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My neighbour, my enemy

Inter-tribal violence in Jonglei

South Sudan has faced many internal security challenges since gaining independence in July 2011, but one of the deadliest and most complex has been inter-tribal violence, mainly involving the Lou Nuer, Murle, and Dinka in Jonglei state. Conflict between neighbouring tribes escalated in 2009 and has become increasingly violent.

Tribal conflict in Jonglei is not a new phenomenon, but a series of attacks and counterattacks in 2009, primarily between the Lou Nuer and the Murle, has drawn the attention of the international community. Underlying causes include persistent lack of services, increased competition over natural resources, and the erosion of traditional leadership structures and the unspoken rules of cattle raiding. Local- and national-level politicians have manipulated the conflict for personal and political gain, while Jonglei-based militia groups have provided weapons to tribal fighters to further their own agendas. The Government of South Sudan's (GoSS) efforts to address this complex of factors will be an important test of its ability to provide meaningful public security and to govern a diverse population.

This *Issue Brief* reviews the root causes and impacts of inter-tribal violence in Jonglei between the Lou Nuer and Murle since 2009, with a special focus on attacks by the Lou Nuer throughout Pibor county in December 2011 and January 2012. It assesses efforts by policymakers, church leaders, and others to address the problem. Key findings include:

- Inter-tribal conflict in Jonglei state has escalated and grown increasingly violent since 2009. Attacks are ethnically driven and aim not only to loot cattle, but also to kill and abduct women and children and destroy homes and communal facilities.
- The Lou Nuer attacks in Pibor county in December 2011 and January 2012 were the deadliest inter-tribal clashes since a 1991 Nuer attack on the state capital, Bor. The size of the attacking Lou Nuer force, numbering up to 8,000 fighters, was unprecedented.
- The emergence of rebel militias in Jonglei state in 2010, notably the groups led by George Athor and David Yau Yau, has provided a steady supply of small arms and ammunition to tribal groups. A significant number of the weapons supplied originate from Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) stocks, though the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) has, both systematically and on an individual basis, supplied arms and ammunition to Jonglei communities.
- The economic and political marginalization of the Lou Nuer and Murle, the erosion of traditional leadership, increased competition over land and resources, and political exploitation have exacerbated traditional inter-tribal rivalries. The Murle are particularly marginalized, both politically and socially.
- In late November and early December 2011, the GoSS and the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) received early warnings of an imminent Lou Nuer attack, but they were unable to take adequate preventive measures.
- The current SPLA-led civilian disarmament campaign, which has yielded more than 11,000 weapons, has helped prevent further large-scale attacks but does not address the root causes of the conflict. Soldiers conducting the campaign have committed rapes, torture, and killings—mostly against Murle communities—deepening Murle distrust of the SPLA.
- David Yau Yau's rebellion in Pibor county, which re-emerged in mid-2012, has capitalized on disaffection among Murle communities.

Inter-tribal violence in Jonglei

Violence trends 2009–11

In 2009, South Sudan experienced its worst internal violence since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in 2005, when some 2,500 people were killed, and more than 350,000 were displaced by inter-tribal conflict. Almost half of those displaced or killed were from Jonglei state.[1] The most intense conflicts occurred between the Lou Nuer and Dinka, the Lou Nuer and Murle, and Lou Nuer and Jikany Nuer.[2] The period was marked by an increase in the intensity and frequency of attacks and a shift in targeting tactics. Whereas raiders once focused solely on capturing cattle, attacks became ethnically driven: in

addition to looting cattle, attackers began targeting entire villages, killing not only men of fighting age but also women, children, and the elderly, and destroying their homes. Attackers also began targeting state and international NGO facilities such as schools and medical clinics. A Lou Nuer attack on Likuangole between 5 and 8 March 2009, in which around 450 mainly women and children were killed, is regarded as the start of the current era of violence.[3]

In 2010, inter-tribal violence subsided, returning to customary levels of cattle raiding due in part to comparatively high food production. But, at the same time, the emergence of rebel movements in the greater Upper Nile region brought vast numbers of weapons to Jonglei, often from Sudan.[4]
A new cycle of violence began in February 2011, when the Murle attacked Thiam payam,[5] killing three Lou Nuer chiefs. In retaliation, the Lou Nuer attacked villages throughout Pibor county in April, and then again in June, killing about 600 people.[6] On 18 August, the Murle attacked the town of Pieri, in Uror county, killing at least 750 people, injuring almost 1,000, abducting dozens of women and children, and, according to local witnesses, looting 38,000 cattle.[7] The Murle mobilized hundreds of fighters for this attack,[8] a departure from their usual reliance on 25–30 people. The fighters were armed with new Kalashnikov-pattern assault rifles and rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs), many believed to have been supplied by Yau Yau (see Box 1).[9]

In response to the August raid, the Sudan Council of Churches (SCC), with President Salva Kiir's blessing, began talks to end the conflict and negotiate the return of abductees and cattle from both communities. Neither side committed wholeheartedly to the process. During the last months of 2011, Lou Nuer youths were accumulating small arms and ammunition and organizing across various payams in preparation for a large-scale attack. Fighting ultimately resumed in late December 2011.

Lou Nuer attacks, December 2011–January 2012

By early December, large numbers of Lou Nuer youths were mobilizing across northern Jonglei, while press releases from a small segment of the Lou Nuer diaspora began flooding the Internet, threatening the Murle.[10] Youths from Akobo, Nyirol, and Uror counties gathered in Pulbura, a village near Pieri, where Dak Kueth, an influential Lou Nuer spiritual leader, blessed them.[11] Some reports said the fighters were part of a reconstituted 'white army',[12] but most locals in Lou Nuer areas referred to the fighters as *Bunam* ('youths' in Nuer)[13]. At least half the fighters were armed with Kalashnikov-pattern assault rifles while the rest carried machetes and sticks. A few youths carried RPGs and PKM machine guns. Observers said many of the attackers wore an assortment of South Sudan military and security uniforms.[14]

