

Brief Analysis of the Boundaries of the 28 States

By:

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This can be only a preliminary analysis as so far there is very little information on the exact location of the boundaries of the new states and counties. The map accompanying the order gives enough detail to raise questions, but not enough to answer them. There also has been no comprehensive census of South Sudanese communities so we do not yet have an accurate representation of the populations of each state and county, how many of those populations are displaced from their original homes, how many of the displaced have settled or intend to settle where they are, and how many intend to return to their original homes when security permits. Therefore it is too early to say whether the new division of South Sudan truly represents the creation of “ethnic” states.

The principle often adopted in the past was to place neighbouring communities who were in conflict within the administration of the same province so that conflicts could be more easily resolved. The division of South Sudan’s old provinces into smaller states has not always made conflict resolution across borders easier, and we know from recent studies that even within the ten post-2005 states there have been border disputes between counties.¹ Wherever disputed county boundaries have now become state boundaries those disputes are likely to become even more difficult to resolve.

There is no clear pattern in the designation of new states. Some of the new state boundaries run along the old provincial boundary lines, so that the western boundaries of the two Liech states follow the old Upper Nile–Bahr el-Ghazal boundary, the northern boundaries of Terekeka, Amadi, Maridi and Gbudwe states follow the old Equatoria–Bahr el-Ghazal boundary, and the northern boundaries of Terekeka, Imatong and Namorunyang States follow the old Equatoria–Upper Nile boundary. So, some older colonial ethnic boundaries are retained. Imatong, Namorunyang, and Bor States appear to follow the old outlines of the 1956 Districts and 1960 Rural Councils, while Gbudwe State revives the outline of the 1956 Zande District by recombining the 1960 Yambio and Tambura Rural Councils (see the comparative tables below). There have been some outright annexations: Aweil North and Aweil West Counties, formerly part of Northern Bahr el-Ghazal State, have now been combined with Raga County to form Lol State. Since colonial times there have been many proposals about opening up the forested area of Western Bahr el-Ghazal to expand the grazing area for neighbouring pastoralists, so is this designed to guarantee access to new pastures for the people of those two counties. According to the map issued with the order Ruweng State also seems to extend into the disputed Hijlij/Panthou area, which is still part of Sudan.

The principal of ethnic federalism has not been consistently applied. The Jur of Mvolo remain attached to their neighbours in Mundri West and East, but the Jur and Bongo of Wulu County remain attached to the Dinka of Western Lakes State. If Cueibet can be given its own state separate from all the Rumbek counties, why not Wulu?

¹ Mareike Schomerus and Tim Allen (eds), *Southern Sudan at Odds with Itself: Dynamics of Conflict and Predicaments of Peace*, London: DESTIN, 2010. Peter Justin, “Local government: the challenges of ethnicity, internal borders and local conflicts in South Sudan”, Conference on Federalism, Centre for Peace and Development Studies, University of Juba, 29 July 2015.

There is no particular reason to believe that these new state boundaries and provisional state governments will make it easier to resolve internal conflicts, such as that between the Apuk and Aguok in their newly separate state of Gogrial East, or between the feuding sections in Western and Eastern Lakes States, or resolve the cross-border raids between Southern Liech and Western and Eastern Lakes.

The former states of Greater Upper Nile are the ones most affected by the Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan. What will be the implications of superimposing ten new states on this territory?

Upper Nile has been divided into three states: one largely Shilluk (Western Upper Nile), one largely Nuer (Latjoor), and one largely Dinka (Eastern Upper Nile). I say largely in the first two cases because we have no clear idea of the mixing that has gone on these two states as a result of the 1983-2005 war and the current civil war. Eastern Upper Nile is the largest state and the one that now includes Upper Nile's known oil and gas reserves. The Mabaan have been included in this state, and the Koma have been detached from Maiwut and Longuchuk and included with their own county. Malakal, which has a large Shilluk population, is now part of Eastern rather than Western Upper Nile, and already this has provoked protest from the Shilluk. But the most surprising inclusion is Piji, containing the Khor Atar and Khor Fulluth Dinka communities. This county is separated from Baliet, the nearest Dinka county, by the extension of Panyikang County along the Sobat.

This division is bound to exacerbate border tensions between Western and Eastern Upper Nile. There are already long-standing disputes between the Shilluk and the Dinka of Khor Atar and Baliet. The imposition of state boundaries between them will now involve state governments in these disputes, especially if some part of Panyikang is annexed to Pigi to connect it with Baliet and the rest of Eastern Upper Nile.

Prior to 2011 there were major battles between the Jikany and Lou Nuer, with the Upper Nile–Jonglei border separating them. These two Nuer groups now each have their own state (Latjoor for the Jikany and Eastern Bieh for the Lou). It remains to be seen whether being detached from the larger states will make it any easier for these state governments (should they come into existence) to resolve this conflict.

