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PEACE *of Neighbors*

The final report by the Ambassador Group (AG), with their observations and recommendations based on visiting the State of Jonglei in South Sudan from Dec. 2011 to Jan. 2012.



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Ambassador Group: Jonglei Peace of Neighbors Report
July 2012

This report provides details of the Ambassador Group (AG) trip to the State of Jonglei in South Sudan from December 2011 to January 2012. Our observations serve as the foundation for the policy recommendations included in this report, which was prepared with assistance from Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service.



Table of Contents

Introduction.....	6
Background Information	6
South Sudan Institute	6
Ambassador Group.....	7
Methodology	8
Welcome Home Meeting with South Sudan Vice President	8
Counties Tour Report	10
Introductory Summary and Methodology.....	10
Twic East County Report	11
Brief Summary	11
Conflict Findings and Recommendations.....	11
Duk County Report	12
Brief Summary	12
Conflict Findings and Recommendations.....	13
Ayod County Report.....	15
Brief Summary	15
Conflict Findings and Recommendations.....	16
Wuror County Report.....	19
Brief Summary	19
Conflict Findings and Recommendations.....	20
Bortown and Juba.....	22
Briefing in Bortown – Governor Kuol and State Officials	22
Juba – Dr. Riek, Dr. Barnaba, Head of South Sudan Peace Commission and Others.....	23
Ambassador Group’s Findings and Recommendations	25



Ambassador Group’s Findings	25
Lack of Inter-counties Road Connection	25
Disarmament and Protection	26
Cattle Raiding and Theft.....	27
Lack of Education.....	27
Restriction to Water Resources.....	29
NGOs Food Supplies Blockage.....	29
Lack of Dialogue and Interaction	29
Border Dispute.....	29
Duk-Wuror Pajut Issue	30
Chiefs’ Salary and Incentives	30
Lack of Communication Services.....	30
Politicians and the Educated are the Problems.....	31
Kidnapping of Children and Women.....	31
Ambassador Group’s Recommendations	31
1. One-Month Training for Tribal Chiefs, Elders, Women Leaders and Clergy	31
2. Deployment of Security Forces.....	32
3. Road Connectivity to Improve Life and Security Statewide.....	32
4. Political Leaders Encourage the Peace Message.....	33
5. Training of Civil Society	33
6. Establishment of Peace and Humanitarian Ministry	34
7. Jonglei and the Greater Upper Nile Youth Conferences	34
8. Comprehensive Disarmament	34
9. Establishment of Development Project in Jonglei	34
10. Protect and Tax Citizens’ Property	34



South Sudan Institute presents

PEACE OF NEIGHBORS:

The Jonglei Peace and Reconciliation Ambassador Group Project

5

11. Cow Ownership Verification (COV)	36
12. Adult Education and Job Training Centers.....	36
13. Dowry Regulation.....	37
Follow-up to Jonglei Peace of Neighbors Project.....	39
Concluding Summary	40
References and Contacts.....	43
References	43
Ambassador Group and South Sudan Institute Contact Information.....	44



Introduction

Jonglei, like other states in South Sudan, has experienced tribal turmoil both before and since achieving independence on July 9, 2011. Many citizens of the state have lost their lives in this violence, irrespective of whether their role has been as aggressors or victims.

The genesis of these tribal-based conflicts is hard to pinpoint because it stems in part from a strategy of incitement by Khartoum. One contributing factor is that some citizens of South Sudan believe that it is part of their tradition that men must prove their manhood by acquiring material wealth, even if that means killing in order to steal cattle. Another factor is that some see the ongoing violence as an opportunity to avenge the killing of their community members and to obtain the return of children and women abducted by other tribes. A final factor is that in recent years, these conflicts have been turning into poverty wars, in which those who feel unable to support themselves and their families attack and loot from other tribes. Regardless of the exact mix of contributing factors, the killing in Jonglei goes on, and what is critical at this moment is stopping it.

In response to this crisis, South Sudan Institute (SSI) and CARE South Sudan are working to help Jonglei tribes develop the skills and courage to solve their tribal-based conflicts. The ultimate goal is for the tribes to live peacefully and respectfully with one another. The report you are about to read concerns a peace project known as the Jonglei Peace of Neighbors. The project was carried out by citizens of Jonglei State called the Ambassador Group (AG). The group's members, who now live in North America, went home to South Sudan in December 2011 to help their tribes learn to coexist.

Background Information

Jonglei State is home to five main ethnic groups: Dinka, Nuer, Murle, Anyuak, and Jie. Since the Arabs in the North took over Sudan from British rule in 1956, the tribes in South Sudan have never been at peace. There have been countless raids and counter-raids among these tribes in general, and those of Jonglei in particular. Many of these raids stem from the Khartoum regime's strategy of inciting tribal violence, or from a desire for revenge or loot. Sadly, as the result of Khartoum's arming of some tribes, as well as the presence of arms left over from the Sudanese civil war, automatic weapons are readily available in Jonglei State. At the same time, armed cattle theft continues to proliferate.

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In response to the need for peace, food security, and education in Jonglei State, SSI was established in January 2008 as a non-profit organization with a mission to provide services in the areas of education, agriculture, and peace-building. To implement the peace-building component, SSI, with financial support from CARE South Sudan, recruited 22 citizens of Jonglei State living in North America to form the Ambassador Group.

In December 2011, the AG traveled to Jonglei State to implement the Jonglei Peace of Neighbors project. The group's members went there as mentors for their native tribes, because each person has a rich history of experiences in peace and reconciliation. Each AG member promotes peaceful



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The Jonglei Peace and Reconciliation Ambassador Group Project

7

coexistence based on their experiences in North America and their 15 years of living peacefully together in wartime refugee camps, regardless of tribal affiliation. The Jonglei Peace of Neighbors initiative is a vital reminder of the importance of unity among Jonglei tribes and how the AG members must continue to nurture a message of peace among their respective tribes.



Members of AG travel between Duk Padiet and Ayod counties during December 2011 trip.

Ambassador Group

The AG is composed of residents and citizens of the United States who are members of various South Sudanese tribes. These individuals have volunteered to return to Jonglei State to teach peace and reconciliation skills. The efforts of Sudanese refugees in the United States contributed to South Sudan's historic achievement of independence on July 9, 2011. The AG members are well-respected and influential individuals who are listened to by their respective tribes in Jonglei State. They have a wealth of academic knowledge and are dedicated to seeing Jonglei State succeed.