On 23 December, eight columns of up to 8,000 Lou Nuer were spotted by

Table 1 **Major clashes between Lou Nuer and Murle in Jonglei, 2009–12**

Date	Attacking tribe	Location of attack[15]	Deaths (approximate)	Cattle stolen (approximate)[16]
January 2009	Murle	Akobo county	300 (Lou Nuer)	Unknown
5–8 March 2009	Lou Nuer	Likuangole, Pibor county	450 (Murle)	600
18 April 2009	Murle	Akobo county	250 (Lou Nuer)	Unknown
6 February 2011	Murle	Uror county	8[17] (Lou Nuer)	1,000
18–24 April 2011	Lou Nuer	Likuangole, Pibor county	200 (Murle)	(138,000)
15–24 June 2011	Lou Nuer	Gumuruk and Likuangole, Pibor county	400 (Murle)	(398,000)
18 August 2011	Murle	Pieri, Uror county	750 (Lou Nuer)	38,000
23 December 2011–9 January 2012	Lou Nuer	Likuangole and Pibor, Pibor county	1,000 (Murle)	100,000
27 December–4 February 2012[18]	Murle	Akobo, Nyirol, and Uror counties	276 (Lou Nuer and Bor Dinka)[19]	60,000
2 March 2012	Murle	Nyirol county	15 (Lou Nuer)	15,000[20]
9–11 March 2012	Murle	Ethiopia (near Wanding payam)[21]	225 (Lou Nuer)	20,000

Sources: UN and media reports; interviews with UNMISS; interviews with national, state, and payam officials.

UN aerial surveillance marching along the Nanaam river, about 30 km north of Likuangole in Pibor county.[22] UNMISS sent reinforcements in late December, and flew GoSS Vice President Riek Machar to Pibor and Likuangole on 28 and 29 December to urge the armed youths to turn back. They refused, and continued to move through Pibor county, attacking more than 21 Murle settlements through the first week of January.[23] Afterwards, the Lou Nuer returned along the Nanaam river to Akobo county, where the stolen cattle were distributed among county leaders.[24]

Immediately following the Lou Nuer's departure from the area, the Pibor County Commissioner, Joshua Konyi, compiled a list of 3,141 killed.[25] After initial UNMISS reports suggested no more than 100 had died, Hilde Johnson, UN special representative to the secretary-general, ordered a separate body count. UN monitors established 623 deaths this way[26] but were unable to reach all of the affected areas and arrived in some areas days or weeks after the events. Based on the separate investigations, a conservative estimate would put the number of deaths at around 1,000 mostly Murle women and children,[27] making this incident the deadliest inter-tribal attack since the Nuer attack on Bor in 1991 in which more than 2,000 people were killed.[28] Research conducted for this *Issue Brief* indicated that hundreds of people were injured in Pibor, dozens of women and children were abducted, more than 100,000 people were displaced, and up to 100,000 cattle were stolen.[29]

The attackers also razed entire villages and looted and vandalized facilities. In Likuangole, the Lou Nuer burned down some 90 tukuls, and ransacked and burned a municipal building, school, and a farmers' association office. In Pibor, UNMISS troops and the SPLA successfully limited the destruction to the edges of town by positioning themselves in trenches. However, the attackers looted the Anglican church and burned a Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) clinic, which were situated just beyond the perimeter of the town.[30]

Murle school vandalized by Lou Nuer fighters, Likuangole, Pibor county, December 2011. © Judith McCallum

Box 1 Sources of small arms and ammunition

Pre-2010

During the second civil war (1983–2005), weapons flowed into Jonglei in large numbers to both northern-backed militias—most notably Ismail Konyi's Murle militia in Pibor—and various SPLA breakaway factions, including the Lou Nuer white army. By 2012, many of these weapons had moved beyond Jonglei or had been collected during civilian disarmament programmes. However, following uncoordinated and incomplete civilian disarmament exercises in 2005 and 2006, communities were able to rearm by looting stocks of collected weapons in Jonglei as well as armouries in neighbouring Upper Nile state that housed Joint Integrated Unit weapons.[31]

Southern rebel militia

The emergence of Jonglei-based militias in May 2010 brought a new influx of weapons into the state. Athor and Yau Yau, both defeated in state-wide elections, formed separate yet cooperative rebel forces in Ayod, Fangak, and Piji counties (Athor) and Pibor county (Yau Yau). With backing from Khartoum and, according to some accounts, Eritrea, Athor built up an arsenal that exceeded his available manpower.[32] He not only acted as a conduit for arms deliveries to Yau Yau, he persuaded local Nuer youths to join his force in exchange for weapons. However, this strategy often backfired. In May 2011, he armed more than 1,000 youths with 1,500 Kalashnikov-pattern assault rifles, 27 PKM-type machine guns, and about 90,000 rounds of ammunition. The youths ultimately did not follow Athor's orders to attack the SPLA in their native counties, but used their new weapons to attack the Murle in June and July 2011.[33]

Athor continued to supply Lou Nuer youths with weapons but they had to pay with valuable cattle.[34] Photographs of the Lou Nuer after the Murle attack on Pieri in August 2011 showed they had the same new Type 56-1 (copy of the AKS-47) assault rifles and PKM-type machine guns that the Small Arms Survey observed in Athor's stocks in April 2011. Images of Lou Nuer youths returning to Akobo, after their attack on Pibor county in December and January, showed the same new rifles (see photos). The headstamps on some of the ammunition fired by the Lou Nuer in Likuangole matched those previously identified by the Small Arms Survey in Athor's stocks.

Yau Yau's role in supplying tribal groups is less well understood. Some claim he armed some of the Murle fighters who attacked Uror county in August 2011,[35] but the Small Arms Survey has been unable to independently verify this. Since Athor's death in late December 2011, and Yau Yau's defection to the SPLA in April 2011,[36] it is unclear whether—and from where—additional small arms and ammunition may be arriving.

Yau Yau once again took up arms against the Juba government in April 2012 with an estimated 3,000 fighters.[37] Yau Yau has exploited Murle contempt for the SPLA's civilian disarmament practices in Pibor county (see below). Since 22 August 2012, his forces have struck SPLA installations several times in Likuangole payam, Gumuruk, and the surrounding area of Pibor, killing at least 100 soldiers.[38] Yau Yau's threat has forced communities to flee. After a September warning from Yau Yau that an attack on Pibor town was imminent, civilians fled from the town and all NGOs, including MSF, evacuated.[39] The SPLA alleges that Khartoum has, on more than one occasion, delivered weapons by air to Yau Yau's forces on the ground.[40] On 22 September, UNMISS said it spotted an undocumented fixed wing aircraft dropping seven to eight packages a few kilometres from its base in Likuangole.[41] Since Yau Yau and his forces travelled to Jonglei on foot during the rainy season, their only option for resupply is by air.