Former Jonglei Province/State is now divided into four states, each roughly defined by ethnicity, though Western Bieh contains many Dinka settlements among the Gaawar Nuer, and the border between Jonglei (former Bor District) and Eastern Bieh has had many mixed villages. Boma State, the former Pibor special county, contains many different groups with the Murle being the largest, and the Anuak of Pochalla and Akobo counties now being divided between two states.

In former Unity State Pariang and Abiemnhom have been linked up and their oil fields separated from the two largely Nuer Northern and Southern Liech states. This, along with the creation of the separate Eastern Upper Nile State has the potential of reducing the percentage of the oil industry to be under the administration of the SPLM-iO.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF DISTRICTS, COUNCILS AND COUNTIES

BAHR EL-GHAZAL 1956-2011

1956 Districts	1960 Rural Councils	2011 States/Counties
<i>Aweil:</i> Aweil Gogrial	<i>Aweil R.C.:</i> Aweil <i>Gogrial R.C.:</i> Gogrial	<u>Northern Bahr el-Ghazal:</u> <i>Aweil North, Aweil West</i> <i>Aweil East, Aweil South</i> <i>Aweil Centre</i>
<i>Jur River:</i> Tonj	<i>Thiet R.C.:</i> Tonj	<u>Warrap:</u> <i>Gogrial West, Gogrial East</i> <i>Twic</i> <i>Tonj North, Tonj East, Tonj South</i>
<i>Western:</i> Wau Raga	<i>Wau R.C.:</i> Wau <i>Raga Area:</i> Raga	<u>Western Bahr el-Ghazal:</u> <i>Wau</i> <i>Raga</i> <i>Jur River</i>
<i>Lakes:</i> Rumbek Yirol	<i>Rumbek R.C.:</i> Rumbek <i>Yirol R.C.:</i> Yirol	<u>Lakes:</u> <i>Rumbek North, Rumbek Centre, Rumbek East</i> <i>Yirol East, Yirol West, Awerial</i> <i>Cueibet, Wulu</i>

EQUATORIA 1956-2011

1956 Districts	1960 Rural Councils	2011 States/Counties
<i>Juba:</i> Juba Mongalla Rejaf	<i>Juba R.C.:</i> Juba	<u>Central Equatoria:</u> <i>Juba, Terekeka</i> <i>Kajo-Kaji, Lainya</i> <i>Yei, Morobo</i>
<i>Yei River:</i> Yei Kajo-Kaji	<i>Yei R.C.:</i> Yei	
<i>Moru:</i> Maridi Amadi Terekeka	<i>Maridi R.C.:</i> Maridi	<u>Western Equatoria:</u> <i>Mvolo</i> <i>Maridi, Ibba</i> <i>Mundri East, Mundri West</i> <i>Yambio, Nzara, Ezo</i> <i>Tambura, Nagero</i>
<i>Zande:</i> Yambio Tambura	<i>Yambio R.C.:</i> Yambio <i>Tambura R.C.:</i> Tambura	
<i>Torit:</i> Torit Opari	<i>Torit R.C.:</i> Torit	<u>Eastern Equatoria:</u> <i>Torit, Lopa</i> <i>Ikotos, Magwi</i> <i>Kapoeta South, Kapoeta North, Kapoeta East</i> <i>Budi</i>
<i>Eastern:</i> Nagichot Kapoeta	<i>Eastern Equatoria R.C.:</i> Kapoeta	

UPPER NILE 1956-2011

1956 Districts	1960 Rural Councils	2011 States/Counties
<i>Malakal & Shilluk: Malakal Kodok</i>	<i>Sobat R.C.: Malakal Kodok R.C.: Kodok</i>	<u>Upper Nile State:</u> <i>Malakal Fashoda Panyikang, Manyo</i>
<i>Renk: Renk Melut</i>	<i>Renk R.C.: Renk Melut</i>	<i>Renk, Melut Baliet Maban</i>
<i>Eastern Nuer: Nasir</i>	<i>Eastern Nuer R.C.: Nasir</i>	<i>Nasir Longochuk, Ulang, Mainut</i>
<i>Western Nuer: Bentiu</i>	<i>Bentiu R.C.: Bentiu</i>	<u>Unity State:</u> <i>Pariang, Abiemnhom Mayom, Rubkona, Guit, Koch Ler, Mayendit, Panyijar</i>
<i>Central Nuer: Fangak</i>	<i>Zeraj R.C.: Fangak</i>	<u>Jonglei State:</u> <i>Canal/Piji, Fangak, Ayod</i>
<i>Lau Nuer: Akobo, Waat</i>	<i>Lau Nuer R.C.: Akobo, Waat</i>	<i>Akobo Nyirrol, Uror</i>
<i>Pibor: Akobo, Pibor</i>	<i>Pibor R.C.: Pibor</i>	<i>Pibor Pochalla</i>
<i>Bor: Bor Kongor</i>	<i>Bor R.C.: Bor Kongor</i>	<i>Bor South Twic East Duk</i>