Methodology

The AG used the following methods to obtain, gather, circulate, and convey peace messages during their trip through four counties of Jonglei:

- Peace rallies in all four counties
- Meetings with county administrators, chiefs, and youth leaders
- Messages of peace preached at church worship services and church gatherings
- Peace conferences with villagers
- Interviews across the board to obtain information related to peace
- Employment of “peace coordinators” hired by SSI to mobilize, inform, and prepare counties for rallies and meetings before the AG’s arrival
- Meeting in Juba with H.E. Vice President of South Sudan, Dr. Riek Machar

‘Welcome Home’ Meeting with South Sudan Vice President

The AG had the opportunity to meet with H. E. Mr. Vice President of the Republic of South Sudan (SS), Dr. Riek Machar, to brief him on the launching of Jonglei Peace of Neighbors.



AG members Moses Moyong, Angelina Machar, John Chuol Kuek, and Banak Kueth meet with, Vice President. Dr. Riek Machar (center) in Juba, South Sudan, in December 2011.



Although the vice president's schedule was full, he nonetheless met with AG representatives for a full report that conveyed the complete picture and scope of the project. He assured the AG that the RSS and the government are in full support of the project. The vice president further expressed optimism that Jonglei Peace of Neighbors might, after all, bring solutions to the problems facing the state's communities. He recommended that AG should continue without fear of failure as their idea "has not been tried and it is a convincing concept to many people." The vice president pledged that the government would help once AG had identified the issues of contention among the targeted communities in Jonglei, adding that the RSS would work to implement solutions to those issues identified in the AG's recommendations.

The AG gratefully acknowledges the assistance of both Mr. Lam Chuol, former SPLM Chairman in the state of Nebraska and Goi Deng Leek, Chairman of Greater the Upper Nile, Greater Bar El Gazelle and Greater Equatoria Youth Association (GUBEYA), in arranging this meeting.



AG, SSI, and CARE International Staff at Panyagor UN compound, Twic East County, Jonglei State.



Counties Tour Report

Introductory Summary and Methodology

Upon their arrival from North America, the AG members were welcomed by CARE South Sudan and SSI representatives at CARE South Sudan's compound in Panyagoor, Twic East County of Jonglei State. There, they spent two days in a preparatory workshop before embarking on a circuit of inter-county peace rallies in Twic East, Duk, Ayod, and Wuror counties. The Peace of Neighbors project ended with debriefings in Bortown and Juba, the capital city of the Republic of South Sudan. The root causes of the tribal-based conflicts they researched throughout the trip are reported below.



AG members meet with Twic East County chiefs.



Twic East County Report

Brief Summary

The first peace rally, which was conducted in Twic East, was attended by chiefs, local county administrators, men, women, youth, health workers, educators, and the general public. The location was a local county administration office. At the event, the AG members engaged with ordinary people at the grassroots level to learn more about the issues the residents of Twic East on a daily basis. The root causes of insecurity in Jonglei are attributable to poverty. Communities there are so poor that they lack basic necessities such as food, medicine, clean water, and education for the youth. The AG members listened to grievances and complaints expressed by members of these communities. Similar issues were reported across the board, from Twic East to Wuror County. The engagement resulted in a critically important assessment that helped clarify issues the locals are facing daily.

It is important that the government of Jonglei and the national government of South Sudan grasp and help tackle, in a timely manner, the issues we identified. The AG collected a tremendous amount of data for use in the study of how to resolve these issues. The following are the hard facts reported by the chiefs and community leaders in the counties:

Conflict Findings and Recommendations

Conflict Findings:

- There is widespread belief that some politicians and educated people are the instigators, e.g., politicians providing their own constituents with satellite radios (*thuraya*) and guns.
- Poverty and lack of food lead to cattle theft and raiding.
- Lack of roads and development hinders rapid response by public security forces.
- Kidnapping, e.g., of children and women, is a source of clashes.
- Disputes over borders demarcation also spark conflicts.
- The lack of intervention by government and local authorities allows conflicts to continue.
- Lack of school/education contributes to conflicts.
- Rampant guns possession/ownership makes it easy for the level of violence to escalate.

Recommendations:

- Chiefs should advise youth to stop cattle raids.
- A workshop/leadership conference to educate chiefs about conflict resolution would be beneficial.
- The government should build schools for children to address education gap.
- Local courts and the Supreme Court should intervene as needed to stop conflicts.
- Create and enforce strict gun control laws and procedures for turning in weapons that effectively disarm the warring parties.



Duk County Report



Duk County chiefs and residents.

Brief Summary

Insecurity and Killing of Duk Chief

Duk residents who met with the AG accused their neighboring Nuer of Lou and Gawaar, as well as their fellow Dinka of Twic East, of causing insecurity in their area. They accused the Gawaar Nuer of cattle theft and murder, and called for the release of prisoners jailed without trial in Twic East's Panyagoor. They complained that Twic authorities imprisoned their people, demanding cattle for their release. When given some cattle, the Duk residents said, the authorities rejected them and demanded "better ones." They also leveled accusations against their fellow Dinka. They gave an example of 50 members of the Paker clan, who they alleged were captured and put in jail in Duk for trying to steal cattle from Patualoi village. Some were allegedly killed by the SPLA in this incident. Those interviewed expressed doubts about prospects for real peace unless the killers of a particular chief were brought to justice. The Duk chiefs told AG members that "the Lou Nuer love fighting, and you can't stop them unless you respond to them in the same way."



Water Resources and Pastures

Residents pointed to disputes over pastures and watering holes as the main cause of fighting between the Lou Nuer and Dinka of Duk County. The Duk, they said, normally welcome the neighboring Lou Nuer to their water resources during the dry season. However, they accused the Lou Nuer of ignorance, saying that each year their cattle damage property. They also accused the Lou Nuer of cattle theft.

Poverty and Unemployment

Food shortages were reported as another factor contributing to insecurity in Jonglei State. The ongoing violence discourages village farmers from cultivating their crops as they did in the past. Food from the World Food Program never reaches them, residents alleged, during the rainy season because of problems with roads. They asked the AG to help them secure agricultural and manufacturing projects to boost food security and job creation.

Lack of Education

Duk residents who spoke with the AG demanded that the Nuer of Ayod and Wuror counties build schools to stop children from loitering and engaging in cattle raids. The Duk chief believe that educated people “fear death” and favor dialogue over disputes over issues related to land, cattle raids, and political affiliation.