SPLA/GoSS

The SPLA is a constant, yet less significant, source of arms and ammunition. In 2010 and 2011, the SPLA under the command of the Jonglei state governor, Koul Manyang, supplied arms and ammunition to local youths, both systematically and on an ad hoc basis with individual soldiers supporting fellow tribesmen. At the height of Yau Yau's rebellion, the SPLA—with the endorsement of the local government—formed a paramilitary force called the 'SPLA Youth', comprising untrained Murle youths, to counter Yau Yau. At the same time, the SPLA was able to successfully defend itself against Athor's militia with support from local Nuer youths, whom it armed.[42]

There are also reports, from Lou Nuer areas, of SPLA soldiers exchanging ammunition for food or liquor at markets.[43] Lou Nuer youths can easily purchase ammunition from shopkeepers in the market. Some of the ammunition used by the Lou Nuer in attacks against the Murle in Pibor matches a variety used often by the SPLA—suggesting either a link in supply or a common source.[44] Sources say individual SPLA soldiers stationed in Boma have been seen selling ammunition to Murle civilians.[45]

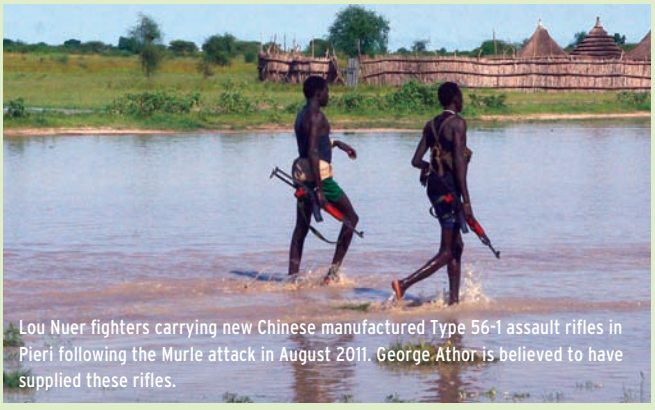
Local traders

Many communities throughout Jonglei rely on local traders for weapons. Traders ferry small arms and ammunition from other states within South Sudan as well as its neighbours, most notably Ethiopia, across Jonglei's borders to town centres. According to local chiefs in Pibor, these weapons and ammunition are usually paid for in cash.[46]

On 5 September 2012, members of South Sudan's Criminal Investigation Department, who were working with police, clashed with arms smugglers on the road from Juba to Bor. The police captured several assault rifles and hundreds of rounds of ammunition. The operation was based on information that arms dealers were routinely transporting arms and ammunition from Juba into Jonglei.[47]

Prices of arms and ammunition

Whatever the source, small arms and ammunition are inexpensive and easy to buy or barter for in Jonglei. In Lou Nuer areas, an old Kalashnikov-pattern assault rifle costs two or three cows, and a new one goes for three or four cows. PKM-type machine guns cost 10 cows. Ammunition typically sells for 3–5 South Sudanese Pounds (SSP) per cartridge, the equivalent of about USD 0.75–1.00. One cow can be worth 200–500 rounds, depending on the size of the cow.[48] In Murle areas prices are similar. A Kalashnikov goes for SSP 2,000–3,000, or three to four cows, and usually comes with a fully loaded magazine.[49]



Lou Nuer fighters carrying new Chinese manufactured Type 56-1 assault rifles in Pieri following the Murle attack in August 2011. George Athor is believed to have supplied these rifles.

A Lou Nuer youth carrying an identical rifle in Akobo following the attacks in Pibor county in January 2012.

The Lou Nuer force was the largest documented in the post-CPA period. The delay between the Murle attack on Pieri in August and the retaliation in December enabled the Lou Nuer to assemble strong leaders and to recruit thousands of youths who had returned home for the Christmas holiday.[50] The level of violence also exceeded customary norms for inter-tribal fighting. UN observers noted that some victims who had been shot and killed had also been severely beaten and in some cases raped.[51] Although this level of brutality existed during the civil war, cattle raids between tribes tended to focus on stealing livestock, killing herders, and abducting women and children. It is not clear exactly what caused the increased brutality. But residual anger over the killing of three Lou Nuer chiefs, mounting frustration and deprivation among communities, and aggressive anti-Murle rhetoric on the part of the diaspora and government officials, fuelled the flames.

Before the Lou Nuer attackers got home in mid-January, Murle youths from the Nanaam and Likuangole areas began daily retaliatory raids against Lou Nuer and Bor Dinka communities from 27 December until 4 February. There were 44 incidents in which 276 people were killed and at least 60,000 cattle stolen.[52] Two months after the Lou Nuer attacks, the Murle carried out their largest attack between 9 and 11 March. Fighters crossed into Ethiopia to attack Lou Nuer cattle herders who had migrated just north of Wanding payam. At least 225 people were killed, and 100 injured.[53] Box 2 describes the differing tactics of the Murle and Lou Nuer in conducting attacks.

Root causes of inter-tribal conflict in Jonglei state

Jonglei has been the site of tribal conflict since the civil war and earlier. Tribes clash over territorial control and access to grazing lands for cattle—the primary source of wealth and the dowry for marriages among pastoral communities in South Sudan. The practice of cattle raiding dates back centuries, but it is only within the last few decades that raiding has become more lethal. Traditionally, rustling was aimed solely at the theft of cattle, but today it often involves direct assaults on cattle-owning communities.

The increasing role of firearms in the recent violence is an important factor in the escalation, as well as the dynamics of tribal power relations.[54] The power associated with owning and using firearms has undermined the influence elders and chiefs once exercised over youths. With the erosion of traditional leadership, viable conflict mitigation mechanisms, traditionally managed by community elders, have also dwindled. Increased profiteering from the sale of livestock and political brinkmanship are also drivers of conflict. This section reviews some of the most significant underlying causes of Murle–Lou Nuer conflict.

Bride price

After the civil war, young and middle-aged men returned to their villages with no work prospects. Still bearing their guns, men turned their attention to the already established rivalries with neighbouring tribes. During the war, military success generated pride and social stature, but once the peace agreement was signed in 2005, men looked to increase their herds and marry.

By 2008, men made up more than half the population in Jonglei.[55] The

Box 2 How the Murle and Lou Nuer attack: different tactics, similar results

Due to many socio-cultural factors, the Lou Nuer and Murle employ drastically different cattle raiding tactics. The Lou Nuer youths are larger, more powerful, and better organized than the Murle, but the Murle have their own unique and equally effective strategies.

