have been oppressed politically and suppressed economically by the society. In spite of this fact, South Sudanese women have been a strong pillar of our revolutionary struggle for freedom and independence since its inception.

The SPLM shall fully adhere to and implement its policy of at least thirty-five percent (35%) affirmative action to empower women out of the current social and legal status to which they are condemned. South

Sudan cannot achieve its developmental goals without the full participation of women.

8. Youth Participation in Nation Building and State-Formation

The SPLM shall endeavor to mobilize and prepare our Youth to participate effectively in the social, economic and democratic processes that will transform our society. The SPLM shall encourage their participation in culture, arts and sports activities. Mentoring, internships, training and apprenticeships in all different fields shall be promoted.

The SPLM shall support the youth enlisting in National Service; upon successful completion of national service, the party supports eligibility for scholarships, loans, grants and job training. The SPLM shall enhance the skills of youth through technical and vocational training centres.

The SPLM shall ensure that at least twenty (20%) affirmative action to empower the youth and to prepare them to lead the country in nation-building, social development and economic transformation.

9. Establishment of Social Welfare System

The SPLM aspires for an effective social welfare system. This would require enactment of legislations to provide opportunities and social security safety-net guaranteed for all citizens. The SPLM shall advocate for the provision of decent, affordable and environmentally friendly housing as well as adequate social infrastructure, such as schools, health care centers, recreational and cultural centers, and physical infrastructure to provide essential services such as potable water, electricity, public communications and a transport system.

(a) Family and Child

The SPLM considers the family as the basic unit of a nation and shall, therefore, initiate and develop family and child-centered policies. The SPLM shall equally prioritize resources for provision of pre-natal and post-natal care that will considerably reduce the mother and child morbidity and mortality rates. To accomplish this, the SPLM will focus on strengthening the capacity of the medical facilities in the localities.

The government shall build day care centers and kindergartens to assist the working mothers.

(b) Forced/Early Marriage

The SPLM stands for promotion of legislations that combat harmful custom and traditions that undermine the development of the child girl and hinders equal participation of women, including the practice of forced and early marriages. The SPLM shall advocate for the legislation and enforcement of laws protecting the rights of girls and women.

(C) The Elderly and People with Special Needs

The SPLM shall ensure policies necessary to support the senior citizens, people with special needs, orphans, war widows and war widowers, and veterans; such assistance shall include health service, education and pensions where applicable.

10. Fighting Corruption

The SPLM defines corruption as a dishonest and/or illegal, social, cultural and immoral behavior especially of people in authority and influence. It most

prominently entails embezzlement, abuse of authority, bribery, dishonest practices at work, sexual harassment, nepotism, misappropriation of public funds, favoritism and malpractices. Corruption means the deception, ruining or the spoiling of a society or a nation. A corrupt society stops valuing integrity, virtue or moral principles. The fight against corruption constitutes one of the key pillars of good governance and it shall be waged with ever increasing rigor.

The SPLM resolutely stands against the rampant corruption that has taken root in our institutions and society. The SPLM shall uphold the principles of accountability, transparency and good governance to combat corruption. Therefore, decisive action needs to be taken to stop the massive plundering of our economic resources that has or may deprive our country of the means to transform our economy and society.

11. Combating Tribalism

South Sudan is a multi-ethnic society which consists of multitude of tribes: However, the SPLM considers tribalism as a negation to our national identity as South Sudanese. It absolutely rejects the use of

tribalism and tribal parochial tendencies for dividing our people and for personal, political and economic gain.

12. Nationhood and South Sudanese Identity

The official birth of the Republic of South Sudan as a modern nation state begins on July 9th, 2011. It is the day that marks our independence and national identity.

The SPLM considers South Sudanese as Africans. Our nation was forged in the cauldron of the struggle for our national liberation. The SPLM is committed, as part of this nation, to make our shared experience a foundation of our national identity. The SPLM shall purposely enrich our multicultural heritage and diversity in order to enhance our national cohesiveness, commonality, territorial integrity and sovereignty. South Sudan nationhood is one indivisible whole.

13. Management of the Economy

South Sudan is one of the developing country in the world with vast natural resources endowment, but

very low level of human capital, absence of basic infrastructure, and extreme levels of poverty. The challenges of underdevelopment and the management of our economy are social, institutional and politico-economic.