Government Ignorance and Lack of Commitment from Peacemakers

Duk’s chiefs believe peace in Jonglei State will not be possible if peacemakers only invest in talks, without follow-up and implementation of what villagers request. They questioned the AG about how their peace mission would be different from previous peace efforts conducted in Twic East, Dr. John Garang University, and other places within Jonglei State. They accused politicians from the national and state government of ignorance and mismanagement in all areas of their responsibilities. For example, they alleged that these authorities “always collect guns and return them to villagers with the intent of protecting their [own] constituencies.” Residents said they believed that comprehensive disarmament could succeed only if carried out by all Jonglei tribes, and if the police were deployed to protect villagers and their property. They also expressed a desire for an equal distribution of resources to all counties of Jonglei.

Conflict Findings and Recommendations

Conflict Findings:

- Lack of schools has left children in Ayod and Wuror idle and aggressive.
- Competition over water resources and cattle grazing lands spark confrontations.
- Poverty and lack of employment contribute to violence.
- Poor or absent road connections between counties contributes to poverty, fueling violence.
- Residents call the Lou Nuer responsible for insecurity in their area.
- Tribalism, nepotism, and government ignorance are also blamed for contributing to conflicts
- Residents identified the killing of their high-ranking chief as a source of bitterness.



- Unequal distribution of resources by the government causes jealousies that lead to conflict.
- Traditional marking/beliefs make it easy to identify potential adversaries.
- Residents are greatly concerned by accusations of the rape of women and men by Gawaar.
- Cattle raiding by Twic East, Gawaar, and Lou Nuer causes conflict.
- Possession of guns facilitates the rapid escalation of violence.
- Residents called for an end to theft of their property and the grazing of cattle without permission on their property.



AG members and residents of Poktap meet on Christmas Eve in Poktap, Duk County.

Recommendations:

- Chiefs should advise youth to stop cattle raiding.
- A workshop/leadership conference to educate chiefs about conflict resolution would be beneficial.
- The government should build schools for children to close the education gap that feeds conflict.
- End the propaganda by “Ngun-Deng,” which residents identify as a source of conflict.
- Create and enforce strict gun control laws and procedures for turning in weapons that effectively disarm the warring parties.
- More efforts should be put into rape prevention, to protect women from this crime.



Ayod County Report



Chiefs in Ayod, Ayod County.

Brief Summary

The AG gathered and recorded first-hand information from chiefs, youth leaders, women associations, pastors, and county government officials at a peace rally. The information gathered in Ayod County is similar to that gathered earlier from Twic East and Duk counties. Present at the Ayod County rally was Minister of Law Enforcement Gabriel Duop. He closed the rally with his own highlights and recommendations.



AG members and SSI staff in Ayod County listen to a briefing by Jonglei State Minister for Law Enforcement and Security H.E. Gabriel Duop Lam.

Conflict Findings and Recommendations

Conflict Findings:

- **Disarmament:** Among many issues reported in Ayod, the gun possession problem was one of their priorities. The chiefs reported that “a disarmament process needs to take place so that we turn in our guns to our local authority with no problems.” They said that the disarmament must start in Bor South and Murle counties, identifying residents of those areas the “troublemakers.”
- **Chiefs’ and Youth Conference:** Local leaders in Ayod recognized a lack of interaction between Dinka and Nuer in the region. They called for a conference and training for both Dinka and Nuer chiefs in order to normalize relationships when interaction between the two communities take place.



- Issue of “Akeer” Versus “Keer”: One of the key points of contention in the county was a cattle grazing camp, variously known as “Akeer” in Dinka or “Keer” in Nuer. The conflict is over ownership of the area, symbolically represented in a dispute over how it is named. The chiefs stated in very strong terms that “if the Dinka keep calling this camp ‘Akeer,’ we will attack them.” It is the opinion of some AG members that this particular dispute has a political agenda attached to it. The AG’s analysis is that the conflict over calling the area “Keer” or “Akeer” seems to have been triggered by the recent discovery of oil there. Both sides are claiming ownership, hopes of benefitting from the natural resources when extracted.
- Chiefs’ Salary, Education, Kidnapping, Lack of Health Care: Residents reported that chiefs need to be paid so that they do their work properly. They also identified a lack of education as a factor contributing to their biggest concern, poverty, which has been the primary force behind insecurity in Jonglei State as a whole. They further condemned their other Dinka neighbors for kidnappings and killings. For example, they alleged that one of their own community was killed in Duk Payuel by the Dinka of Duk Padiet. This was reported as a serious issue that they wanted to prevent from happening to others in their community.
- Cattle Raiding: Cattle rustling by residents of Twic East and Duk counties were also issues that the peace rally participants wanted to see stopped. They claimed that these raids are not initiated by them, but by their neighbors, and cited as contributing factors poverty, lack of health care, and underdevelopment in agriculture and the economy.

Recommendations:

Ayod County residents’ recommendations, as presented below, were similar to those of their neighbors:

- Chiefs’ Training: Residents saw training as a viable tool to maintaining peace in Jonglei. They reported that chiefs need to know their task when it comes to providing security; and that they should advise the youth to stop cattle raiding. They believe that a chiefs’ workshop or leadership conference will help them build a better relationship among Nuers and Dinkas.
- Education: Those interviewed said that the government should build schools for children, particularly for girls, because everyone needs to be educated in order to minimize illiteracy, poverty, and insecurity.
- Disarmament and Protection: The chiefs of Ayod said gun possession is an issue and recommended that a comprehensive disarmament campaign take place immediately in all counties of Jonglei. There must also be enough police deployed to protect citizens after the disarmament. Ayod’s chiefs said repeatedly that disarmament needs to start with their tribal neighbors, the Murle, Dinka, and then Gawaar, because they are not the ones initiating aggression in the region.
- The chiefs of Ayod recommended that they should receive a monthly salary so that they remain active in maintaining peace between neighbors.



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The Jonglei Peace and Reconciliation Ambassador Group Project

18

- Health and Medical Supplies: The people of Ayod reported a lack of medical care and recommended that the government and NGOs help build clinics and hospitals to eradicate communicable diseases such as cholera.
- Solution to the “Akeer” Versus “Keer” Issue: Ayod’s residents concluded by stressing that the grazing area their neighbors call “Akeer” should actually be called “Keer,” saying that failure to achieve this would disrupt peace between Duk Padiet and Gawaar. Based on the AG’s observations, the matter of “Akeer” versus “Keer” should be taken up by the state government’s Land Commission, and Jonglei State should come up with a strategy to deal with this border issue in order to eliminate tensions between these neighbors.