Murle

Murle society does not have a formal hierarchical leadership structure, but is broken up into generational age-sets. Males join an age-set in their late teens when they are single, and stay within that age-set for life. As they build a family and acquire livestock, their roles within the age-set change. A new age-set forms about once every 10 years, and will rise and fall in prominence depending on its strength and raiding abilities. Cattle raids are usually conducted by a specific age-set from a particular payam or village.[56] Two age-sets from the Nanaam and Likuangole areas are currently conducting most of the raids: the ruling age-set is the *Bototnya,* made up of young men in their prime (aged 20–30); the *Titi* is composed of men aged 30–40 years.[57]

The Murle are known for their exceptional fighting skills, resilience in harsh conditions, and ability to loot large numbers of cattle with only a few men. Murle typically travel in small numbers, making them difficult to detect. The delineation of age-sets, comprising various leaders across locations, makes small-scale raiding possible. Once they reach their target, they strike quickly. Murle youths attack in small, single-file mobile units, and often use hit-and-run, guerrilla-style techniques.[58] Traditionally, *red chiefs*–clan leaders who can connect with spirits–governed cattle raiding. Today, Murle youths will seek blessings from the nearest red chief, who will then often take a portion of the looted cattle. If there is no red chief in the area, the youths will proceed without a blessing.[59]

Lou Nuer

The Lou Nuer hierarchy traditionally centred on a spiritual leader or prophet. The first and most powerful Nuer prophet was Ngundeng Bong (c. 1845–1906). Contemporary spiritual and military Nuer leaders have all claimed to be affiliated directly or indirectly with Ngundeng, hoping to benefit from his legendary charisma and power. A powerful and controversial spiritual leader named Dak Kueth[60] is believed to have partly instigated the Lou Nuer attack on Pibor in December 2011.[61] But while Dak Kueth may have encouraged the Lou Nuer to attack the Murle, he is not their leader, and he has become less influential since the SPLA began hunting him. Today, the youths' leadership structure exists independently from any one spiritual leader. Lou Nuer leadership is organized first by county and then by patrilineal chiefs, sub-chiefs, and headmen at the payam level.[62]

Unlike the Murle, the Lou Nuer's command structure is well defined and headed by a leader and a deputy from each of the three counties–Akobo, Nyirol, and Uror–selected by residents. From among those six, a paramount leader is chosen to lead all three counties.[63] Bor Doang Leeh of Uror county was elected leader in August 2011 and he supervised the Lou Nuer attacks in December 2011 and January 2012.

The Lou Nuer rarely attack their neighbours, but they will attack in large numbers in a highly organized fashion once they have decided to retaliate. Before the December attacks, commanders from each county mobilized youths from their respective areas and assembled in Pulbura and south of Akobo before marching towards Pibor. The force walked in eight columns, separated by two hours' walking distance.[64] The attackers purchased nine Thuraya satellite phones.[65] At times during the attack, columns broke up into different areas to maximize coverage.

tradition of polygamy, under which men are permitted to have multiple wives, and the scarcity of marriageable women pushed up bride prices, paid in heads of cattle. In the past men married in their 20s and 30s and would typically have three or four wives. Today, in conjunction with an increased rate of cattle theft, men are marrying younger and taking more wives.[66]

Competition over resources and economic interests

Competition over grazing lands has been a part of inter-tribal relations for decades. Traditionally, tribes knew precisely when and where they would encounter neighbouring tribes when migrating with their livestock, and had developed mechanisms to mitigate conflict over shared resources such as water and pastureland. Over time, however, climate change reduced the number of accessible water points and other vital resources, forcing pastoralist communities to travel further into neighbouring tribal areas for sustenance.[67] Jonglei state is no exception to this phenomenon. There is also a reported trend in inequality of cattle holdings among tribes, which has led to the further degradation of particular pasturelands due to overgrazing.[68] The GoSS Land Committee could play a role in addressing conflict over land and resources but remains underfunded and understaffed to date.

The agro-pastoralist economy in South Sudan is primarily cattle-based. In 2009, the Food and Agricultural Association estimated that South Sudan had at least 11.7 million cattle worth about USD 2.4 billion.[69] Although this figure has not been disaggregated by state, experts estimate that Jonglei is home to some 1.5 million cattle.[70] Since the end of the civil war, businessmen and politicians have increasingly profited from the sale and theft of cattle, and sometimes instigate cattle raids between communities. Youths are hired not only to look after the family herd, but also to care for the stocks of wealthy elites, who are based in large towns or outside the country. Whereas families have an interest in increasing herd size to cover bride prices for male youths, businessmen use their herds to trade. After the Lou Nuer attack on Pibor, for instance, thousands of stolen cattle were distributed to families across three counties, but a large number were also sold to traders in Ethiopia, or in some cases were traded for weapons and ammunition.[71]

Marginalization

Infrastructure in Jonglei is underdeveloped, even by South Sudan's standards. The lack of roads makes commerce and travel difficult and costly, and means services are poor in the most isolated areas.[72] Outside of the Dinka-dominated state capital, Bor, there are few schools, and none beyond primary level. Health services are also scarce, and in many cases are limited to clinics run by NGOs such as MSF and the International Medical Corps.

The Lou Nuer and Murle are almost never involved in official state and local affairs beyond payam-level administrators and commissioners. They do not interact with the members of parliament (MPs) representing their areas. MPs, who have access to constituency development funds, rarely interact with the two communities. Despite high-level representation in the national government, Lou Nuer youths express the same frustrations as their Murle counterparts—that government is inaccessible and does not address their basic needs.[73] Moreover, adequate state security is lacking throughout most of the state. The South Sudan Police Service (SSPS) does not have enough personnel to defend against armed youths. It also has no capacity to enforce the rule of law and cannot—and to some extent simply will not—arrest perpetrators. As a result, youths can arm themselves and attack with impunity.

Of the three dominant tribes in Jonglei state, the Murle are the most politically, economically, and socially marginalized. While Bor South (predominantly Dinka) and Uror (predominantly Nuer) counties had 221,106 and 178,519 inhabitants respectively according to the 2008 census, Pibor county (predominantly Murle) has a total population of 148,475.[74] However, international experts and Murle officials present during the census say that a number of areas within Pibor county were ignored during the count.[75] Nevertheless, the Murle represent a significant proportion of the state population. Unlike the Dinka and Nuer, who are well represented in state and national government, the Murle fill very few seats. Only one Murle, Ismail Konyi, holds a senior government position.