The SPLM aspires to build a knowledge-based economy in the national interest of our people. This requires establishment of strong democratic government, developmental focused leadership and meritocratic cable management.

The developmental economic model of South Sudan shall aim at sustainable and scientific management of our abundant national resources to achieve inclusive-equitable development in the interest of our population, rural and urban. Our developmental objective entails massive investment in human productive capacities and in order to eradicate poverty. Critical to our developmental program is wealth and job creation, the equitable redistribution of the wealth of the nation and the provision of basic social services to all the people of South Sudan through the policy of taking towns to the people.

The state shall play a dominant and leading role in directing, regulating and incentivizing both the public and private sectors, trade unions and other stakeholders to make significant contributions to our economy and development. The state shall invest in developing our technological know-how and advancement.

While more than 80% of our population lives in rural areas and are dependent upon subsistence agriculture, 98% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is generated from oil revenue. It is, therefore, vital to invest the generated capital to fuel rural development, the transformation of traditional farming and development of the agricultural sector and industrialization. South Sudan's government shall establish a Future Generations' Fund from oil revenue.

14. Sustainable Environment

The Climate change presents a serious global risk to humanity at large and Africa in particular where in all four regions and all seasons the median temperature increase lies between 3 and 4 degrees Celsius that is roughly 1.5 times the global mean response. In East

Africa, this will result in reduction of crop yields by as much as 50% by 2020.

The SPLM shall formulate and adapt policies that promote environmental safety for the benefit of humanity at home, Africa and the world at large. The SPLM is committed to the principles of global sustainable environmental development and integrity, the fight against climate change and the construction of a sustainable green economy based on renewable energy sources, and equitable sharing of atmospheric space. Environmental policies and management in South Sudan will be strongly promoted based on the principals of human security, sustainable human and economic development.

The focus is on equitable and sensible utilization of natural resources among the citizens without jeopardizing the rights of future generations; preventing resource-based conflict and its consequences; acknowledging the citizens' rights to a clean, safe and healthy environment, and spreading the culture of environmental protection through the principle of environmental conservation.

15. Foreign Policy

The SPLM and the people of South Sudan form part of the global human family of nations. As members of the United Nations and the African Union, the SPLM is committed to the principles of global justice and international law. In its world-wide interactions, the SPLM is committed to promote the values of internationalism, human rights and support for national liberation struggles against oppression and tyranny.

The SPLM shall endeavor to work with other like-minded forces to promote the transformation of the current conflicted global order to a more just one. The Party shall also struggle to chart a path of hope and human solidarity, to pursue resolution of conflicts through dialogue and peaceful means. In doing so, the SPLM proceeds from the premise that all nations have a shared responsibility to eliminate the threats to the human condition: global poverty, climate change, environmental degradation and gender inequality.

The SPLM's standpoint on these global challenges is prompted by its profound commitment to realize the interest of the South Sudanese people, as well as by its

commitment to the well-being of humanity as a whole. The SPLM will continue to build and strengthen progressive alliances and networks across the globe, including inter-state, party-to-party and people-to-people relations in pursuit of an equitable and humane global order.

16. Membership

The SPLM is a revolutionary democratic party that recruits from a wide cross-section of our society. The fundamental membership requirement is the voluntary registration and fulfillment of all terms of membership. The SPLM shall orient and train its members on its vision, mission, core values and principles whose ultimate objective is to deliver peace, security and prosperity. The dedicated members and supporters are the guarantee for our electability. The SPLM strives to govern and have full control of the government of the day in order to fulfill its objectives.

17. Leadership

The SPLM has inherited a solid tradition of strategic ingenuity, self-sacrifice, pragmatism, incremental and collective responsibility. The SPLM shall continue to provide exemplary leadership, resolute and focused on SPLM's Vision and Core Values.

The new phase of the Movement's struggle generates numerous expectations placed upon the SPLM, which requires performance oriented leadership i.e. developmentally focused. The SPLM leadership shall be a model of transparency, accountability and good governance and will fight against all forms of corruption and impunity. The SPLM shall deliver on its promises made to the people at all stages of the struggle. The SPLM leadership has an obligation to listen to and acknowledge the views, opinions and aspirations of the members of SPLM and the people of South Sudan and act upon them.