Wuror County Report



Chiefs meet in Yuai, Wuror County.

Brief Summary

The AG visited Wuror County to hear from residents why they have been having issues with their neighbors in Duk, Gawaar and Twic East. The AG members present were composed of members of the Nuer and Dinka. They joined hands to show that they are one people. The AG reviewed a vast array of issues, carrying out a needs assessment at the county level. The AG reviewed information reported by the chiefs, youth leaders, women's association, NGOs, and local counties and *payam* leaders as the primary legitimate sources. The AG examined a multitude of internal issues driving these people against each other in the counties and on the individual level.



Conflict Findings and Recommendations

Conflict findings:

- **Restrictions on Access to Water Resources:** Access to water resources topped the list of issues reported by the people of Wuror. “Restrictions on accessing water placed on our cattle by Duk and Gawaar residents during the summer is our main problem with these neighbors,” said one of the county residents who met with the AG members. This issue is fundamentally rooted in a decade of uncontrolled management of cattle grazing camps. The people of Wuror acknowledged that their biggest mistake had been choosing a landlocked area in the first place. They claim that when they move to their water source or cattle grazing camp, their cows are often stolen by their neighbors from Duk County. They further claim that their neighbors’ intention has been to stop them from going to their camp. Residents reported that this cattle stealing and raiding by the Dinka of Duk, Gawaar Nuer and Dinka of Twic East created animosity between them.
- **Cattle Theft:** In addition to this water resource problem, residents reported another issue: neighbor’s accusations of cattle theft. “When we tried to sell cows that we brought back from Murle to Dinka of Duk and Twic East, Dinka often accused us of cattle theft,” said one of the residents interviewed by the AG members. A complicated web of accusations and counter-accusations surrounds the alleged thefts and attempts to reclaim stolen cattle. All the parties concerned feel wronged.
- **Threat of Guns:** The people of Wuror also acknowledged the widespread possession of guns as a problem. They reported that problems that used to be resolved peacefully can no longer be settled when guns are involved. They called for security and gun control, and said they would simply surrender their own guns as soon as the government requests them to do so.
- **Inter-counties Road Connection:** Residents reported a need for roads to obtain better supply routes, saying the lack of roads also prevented people from cultivating their farms. They need roads to connect them with the rest of the counties during the rainy season and get their goods to market.
- **Lack of Media and Means of Communication:** People claimed that the government neglected them by not providing them with means of communication, such as satellite, internet and landline phones. They said it was crucial that they have the same access to the media as others in Jonglei, the rest of the states in South Sudan, and other parts of the world.
- **Murder of Wuror Merchants and Traders:** Residents expressed deep concern over the killing of Wuror merchants and traders, allegedly by the people of Duk County. The killings took place sometime in the past, particularly in Poktap, and are one of the most serious issues driving them to hate their neighbors. Local people asked AG members: “How can we achieve peace while our neighbors are attacking us on our way between the state capital and our county?” **Duk-Wuror Border Dispute:** The area of Pajut in Duk County was mentioned as an issue that needed resolution, and an obstacle to putting aside animosity. Residents claimed that



Pajut and its people belong to Wuror, but not Duk; and called on the government to resolve the matter.

- **Lack of Food, Supplies, and Political Instability:** The people of Wuror believe that residents of Duk County are intentionally blocking their access to food supplies from the government and NGOs. They assert that the government of Jonglei distributes food to all of the state's people, and that their portion is always retained by Duk County so that Wuror residents go hungry. Local people also noted a lack of schools, which they called deliberate government neglect aimed at leaving them isolated and illiterate. "Lack of agricultural and economic development" was also high on their list. They called poverty the main driving force behind the region's cattle raiding. "Politicians are the problem," was heard by the AG many times. Many blame late Dr. Garang and Dr. Riek, calling these two leaders responsible for the split of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in 1991 that brought war between these neighbors. They reported that they remain enemies to each other even though the government is united. They claimed that politicians brought this war to them. "Jonglei State's leadership — [H. E. Mr. Governor] Kuol Manyang Juuk, in particular — favors Dinka," said Wuror county chiefs. This assumption was one of problems reported during the peace rally. The chiefs of Wuror alleged that during an inter-county meeting in Panyagor, Kuol told them that talking about their cows being snatched by the Dinka was just reminding Dinka of what had happened in the 1991 war.

Recommendations

- **Education, Infrastructure, and Economics:** At the end of the rally, the people of Wuror recommended that the government build schools for their children, encourage agricultural and economic development, provide means to stop inter-county cattle raiding, and build better roads for supplies and easy movement of security forces between the counties whenever there is a problem. They also recommended that the government provide regulation of water resources and cattle grazing camps, and allow free movement to Toch and back.
- **Leadership Training and Politics:** Wuror residents who spoke with the AG believed that resentments smoulder because there is no interaction between neighbors. They therefore recommended that the government set up a chiefs' conference and leadership training. They said they wanted their local leaders to get together for at least 3-4 weeks of training to foster friendship and establish the best ways to work to gather, thereby helping the local law enforcement do their job. One of the chiefs also said that the Dinka "should be honest and stop talking behind people's backs." Wuror residents stated that the Dinka often made accusations about them to the government, and that they want the Dinka to stop this "gossip." They also demanded cattle stolen in raids should be returned by the Dinka, especially those taken by the Duk and Gawaar from Wuror herders en route to Murle.



Bortown and Juba



Members of Jonglei State Government including Governor Kuol Manyang (back row, sixth from left), Deputy Governor Hussein Maar (front row, standing, first on left) and members of AG in front of the Jonglei Statehouse.

Briefing in Bortown – Governor Kuol and Other State Officials

In Bortown, the Secretary General (SG) of Jonglei State, Professor Arop Leek, arranged for the AG members to debrief H. E. Mr. Governor Kuol Manyang Juuk, Deputy Governor Hussein Maar Nyuot, and other members of Kuol's cabinet. The AG was welcomed warmly. The Hon. Governor Kuol and his administration graciously accommodated AG members for two days in Bortown.

By the time the AG had finished their presentation, H. E. Governor and Deputy Governor felt that it was essential for the entire government of Jonglei State to hear the findings and to see the show of unity exhibited by AG members. On this basis, the AG was asked to spend another day in Bortown to debrief the entire group of government officials before proceeding to Juba. All the Jonglei State



officials present expressed gratitude and sincere appreciation for CARE South Sudan, SSI, and AG efforts in making Jonglei Peace of Neighbors a reality. H. E. Governor praised the efforts and, together with his Deputy, the Governor promised unwavering support should they need any help in the future.