Almost all Jonglei communities portray themselves as victims, citing continuous threats from neighbouring tribes. But, with better access to communication networks, political office, and education, the Dinka and Nuer are better able to express their version of this narrative than the Murle, who have little access to technology and social networks. It is not uncommon to hear non-Murle South Sudanese speak in negative terms about the Murle. For example, some high-ranking, Pibor-based SPLA officials said the conflict was solely the fault of the Murle, whom they described as a 'backward, cattle-raiding people' with no desire to work.[76]

Murle are rarely seen in Jonglei's capital, Bor, for fear of being beaten or killed. In 2007, four Murle were shot dead in the MSF hospital while awaiting treatment. On the same day, three other Murle were killed in Bor.[77] Neither incident was ever investigated. In May 2012, three Murle were killed on the outskirts of Bor while they were travelling with a delegation to attend the President's Peace Conference. The Dinka Bor, the majority of the town's population, say the Murle's actions have made them unwelcome. Dinka and Nuer communities still resent the Murle because during the civil war the Murle community divided its support between the SPLA and Khartoum.[78]

Although recent inter-tribal violence in Jonglei has mainly involved the Lou Nuer and Murle communities, many believe the Dinka Bor have played an indirect role.[79] The Murle, in particular, believe the Dinka Bor community, which dominates the Jonglei government, has encouraged the violence between the Lou Nuer and Murle for its own geographical and political gain.[80] This claim is difficult to verify, but the perception is an important element in Murle–Lou Nuer–Dinka relations.

Abduction of women and children

Child abduction is prevalent throughout South Sudan, yet most non-Murle

South Sudanese describe it as a 'Murle problem'.[81] There is, however, no evidence to suggest that abduction is more prevalent among the Murle. In fact, the origins of child abduction date back centuries to when the Dinka would sell children born out of wedlock to the Murle. Murle have willingly continued to raise additional children due to their comparatively small population and low fertility rates, blamed on a syphilis epidemic in the 1950s and 1960s. The World Health Organization eventually helped subdue the syphilis outbreak,[82] and health experts say fertility rates among Murle women are normal.[83] But many South Sudanese still believe the Murle to be sterile, and the primary perpetrators of abductions.

For their part, the Murle say the Dinka routinely sell their children to the Murle for cattle, then demand the return of the children, claiming they were abducted.[84] As violence has intensified, abduction has expanded to include women. Abduction of children and women by both the Murle and Lou Nuer has become so common that one cannot isolate a single perpetrating tribe. It is an extremely emotive issue for both communities, and is often a catalyst for retaliatory raids.

Politicization of the conflict

As inter-tribal violence surged after 2009, and economic and socio-political conditions remained poor, demands for political change grew. Before the 2010 elections, politicians—at local, state, and national levels—capitalized on tribal grievances by exploiting tribal rivalries to gain votes. In some cases, local government officials have either been complicit in, or turned a blind eye to, inter-tribal attacks.[85] During the Lou Nuer attack on the Murle in December 2011, for instance, one of the Thuraya satellite phones used by the Lou Nuer was traced back to an Uror county administrative officer.[86]

It is clear that local and national politicians have vested interests in the cattle stocks raided by one tribe or another. Politicians still maintain a good portion of their wealth in cattle. The youths involved in raiding are often employed by politicians to look after and expand their herds. It is uncertain to what extent politicians instigate raids to enlarge their stocks, but it is conceivable that they would support retaliatory attacks if rival tribes stole their cattle.[87]

Responses

Sudan Council of Churches

The Sudan Council of Churches (SCC) has played a significant role in conflict resolution in South Sudan since the coalition of Christian denominations was established in 1965. Following the attacks in 2011, culminating with the Murle assault on Pieri in August, local and national leaders called on the government to initiate a peace process. However, both communities rejected a government-led negotiation and said they would only accept the SCC, which they viewed as an impartial mediator.[88]

At the end of August 2011, the SCC formed a mediation committee under the leadership of Anglican Archbishop Daniel Deng Bul Yak, a Dinka Twic.[89] Both communities, but in particular the Murle, felt Archbishop Deng's appointment was political and that he was biased in favour of the Dinka. Between August and December, the SCC held consultations with all communities to hear grievances and design a framework for peace. The Lou Nuer community set a deadline of 1 December for action to prevent further raids and for the return of their stolen cattle and women and children. They made it clear that, if the disputes were not resolved by then, they would respond violently.[90]

The process was blocked from the start because the Lou Nuer and Murle communities did not totally commit and could not agree where to hold a peace conference. The SCC proposed a neutral area, such as Juba or Rumbek, but the Lou Nuer insisted the conference be held in Waat, centrally located in Nuer territory.[91]

When no agreement was reached and the Lou Nuer's December deadline passed, their youths began to mobilize. The SCC called off a peace conference set for 12 December when they received reports of an imminent Lou Nuer attack. At this point, the SCC, UNMISS, and the GoSS were all communicating with one another but did not have a mechanism for a synchronized response. Some observers said the SCC had failed while others argued the Lou Nuer always intended to retaliate if their demands were not met.[92]

The government's response to the December 2011 attack on Pibor largely usurped the SCC's leadership, and the council has since taken a back seat. In January 2012, the SCC unveiled a 'Peace from the Roots' campaign that Catholic Relief Services (CRS) is implementing throughout Jonglei. The aim is to network communities at the village level to create an early warning and mediation mechanism to prevent conflict. As of September, the SCC had lost much support, but if strengthened through partnerships like the one with CRS, it could be a viable broker for peace once again.

Initial SPLA response

Although the GoSS and SPLA had advance knowledge of an imminent Lou Nuer strike in December, and received repeated warnings from UNMISS, the government did little to protect communities in Pibor county. The SPLA soldiers in Likuangole and Pibor, numbering about 400 and 550 respectively, stayed in their barracks, seemingly defenceless against the more numerous Lou Nuer militia. The SPLA force in Pibor offered refuge to some civilians but video footage from the day of the attack shows the SPLA watching as Lou Nuer burned and looted homes just beyond the perimeter of their barracks.[93] Further, the SPLA documented the defection of 11 Lou Nuer soldiers who fought in support of their tribesmen.[94] Likewise, during the Lou Nuer attack on Pibor county in June 2011, the SPLA refused to intervene even when the Lou Nuer were positioned only a few kilometres from the SPLA's barracks. As a result, tensions and distrust began to run high between the local Murle community and the Pibor-based SPLA, which the Pibor county commissioner says is three-quarters Lou Nuer and Dinka.[95]

While the Lou Nuer youths advanced on Pibor, Jonglei Governor Kuol Manyang reshuffled the county commissioners, replacing all but two. The SPLA commander of Pibor, Joshua Konyi (a Murle), was relieved and appointed commissioner. Brigadier

Peter Ruei (a Jikany Nuer) was brought in to replace him as commander on 25 December. Some Murle believe Konyi was relieved of his duties for fear he would have instructed his soldiers to repel the attackers. As commissioner, however, he could not give orders to the SPLA. He had to be evacuated before the Lou Nuer reached Pibor town.