BAHR EL-GHAZAL 2011-2015

2011 States/Counties	2015 Presidential Order
<u>Northern Bahr el-Ghazal:</u> <i>Aweil East</i> <i>Aweil South</i> <i>Aweil Centre</i> <i>Aweil North, Aweil West</i>	<u>Aweil East State:</u> <i>Aweil East</i> <u>Aweil State:</u> <i>Aweil South</i> <i>Aweil Centre</i>
<u>Western Bahr el-Ghazal:</u> <i>Raga</i> <i>Wau</i> <i>Jur River</i>	<u>Lol State:</u> <i>Aweil North, Aweil West</i> <i>Raga</i> <u>Wau State:</u> <i>Jur River</i> <i>Bageri</i>
<u>Warrap:</u> <i>Twic</i> <i>Gogrial West</i> <i>Gogrial East</i> <i>Tonj North, Tonj East, Tonj South</i>	<u>Twic State:</u> <i>Twic</i> <u>Gogrial East State:</u> <i>Gogrial West, Gogrial East</i> <u>Tonj State:</u> <i>Tonj North, Tonj East, Tonj South</i>
<u>Lakes:</u> <i>Rumbek North, Rumbek Centre</i> <i>Rumbek East, Wulu</i> <i>Yirol East</i> <i>Yirol West</i> <i>Averial</i> <i>Cueibet</i>	<u>Western Lakes State:</u> <i>Rumbek North, Rumbek Centre</i> <i>Rumbek East, Wulu</i> <u>Eastern Lakes State:</u> <i>Yirol East, Yirol West, Averial</i> <u>Gok State:</u> <i>Cueibet</i>

EQUATORIA 2011-2015

2011 States/Counties	2015 Presidential Order
<u>Central Equatoria:</u> <i>Juba</i> <i>Terekeka</i> <i>Yei</i> <i>Kajo-Kaji</i> <i>Lainya</i> <i>Morobo</i>	<u>Juba State:</u> <i>Juba</i> <u>Terekeka State:</u> <i>Terekeka, Jemeza, Tali, Tigor, Gwor</i> <u>Yei River State:</u> <i>Yei, Kajo-Kaji</i> <i>Lainya, Morobo</i>
<u>Western Equatoria:</u> <i>Maridi, Ibba</i> <i>Mundri East, Mundri West</i> <i>Mvolo</i> <i>Yambio, Nzara, Ezo</i> <i>Tambura, Nagero</i>	<u>Maridi State:</u> <i>Maridi, Ibba</i> <u>Amadi State:</u> <i>Mundri West, Mundri East, Mvolo</i> <u>Gbudwe State:</u> <i>Yambio, Nzara, Ezo</i> <i>Tambura, Nagero</i>
<u>Eastern Equatoria:</u> <i>Torit, Lopa</i> <i>Ikotos, Magwi</i> <i>Kapoeta South, Kapoeta North, Kapoeta East</i> <i>Budi</i>	<u>Imatong State:</u> <i>Torit, Lopa</i> <i>Ikotos, Magwi</i> <u>Namoronyang State:</u> <i>Kapoeta South, Kapoeta North, Kapoeta East,</i> <i>Budi</i>

UPPER NILE 2011-2015

2011 States/Counties	2015 Presidential Order
<u>Upper Nile State:</u> <i>Fashoda</i> <i>Panyikang</i> <i>Manyo</i> <i>Malakal</i> <i>Renk</i> <i>Melut</i> <i>Baliet</i> <i>Maban</i> <i>Nasir</i> <i>Longochuk</i> <i>Ulang</i> <i>Mainut</i>	<u>Western Upper Nile State:</u> <i>Kodok</i> <i>Panyikang</i> <i>Manyo</i> <u>Eastern Upper Nile State:</u> <i>Malakal</i> <i>Renk, Melut, Baliet, Pigi</i> <i>Maban, Koma</i> <i>Akoka</i> <u>Latjoor State:</u> <i>Nasir</i> <i>Longochuk</i> <i>Ulang</i> <i>Mainut</i>
<u>Jonglei State:</u> <i>Duk, Twic East, Bor South</i> <i>Canal/Piji</i> <i>Fangak</i> <i>Ayod</i> <i>Akobo, Nyirol, Uror</i> <i>Pibor, Pochalla</i>	<u>Jonglei State:</u> <i>Duk, Twic East, Bor</i> <u>Western Bieh State:</u> <i>Fangak, Ayod</i> <u>Eastern Bieh State:</u> <i>Akobo, Nyirol, Uror</i> <u>Boma State:</u> <i>Pibor, Pochalla</i>
<u>Unity State:</u> <i>Pariang, Abiemnbom</i> <i>Mayom, Rubkona, Guit, Koch</i> <i>Ler, Mayendit, Panyijar</i>	<u>Ruweng State:</u> <i>Pariang, Abiemnbom</i> <u>Northern Liech State:</u> <i>Mayom, Rubkona, Guit, Koch</i> <u>Southern Liech State:</u> <i>Ler, Mayendit, Panyijar</i>