AG members with Government of South Sudan Spokesman, Dr. Barnaba Marial at his office in Juba, South Sudan.

Juba – Dr. Riek, Dr. Barnaba, Head of South Sudan Peace Commission and Others

Upon their return to Juba, Minister of Information H.E. Dr. Barnaba Marial Benjamin invited the AG members to debrief him on the overall mission of the Jonglei Peace of Neighbors. Dr. Barnaba expressed appreciation for the “unending devotion” these members of the diaspora have demonstrated in helping South Sudan succeed. He also officially acknowledged the idea of Peace of Neighbors, saying, “This is a unique approach that could be used as a model for solving our problems.”

After debriefing, Dr. Barnaba invited South Sudan’s media to join the meeting. Dr. Barnaba and the AG made brief comments to the press regarding the outcome of Jonglei Peace of Neighbors. Dr. Barnaba saw an opportunity for the message of peace to get to many people. He invited all the members of the AG, as well as the elected officials representing Jonglei State in Juba, to a dinner. His idea was for the elected officials to learn what had transpired in the discussions that AG had with tribal chiefs, elders, youth, and others in Jonglei State.



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The Jonglei Peace and Reconciliation Ambassador Group Project

24

At the dinner, the AG members shared their experiences discussing peace. All the elected officials, including Dr. Barnaba, thanked the AG and recommended that the AG do more by recruiting many other members of the diaspora to join AG in efforts to fight tribal-based conflicts in South Sudan in general and in Jonglei State in particular. He went on to say that “when you return to South Sudan, let us know in advance so that we can travel to Jonglei State and counties together.” Dr. Barnaba promised that the government of South Sudan would always stand behind such efforts, and that he would write a letter of recommendation if SSI, CARE, or AG should need it.

The AG also met with the chairman of the Government of South Sudan’s Peace Commission, Mr. Chuol Rambang. The AG considered the meeting very productive because all sides expressed an understanding of what is at stake. Because of those high stakes, Mr. Rambang pledged support for what AG has done and said that Peace Commission officials would like to participate in the next peace tour.



Ambassador Group's Findings and Recommendations



Ayod residents meet with AG members to discuss their concerns.

Findings

The root causes of insecurity in Jonglei State are attributable to poverty, the desire for revenge, and the lack of a public forum where members of different tribes can mingle, get to know each other, and foster a sense of oneness as people of one nation. The following are the hard facts reported by the chiefs and community leaders in the counties:

Lack of Inter-county Roads

Jonglei's lack of roads has paved the way to the state's insecurity, according to chiefs, elders, women leaders, and youth. It has made inter-county movement very difficult for people, cars, security personnel and business services. As one frustrated chief told the AG, "The peace and reconciliation you are bringing to us will not be established by people traveling by air, as those from Juba and Bortown normally do when their constituencies are attacked."

The chiefs recommended that roads be built so that their areas are connected with the rest of the counties. This, they said, would enhance the easy movement of merchandise for trade and quick movement of police personnel to respond to emergencies in a timely manner.



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An AG vehicle stuck between Poktap and Duk Payuel in Duk County.

Disarmament and Protection



Jonglei Minister for Law Enforcement and Security H.E. Gabriel Duop Lam.
(Photo: Courtesy of Flickr/Yahoo)



The chiefs from all the counties that were visited said that gun ownership was a big problem in urgent need of attention. They reported that guns have contributed to the violence because simple issues that were resolved peacefully in the past were no longer possible to settle when guns were involved.

The chiefs called for a comprehensive disarmament campaign in all counties of Jonglei State, contingent upon government guarantees of adequate police protection for citizens and property after the weapons are turned in.



AG members travel between Paluony Village and Pathai in Wuror County.

Cattle Raiding and Theft

Chiefs, elders, and other participants in the peace rallies called cattle rustling a serious problem. Participants denied responsibility for initiating cattle raids, instead pointing the finger of blame at neighboring tribes.

Lack of Education

The high level of illiteracy in Jonglei State encourages lawlessness, according to those interviewed during the Peace of Neighbors project. Residents of the four counties said the government should build schools for the younger generation, so that they stay busy with schoolwork and aspire to better careers than raiding other tribes. Idleness, they said, leads young people to engage in cattle theft and



raiding within and among Jonglei tribes. This post-independence generation needs to be educated so that excessive illiteracy, poverty, and insecurity are reduced in the future.

The participants requested that government and NGOs build schools for children for yet another reason: to help them understand their rights and other people's rights.

Members of the Dinka tribe who spoke with the AG believe that "Nuer and Murle [tribespeople] will minimize attacks on other tribes if schools are built in their land, so that their youth are educated to fear death, since educators are cowards and afraid of death."



AG member Moses Moyong offers financial assistance to a young boy in Ayod County who is selling his bundle of poles. A lack of education and poverty force many of the county's children to seek out work in the informal sector.



Restrictions on Access to Water Resources

Restrictions on Access to Water Resources: Access to water resources topped the list of issues reported by the people of Wuror. “Restrictions on accessing water placed on our cattle by Duk and Gawaar residents during summer is our main problem with these neighbors,” said one person who met with the AG members. This issue is fundamentally rooted in a decade of uncontrolled management of cattle grazing camps. The people of Wuror acknowledged that their biggest mistake had been choosing a landlocked area in the first place. They claim that when they move to this water source or cattle grazing camp, their cows are often stolen by their neighbors from Duk County.

NGOs food Supplies Blockage

People of Wuror County who spoke with the AG accused residents of both Duk and Twic East counties of blocking the World Food Program from supplying them with food during the last two years. The chiefs of Wuror County claimed that the government of Jonglei State distributes food to all of Jonglei’s people, but that Wuror County’s portion is always retained by the Dinka of Duk County so that Wuror residents will starve. Lack of food, they added, has greatly contributed to frequent attacks and raiding, since many communities in Jonglei State depend on cattle herding to make a living.

Lack of Dialogue and Interaction

A lack of interaction among Jonglei State’s chiefs, elders, youth, and women leaders is prolonging unnecessary animosity, said those interviewed by the Ambassadors Group.