It was not until 31 December, after returning to Juba from holiday, that President Salva Kiir sent 3,400 SPLA infantry and 800 SSPS from Bor to Pibor and Gumuruk.[96] The response ultimately came too late, and the president only authorized the SPLA to fire in self-defence. SPLA and UNMISS soldiers fired briefly on Lou Nuer attackers during an assault on the SPLA barracks in Pibor, where almost 100 Murle were taking refuge. In March, Kiir signed a presidential order to establish the Investigation Committee into the Jonglei State Crisis, but as of September no committee members had been sworn in.[97]

Civilian disarmament

Officially, the GoSS has prioritized the problem of cattle raiding and inter-tribal violence since the signing of the CPA, but it has had almost no success in tackling the issue. In fact, the government response on the ground is much the same as it was in 2006: when violence flares, the SPLA are sent in to conduct ad hoc civilian disarmament campaigns. In the best of cases, these exercises create a buffer between episodes of violence. In the worst cases, they contribute to increased violence, both between tribes and between the SPLA and communities.[98] Since 2005, there have been at least five distinct civilian disarmament programmes in Jonglei but they have yet to show any durable effectiveness.[99]

After the Lou Nuer attacks throughout Pibor county in December 2011 and January 2012, the government threatened a renewed round of disarmament. On 12 March, the SPLA, with minimal support from the SSPS, began a civilian disarmament campaign throughout the state called 'Operation Restore Peace'. The army announced that the campaign would be voluntary until 30 April, after which it would become coercive (forcible). But, according to interviews with Jonglei officials and an SPLA commander, the campaign was forcible from the beginning.[100]

The SPLA mobilized large numbers of soldiers and SSPS members from inside and outside Jonglei to conduct a search-and-seize campaign. Following the outbreak of conflict in Jonglei, the SPLA deployed more than 12,000 soldiers there from the 2nd and 8th Divisions and from general headquarters in Juba, and supplied 169 vehicles.[101] This mass mobilization was unprecedented and allowed the SPLA to conduct disarmament in a much more coordinated way. Unlike previous exercises, which often disarmed only a single area at a time, the SPLA began simultaneously disarming all communities in Jonglei state. As of September 2012, the SPLA had collected more than 11,000 firearms from throughout Jonglei, only a small fraction of weapons circulating in the state.[102]

Of the roughly 11,000 weapons collected, about 4,000 were seized from state security force depots in Bor because there was suspicion that SSPS personnel were holding civilian-owned firearms in their stores. The SPLA has reportedly returned all the state-issued firearms to the security forces, but the seizures were a serious embarrassment to an already discredited police force.[103] Most of the remaining weapons that were collected were not seized from potential attackers, who fled with their weapons, but rather from households possessing arms for self-defence. Moreover, the weapons that continue to flow into Jonglei to Yau Yau's forces have prompted Lou Nuer youths to begin arming to protect against newly armed Murle.[104] As in years past, the cycle of disarmament and rearmament persists. In many areas, especially in Lou Nuer areas, the campaign has been carried out peacefully, with the SPLA employing local chiefs and youth leaders to collect firearms, but there have been numerous reports of violence, abuse, and theft by the SPLA in Murle communities (see Box 3).

The Presidential Committee

After the violence in Pibor, President Kiir established a 23-member, high-level peace committee to complement the civilian disarmament programme and to continue the consultative work started under the SCC. The government provided the committee—known as the Presidential Committee for Peace, Reconciliation, and Tolerance in Jonglei—with eight vehicles to reach all the affected communities. Once again, Archbishop Deng was appointed to lead the process. Vice President Riek Machar launched the committee with a three-day meeting on 2 April after a two-week tour of Jonglei, where he met community leaders in 11 counties.[105] On 25 April, the committee began simultaneous, four-day 'mini-peace conferences' in Bor, Ayod, Pibor, and Waat.[106] Between 1 and 5 May, representatives from all counties gathered in Bor for the 'All Jonglei Peace Conference' to agree on a resolution and to adopt recommendations. Beginning with Pibor county on 11 May, a group of six paramount chiefs—one from each of Jonglei's tribes—was tasked with visiting and disseminating the resolution in all 11 counties.

The resolution outlines broad strategies for reducing inter-communal violence, abduction, livestock theft, and disputes over common grazing areas, but it does not detail how these measures might be put into practice. The resolution embraces the civilian disarmament programme, and 'appreciates the positive role of the Sudan People's Liberation Army for the increased security and protection and for its responsible conduct during the disarmament campaign'.[107] Critics say this support will discourage the Murle community from supporting and ultimately implementing the resolution.[108]

The peace committee's ability to engage politicians, local leaders, and communities in Jonglei may have helped avert further attacks, but like the SCC process, the committee involved only elders and community leaders, neglecting the youth who are, in most cases, responsible for the attacks. The committee's blanket support for civilian disarmament also alienated many community members who fled the campaign's violent and coercive tactics. Whether the process's efforts and resolutions trickle down to

Box 3 Civilian disarmament: a new source of conflict?

Despite some improvements compared to previous SPLA campaigns, and a sizable reduction in inter-tribal raids and attacks during the operation, the most recent disarmament exercise has been marred by familiar problems. As soon as the government announced its intention to disarm communities in Jonglei, Lou Nuer and Murle youths fled into the bush and into Ethiopia to hide their weapons. On 26 March, Minister of Defence Lt. Gen. Nhial Deng Nhial and SPLA Chief of Staff Maj. Gen. James Hoth Mai travelled to Addis Ababa to request assistance in securing the border against further flight.[109] As of September, Ethiopian forces had conducted small-scale operations to push armed youths back across the frontier, but nothing has been done to return the youths to Jonglei. It was expected they might begin returning once the rains started, but as of September–well into Jonglei's rainy season–Murle youths were still fleeing into the bush.[110]