The participants suggested a conference and training for both Dinka and Nuer chiefs so that they would face each other in debate and clear up misunderstandings. This exercise would be a way to ease tensions and enable the chiefs to build relationships among the communities of Jonglei State. Those interviewed saw this training as a viable tool to maintaining peace in Jonglei, adding that chiefs need to know their responsibilities when it comes to providing security. For example, they called on the chiefs to advise the youth to stop the cattle raids. They said they believed that a chiefs’ workshop or leadership conference would help them build better relationships, especially among the Nuers and Dinkas, and that local leaders should get together for at least 3-4 of weeks training. The training, they said, would create friendships and allow leaders to find the best ways to work together, such as helping local law enforcement officials keep the peace.

Border Dispute

Issue of “Akeer” Versus “Keer”: One of the key points of contention in the county was a cattle grazing camp, variously known as “Akeer” in Dinka or “Keer” in Nuer. The conflict is over ownership of the area, symbolically represented in a dispute over how it is named. The chiefs stated in very strong terms that “if the Dinka keep calling this camp ‘Akeer,’ we will attack them.” It is the opinion of some AG members that this particular dispute has a political agenda attached to it. The AG’s analysis is that the conflict over calling the area “Keer” or “Akeer” seems to have been triggered by the recent discovery of oil there. Both sides are claiming ownership, hopes of benefitting from the natural resources when extracted.



Duk-Wuror Pajut Issue

The area of Pajut in Duk County was mentioned by residents of Wuror County as an issue that needed resolution, and an obstacle to putting aside animosity. People the AG spoke to in Wuror claimed that Pajut and its people belong to Wuror, not Duk; and called on the government to resolve the matter.

Chiefs' Salary and Incentives

One of the issues presented to the AG was a lack of salary for chiefs, who reported their need to be paid in order to do their work properly. They recommended that chiefs receive a monthly salary so that they remain active in maintaining peace between neighbors.



Women and youths of Wuror County meet with AG members.

Lack of Communication Services

People in Wuror County claimed that the government neglected them by not providing them with means of communication, such as satellite, internet and landline phones. They said it was crucial that they have the same access to the media as others in Jonglei, the rest of the states in South Sudan, and other parts of the world.



Some Politicians and the Educated Pose Problems

Juba and Bortown's politicians and educated elites help facilitate the creation of problems among Jonglei State tribes, according to those interviewed, who said the politicians provided their own constituents or tribes with means of communication for raids and attacks. Some politicians, generals and others provide their own communities with guns to facilitate raiding and revenge attacks. A chief from Twic East, for example, stated: "The problem of educated people is what is killing uneducated people, as Dr. Riek Machar, for example, started it in 1991."

"Deceased former SPLA General Nyuon Bany abandoned the [SPLA] and started killing Dinka and Nuer for his own political interests," added the chief. "Some of these educated people, even after the independence, are still in the bush, fighting their own people while Dr. Riek Machar, who was responsible for the 1991 Bor Massacre, is now governing the South Sudanese as their country's vice president," he added.

Kidnapping of Children and Women

The kidnapping of children and women is widely regarded as the worst practice accounting for bitterness among tribes in Jonglei State. As one representative of the state's female population told the AG, "Do not let fear slow you down; you have no reason to fear those politicians in Juba who, it seems, could care less even when innocent women and children are abducted and the elderly and our husbands are brutally murdered on their watch."

The women who spoke with AG members expressed gratitude to the AG, CARE South Sudan, and SSI for caring about the suffering of innocent children, women, and elderly in Jonglei State. However, the same women expressed displeasure that the Ambassador Group did not include female members.

Recommendations

Based on our findings on the ground from the local communities we visited, the following are our recommendations to NGOS and the RSS national and Jonglei State governments:

1. Offer One-Month Training for Tribal Chiefs, Elders, Female Leaders and Clergy

These leaders play a pivotal role in their communities' affairs and could influence the decisions made by youth in any direction. The traditional value of these communities, such as respect for elders, are still strong and can drive efforts to quell tribal-based conflict in Jonglei State. An investment in leaders ought to be made by organizing a one-month training for them in a single location.



AG police escort AG members between Ayod and Wuror counties. The AG was grateful for the protection of these security professionals, who are the bodyguards of Jonglei Minister for Law Enforcement and Security H.E. Gabriel Duop Lam.

2. Deploy Security Forces

The security situation in Jonglei state is very critical and it needs the participation of both the government of South Sudan and local communities. A massive deployment of security forces is needed to contain and deter crime while a comprehensive disarmament campaign is under way. However, the locals are very wary of the army. They fear the army will not help them when they are being raided by marauding militias, and instead term such attacks as tribal conflicts. All deployed security forces must be well-equipped with guns, non-lethal riot control and personal protection equipment, vehicles, communication devices, and government helicopters to help with transport in case of any emergency.

3. Improve Road Connectivity to Improve Life and Security Statewide

While security is the main concern in Jonglei state, a lack of passable roads hinder county police coordination when villages are attacked. Connecting all counties with roads would help not only to bring security, but also to support economic and infrastructure development for those in and outside of towns.



4. Encourage the Peace Message by Holding Politicians Accountable

Many of those who spoke with the AG accused government officials at the state and central levels of contributing to the conflicts in Jonglei state. We recommend that investigations be launched to verify the authenticity of these claims. Those found guilty must be held accountable. In almost every county we visited, we heard the same concerns: that politicians are supplying arms to their tribesmen and thereby creating a dangerous environment. We also found that trust is broken between communities and the government and politicians.

5. Train the Leaders of Civil Society

It is important for ordinary citizens to take part in finding solutions to their problems. They need to participate in civil society organizations. What we found during our visits to the counties was a lack of citizen involvement in the decision-making process. We that found solutions are being forced on people from the top down. There is a need to train civil society leaders to deal with community issues and to keep checks and balances on the government. Participants in the training would include tribal chiefs, youth leaders, and peace-building facilitators.



Second from right; António Guterres, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on his recent visit to assess the situation in South Sudan. (Photo: Courtesy of Dominique Marro, United Nations Refugee Agency)



6. Establish Peace and Humanitarian Ministry

We are calling for the establishment of a Peace and Humanitarian Ministry (PHM). The goal of the PHM would be to reduce violence in all its forms and to persuade the people of Jonglei State that the use of direct violence as a means to achieve an ends is uncivilized and counter-productive. This ministry would design a program to foster a culture of peace and to embed non-violent methods and approaches in all Jonglei public institutions.