There have been widespread reports of abuse, theft, harassment and intimidation, and the killing, torture, and rape of Murle by soldiers and officers.[111] The first incident to cause outcry throughout the Murle community occurred in late March in the Muruwa Hills between Pibor and Boma when the SPLA shot and injured a prominent Murle chief. Many other incidents have been reported around the Ngantoroch camp in Pibor, where the disarmament troops are based.[112] In June, about 500 auxiliary SSPS officers stationed just outside Pibor were recalled to Bor for additional training. Members of this group reportedly carried out rapes, physical assaults, and looting while stationed near Pibor, and in Likuangole as they were returning to Bor. Following these reports, the government withdrew all auxiliary police officers from the civilian disarmament programme.[113]

The SPLA has been accused of violations in other parts of Pibor county, both inside and outside major towns. An August Human Rights Watch report, based on research carried out in July, accused the SPLA of shooting, beating, raping, and torturing civilians.[114] Amnesty International documented similar SPLA misconduct in a report the following month.[115] The majority of the forces carrying out the disarmament are Dinka and Nuer, and there have been numerous reports of soldiers taking revenge on Murle civilians for the Pieri attacks. Some Murle were asked, as they relinquished their weapons, whether they took part in that attack. SPLA soldiers reportedly beat and torture children regularly to find out the locations of weapons. In some cases, they submerge their heads in water, strangle them, and burn them with wax. There have been widespread reports of girls as young as 13 and women as old as 60 being raped. In Likuangole, in particular, women have been systematically brought to SPLA barracks where they have been beaten and raped.[116] On 16 August, a citizen of Likuangole shot and killed an SPLA officer, sparking a retaliatory attack in which six civilians were killed. Jonglei authorities have linked the attack to Yau Yau's rebellion, and have launched counter-insurgency actions against suspected Yau Yau sympathizers in Likuangole.[117] Further alleged Yau Yau attacks in August and September have given the SPLA a justification for even more heavy-handed interrogation tactics when dealing with suspected Yau Yau sympathizers.

From mid-March to 31 August 2012, MSF's standard data reporting from clinics in Pibor, Likuangole, and Gumuruk shows that MSF treated 96 patients with violent trauma or sexual violence injuries, all of whom attributed their injuries to the disarmament campaign. More than half of these cases occurred in August alone. Three of the patients died as a result of their injuries. Among these patients were 17 survivors of rape and eight victims of attempted rape. These figures only reflect the patients that came to MSF to seek treatment.[118] UNMISS said on 24 August that between 15 and 20 August there was one killing, 27 allegations of torture, 12 rapes, six attempted rapes, and eight abductions.[119]

Exacerbating an already dire humanitarian situation, SPLA officers reportedly have stolen cattle and food aid that was delivered to communities after the December and January attacks.[120]

At the outset of the disarmament campaign, the SPLA established five military courts–one in each of its five sectors[121]–to hear cases of soldier misconduct, but only certain crimes–primarily rape–have been brought to court, and only dealt with cursorily.[122] Although the SPLA sentenced 30 soldiers between March and August for failing to adhere to military rules, according to the SPLA's commander for disarmament, General Kuol Diem Kuol,[123] the misconduct seems to be getting worse. In some instances, SPLA soldiers have beaten and detained civilians trying to bring violations to their attention. As a result, many Murle have stopped reporting soldier misconduct.[124]

In Lou Nuer areas, attitudes towards the disarmament campaign are more positive. The SPLA has been credited with returning cattle and has provided escorts to farmers who were afraid to leave their villages to cultivate. The Murle, on the other hand, report that the SPLA have offered little or no protection, and in some cases have stolen their farming tools. For many Murle, the principal enemy is no longer the Lou Nuer but the SPLA.[125]

the youths and their leaders remains to be seen. Since June, the committee has paid visits to Jonglei only on an ad hoc basis. In the meantime, the government has tasked the SCC with engaging local church groups to monitor communities and to form partnerships with civil society and donors to bring services and development assistance to Jonglei state.[126]

UNMISS

In early December 2011, UNMISS received intelligence that the Lou Nuer were mobilizing for what looked like a large-scale attack. UNMISS deployed one helicopter and one fixed wing plane to conduct daily reconnaissance flights over the area and follow the youths' movements. It also deployed additional platoons to towns throughout Pibor,[127] but due to a limited number of helicopters, UNMISS was only able to deploy about 50 per cent of its troops. UNMISS mobilized four platoons[128] in Likuangole, four in Bor, two in Gumuruk, three platoons and three armoured personnel carriers in Pibor, and one platoon north of Walgak, for a total of around 500 soldiers.[129] But by the time they reached Pibor, most of the inhabitants had fled from Likuangole and Pibor because UNMISS had told them that, even with its presence, it would not be able to protect them. After the fighting, UNMISS airlifted out about 300 civilians, mostly from the town of Pibor.[130]

Since the last wave of violence, UNMISS has supported the civilian disarmament campaign, for example by transporting government officials through Jonglei. It also set up Integrated Monitoring Teams—consisting of representatives from various UN departments—to move between Lou Nuer and Murle areas, and to assist the government with transport. However, residents in Jonglei say the teams only reach areas accessible by helicopter, and do not stay on the ground for more than two hours.[131] Between March and September, UNMISS only commented publicly on the SPLA's disarmament tactics once, despite apparent human rights violations. It has declined to make its human rights monitoring public. Likewise, UNMISS has failed to carry out its mandate to protect civilians in the face of widespread SPLA abuses, and has not sufficiently taken up the matter with the SPLM or SPLA leadership in Juba.

UNMISS is developing an early warning mechanism, in partnership with CRS, to respond more effectively to early signs of conflict, but as of September nothing had been formalized within the mission.[132]

Conclusion

Inter-tribal violence, in particular the conflict between the Lou Nuer and Murle in Jonglei, is one of South Sudan's most pressing internal security and governance challenges. Over the past three years, the violence has escalated, and interventions to date have not reduced mutual animosity. The SPLA's

initial response to the largest wave of Lou Nuer violence in late 2011 and early 2012 may have prevented further escalation, but the tribes remain bitter enemies, and the Murle, in particular, have grown more resentful of the army and government. As of late September 2012, conflict resolution initiatives appear to have largely stalled.

The army's longer-term strategy continues to focus on forcible civilian disarmament, which has formed the backbone of its response to tribal violence in Jonglei and elsewhere since 2006. The SPLA's extreme tactics aside, previous experience has shown that communities are reluctant to relinquish their weapons in the absence of adequate security provisions. In any case, the guns collected tend to be personal household guns rather than the weapons used by attacking youths.