7. Hold Jonglei and Greater Upper Nile Youth Conferences

We recommend that there be a statewide youth conference, as well as a regional (Greater Upper Nile) youth conference, where young people will set the course for their future. Needless to say, all the wars being fought in these areas are fought by youth. To stop this carnage of tribal-based conflict, there needs to be a coming together of this type each year, for three consecutive years.

8. Carry Out Comprehensive Disarmament

Both the state and national government are currently launching comprehensive disarmament projects in the country. This is a commendable effort and a great first step; however, this exercise will not do much, because there is no information on file about who owns guns and who does not. The success of this exercise will largely depend on the goodwill of civilians, who must willingly turn in their guns. Some individuals may not do so, for whatever reason, and plan to use them later when authorities are out of the vicinity.

It is imperative to say that some people in these communities own more than one gun. They can simply turn in one gun and keep others. This is why we recommend that the disarmament process include specific incentives to people to hand in their weapons.

9. Establish Development Project in Jonglei

If there is nothing of value in Jonglei's communities, then there is nothing to save, and therefore making peace loses its importance. Any NGO or government project set up to address development issues in Jonglei State should be explained to the receiving community as "peace dividends." Community members need to know that they will receive another project if they remain peaceful within their own borders and with other communities.

10. Protect and Tax Property

Unarmed civilians should not be left alone to protect themselves from criminals. The government should deploy a police force that is adequate enough to deter outside incursions and to protect citizens' lives and property. Ensuring that enough police are present in all *payams* in Jonglei State will enhance the quality of life there through proactive problem-solving, fair and equitable law enforcement, and the effective use of local resources.

The services described above cannot be delivered without citizens' support. One of the responsibilities that comes with independence and freedom is to pay taxes. These tax monies are meant to pay for better services, which in this case means the protection of cattle and other property. From the time



that they turn three years of age until they are old, (as evidenced by the loss of their lower teeth), cows should be taxed 1 South Sudanese Pound (SSP) per a month (about .33 USD).

This is a win-win situation where all parties can play a vital role in an effort to end conflict in Jonglei state. If the government is interested in adopting this recommendation, we will explain it in detail to answer any concerns.



AG members and SSI staff meet between Poktap and Duk Payuel in Duk County.



A young boy herds cattle in Poktap, Duk County.

11. Offer Cow Ownership Verification (COV)

The government should create a receipt that is difficult to counterfeit. These receipts need to be made available in each *payam*'s headquarters. Should a villager want to sell his/her cow at any market, they should first go and buy a COV for 5 SSP per a cow. The COV should have a space where the cow's color, height, gender, age, owner's name, *payam*, and county of origin are documented. The name of the owner's chief should also be recorded as well. The owner will take the original; the copy remains at that *payam*'s headquarters as a record, in case the original is lost. Once the cow is sold, the new owner will take the COV and immediately register the newly acquired cow at his *payam*'s headquarter at no cost.

12. Create Adult Education and Job Training Centers

The RSS government, along with international organizations, should set up adult education centers and job training centers throughout the country to educate, train, and prepare South Sudan's youth for the modern job market. This will be a difficult and costly undertaking, but it is a one sure way to bring peace to South Sudan.



Boys make the local hand sign for cattle in Twic East County.

13. Regulate Dowries

The RSS government should consider a law that would significantly reduce or cap the number of cows a young man can pay to a prospective wife's family as a dowry. The AG's research shows a clear link between the demand for dowries and cattle rustling. This, in turn, generates violence among communities. Young men find it profitable to attack rival ethnic groups because there is a lucrative market for cattle among the three tribes of Nuer, Dinka and Murle in Jonglei. In addition to making this the law of the land, the government needs to vigorously engage the youth and chiefs to help spread the culture of peace, and thereby create trust among the state's young people.



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AG members receive the hospitality of Latjor James Maayul and his wife Nyibol Dominic Dim at Paradise Hotel and Restaurant in Juba, South Sudan.



Hon. Gen. Kuol Manyang Juuk, Governor of Jonglei State, South Sudan.



H.E. Hussein Mar Nyot, Deputy Governor.



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39

Follow-up to Jonglei Peace of Neighbors Project

Since visiting South Sudan in December 2011 - January 2012, the AG members have been active in publicizing their findings and peace-building efforts across a variety of public forums and media. Most recently, on April 20, 2012, AG member Rev. Thon Moses Chol joined leading South Sudan advocates and policy experts for a panel discussion on the humanitarian crisis and development and health initiatives in South Sudan.

Held under the aegis of the United Nations Foundation, the event also included panelists António Guterres, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); moderator Elizabeth Gore, Vice President of Global Partnerships for the United Nations Foundation; and David Abramowitz, Vice President of Policy and Government Relations at Humanity United.



From L-R: Elizabeth Gore, Vice President of Global Partnerships for the United Nations Foundation, Moderator, António Guterres, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Rev. Thon Moses Chol and David Abramowitz, Vice President of Policy and Government Relations at Humanity United, at the United Nations Foundation's event in Washington, D.C. (Photo: Courtesy of Dominique Marro, United Nations Refugee Agency)



Concluding Summary

The Jonglei Peace of Neighbors project rests several basic tenets:

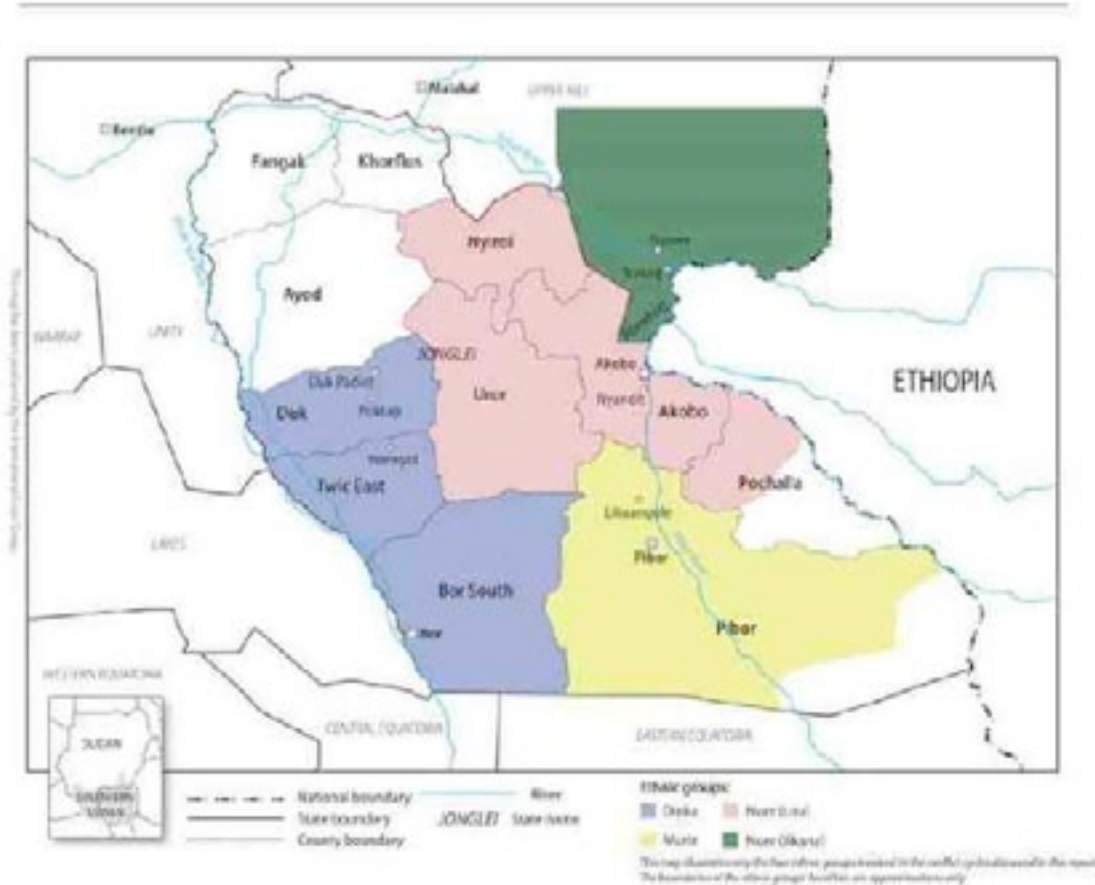
We, the AG, want peace among all people of Jonglei's tribes. We support and would take part in peaceful alternatives to respond to current mass killing among the Lou Nuer, Murle, and other tribes that are already involved in conflicts in the Republic of South Sudan. We condemn acts of terrorism, including tribal terrorism, and we mourn this terrorism's victims. We support an international effort to bring the perpetrators of all terrorist actions before the International Criminal Court when identified and confirmed. We, the AG members, demand fundamental changes in South Sudan's internal policy: a move from a philosophy of militarism to one of addressing social needs in order to foster cooperation among all tribes in Jonglei, thereby creating a healthy, peaceful, and sustainable country where the dignity and welfare of every person is respected. We, the AG, therefore, oppose government engagement in any and all types of armed conflict with civilians and we affirm that there must be peace and order to facilitate conflict resolution.

As a humanitarian agency, we adhere to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which, among other things, prohibits unjust, inhumane, and illegal punishment. Therefore, adherence to the rule of law is highly recommended in all efforts to bring to trial cattle raiders and thieves, who are hindering the development of the country. The AG opposes secret military campaigns against any tribe in South Sudan and supports peaceful means of disarming civilians when the government decides to carry out such a process. It is imperative that the government recognize, in practice, the worth of all people and work to eliminate ethnic and belief-based discrimination, profiling, and tribalism. We will work for a more equitable distribution of South Sudan's social services to all of its citizens. As AG members, we will always implement practices of peace and justice as we conduct our meetings, sponsor events or projects, and educate ourselves and the civil society of Jonglei State.

Jonglei Peace of Neighbors Prevails!



APPENDIX B
MAP OF JONGLEI AND KEY ETHNIC GROUPS



Explanations for Local Violence 2005 to 2011		
Report Date	Quote	Explanation
December 2005	“Dozens of civilians were killed in clashes between Zande and Bor Dinka... Further clashes, this time between Dinka and Moru tribes, claimed the lives of 18 civilians... Fifteen civilians were killed in fighting between Moro and Mbororo tribes in the first week of December.”	Ethnic rivalry / causality not attributed
September 2006	“The proliferation of small arms has contributed to the loss of hundreds of lives in communal clashes over land, water, and grazing rights.”	Insecurity, resource competition
August 2007	“Most incidents appeared to be related to clashes over natural resources... armed members of the Toposa tribe attacked unarmed members of the Didinga tribe in Lauro, Eastern Equatoria, killing 54 people, mostly women, and stealing 800 head of cattle.”	Resources, ethnic rivalry, cattle-raiding



January 2009	<p>“Inter-tribal violence linked to cattle disputes and exacerbated by the prevalence of civilian firearms, continues to present a significant threat to civilians across Southern Sudan.”</p> <p>“Land rights, migration issues and peaceful tribal coexistence need to be addressed urgently.”</p>	Cattle-raiding, insecurity, land issues
July 2009	<p>“Heavy fighting between the Murle and the Lou Nuer... resulting in estimated 195 civilians killed.”</p>	Ethnic rivalry/ causality not attributed
October 2009	<p>“Inter-tribal tensions erupted when a group of Murle attacked Lou Nuer villages... 161 people were killed... 66 people were killed in a cattle raid between the Luac and Dinka tribes... In another cattle raid on 28 August, Lou Nuer tribesman attacked a Dachuek village in Twic East County (Jonglei State), resulting in the deaths of 28 people... 1, 000 Lou Nuer tribesmen. attacked Duk County... resulted in 72 people being killed... Dinka and Mundari tribesmen clashed near Juba... killing 23 people.”</p>	Ethnic rivalry, cattle-raiding
January 2010	<p>“A confrontation over cattle between Mundari and Dinka Aliap in Awerial County (Lakes State) reportedly left 49 people dead.”</p>	Ethnicity rivalry, cattle-raiding
April 2010	<p>“Significant insecurity incidents occurred in Southern Sudan, including in Lakes, Upper Nile, Warrab and Jonglei States. Cattle rustling, migration-related incidents, and other inter-communal disputes remain conflict drivers in the south.”</p>	Cattle-raiding, migration
November 2011	<p>“Murle fighters attacked a number of Lou Nuer towns in Jonglei State... local reports have estimated that as many as 600 were killed... These attacks have been beyond the scale and scope of the violence typically associated with traditional cattle raiding.”</p>	Inter-ethnic rivalry, cattle-raiding.

Reference: Gray S, Roos J, Nowak A. Pride, Conflict and Complexity: Applying Dynamical Systems Theory to Assess Local Violence in South Sudan. Publication forthcoming. Data taken from United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) reports.



References and Contacts

References

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The Jonglei Peace and Reconciliation Ambassador Group Project

44

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