Violence will continue to erupt until the conditions that give rise to the conflict are addressed transparently. But these factors are extremely complex, and the GoSS has not demonstrated the capacity, or political will, to publicly address them in a productive manner. The marginalization and suppression of tribal communities in Jonglei is fundamentally a problem of governance that only the GoSS can reverse. Yet doing so would almost certainly mean upsetting vested interests and power balances in Bor and Juba.

Strengthening official administration in Jonglei could be an important first step towards demonstrating a willingness to meet the needs of tribal communities, and youths, who are often the aggressors. Outside Bor, officials are found only in poorly funded county commissioner offices. Empowering these institutions would enable local administrators to take ownership of development at the county level, and open space for dialogue and partnerships with civil society institutions and traditional authorities. Ideally, in the absence of the SSPS, local community security cells would eventually supplement these offices—perhaps with a mandate to participate in or lead civilian disarmament should security conditions allow.

At the same time, international assistance could address some of the underlying economic conditions. Job creation programmes are vital to provide alternative livelihoods for disenfranchised youths, and road construction initiatives are needed to open remote areas to traders, services, and security providers. The government's Land Committee is a promising initiative but needs support to design innovative strategies for managing communal areas and increasing access to water through catchment systems and other projects. The international community can only achieve this with a better understanding of the cattle economy, the powerbrokers in Juba and Bor, and the politics surrounding land distribution and sale.

Incentivizing peace is a long-term project that requires many elements—economic resources, political will, expertise, creativity, transparency—and a wide range of actors working towards common goals. Unfortunately, the current piecemeal, ad hoc efforts will not heal wounds or establish the conditions that would make conflict a thing of the past in Jonglei. ■

Notes

This Issue Brief *was written by HSBA Project Coordinator, Jonah Leff, based on fieldwork conducted in South Sudan from February to October 2012.*

1 UNOCHA (2009a); ICG (2009, p. 1).
2 See ICG (2009) and Mc Evoy and LeBrun (2010, pp. 22–27).
3 MSF (2009, p. 15).
4 Small Arms Survey (2011, pp. 4–8).
5 A payam is an administrative unit below the county level.
6 Interviews with Pibor county payam administrator and UNMISS personnel, Pibor and Juba, February 2012.
7 Interviews with UNMISS officials, Juba, February 2012.
8 Because it was a revenge attack, the Murle mobilized fighters of all ages rather than just young men, as is customary.
9 Interviews with international experts and Jonglei officials, Juba and Bor, February–March 2012.
10 In early 2012, international media outlets quoted a series of press releases from groups claiming to represent the Lou Nuer diaspora in Australia, Canada, and the US, claiming links to the white army in Jonglei. Lou Nuer youths and leaders in Jonglei said they were unaware of any diaspora activities or support. The Lou Nuer Community, a grassroots organization based in the US, also distanced itself from the press releases, claiming they were the work of a handful of individuals seeking to exploit the conflict to undermine Salva Kiir's government.
11 Interview with Jonglei expert with close ties to the Lou Nuer and Murle, Nairobi, 7 April 2012.
12 The 'white army' was established in the early 1990s when the Nasir-based faction of the SPLA, led by Riek Machar, split from the Torit-based mainstream SPLA, led by John Garang. It functioned as a local force to protect communities and their herds, but often attacked Garang's SPLA. At various times it received arms from both SAF and the SPLA. See Young (2007).
13 Interview with Jonglei expert with close ties to the Lou Nuer and Murle, Nairobi, 7 April 2012.
14 Interview with UN and NGO representatives and civilians, Juba, Bor, and Pibor, February–March 2012.
15 Locations are approximate. In all cases, attackers entered towns and moved through the environs.
16 Figures in parentheses were obtained from a single source; all others reflect information from at least two—and often three—sources.
17 Three of the eight killed were chiefs.
18 The UN recorded 44 Murle attacks during this period (UNMISS, 2012b).
19 The vast majority of those killed were Lou Nuer.
20 The local government provided vehicles to the Lou Nuer, who recovered the cattle within a few days.
21 The attack took place in Romieri, Ethiopia, across the river from Wanding payam, Jonglei.
22 Interview with UNMISS official, Juba, 7 February 2012.
23 UNMISS (2012a, p.12).
24 Interview with Jonglei expert with close ties to the Lou Nuer and Murle, Nairobi, 7 April 2012.
25 Of this total, 2,182 were reportedly women and children. Interview with Pibor County Commissioner Konyi, Pibor, 8 February 2012.
26 This figure is based on first-hand accounts from UNMISS staff who saw bodies or graves, and on interviews with victims' families. UNMISS recorded an additional 294 non-family deaths through interviews, but was unable to rule out possible duplications. More than 370 people were missing. UNMISS (2012a, p. 12).
27 This is a conservative estimate based on a range reported by UNMISS and the Pibor County Commissioner Konyi.
28 ICG (2009, p. 3).
29 Interviews with government officials, NGOs, and UNMISS representatives, Juba and Pibor, February–March 2012.
30 UNMISS (2012a, pp. 15–18).
31 Interviews with UNMISS and GoSS officials, Juba, February–March 2012.
32 Small Arms Survey (2011, pp. 5–7).
33 Small Arms Survey (2011, p. 9).
34 Athor charged two or three cows for one Kalashnikov-pattern rifle. Interview with Jonglei expert close to the Lou Nuer, Nairobi, 7 April 2012.
35 Interviews with international security experts, Juba and Bor, February–March 2012.
36 As of September 2012, at least 1,500 of Athor's fighters are awaiting integration at an assembly point outside Bor. In April, Yau Yau defected to Khartoum and was appointed Jonglei commander by the South Sudan Liberation Army and South Sudan Democratic Army.

37 Phone interview with UNMISS official, 28 August 2012.
38 The exact number of casualties is unconfirmed. Interview with UNMISS official, Juba, 28 September 2012.
39 Bloomberg (2012).
40 Interviews with SPLA officials, Juba and Bor, September 2012.
41 Interview with UNMISS official, Juba, 28 September 2012.
42 Interviews with international experts and Jonglei officials, Juba and Bor, February–March 2012.
43 Interview with Jonglei expert close to the Lou Nuer, Nairobi, 7 April 2012.
44 Small Arms Survey (2012).
45 Interviews with international experts and Jonglei officials, Juba and Bor, February–March 2012.
46 Interviews with locals in Pibor and Jonglei experts, Juba and Pibor, February–March 2012.
47 *Citizen* (2012).
48 Interview with Jonglei expert close to the Lou Nuer, Nairobi, 7 April 2012.
49 Interview with Murle red chiefs (clan leaders), Pibor, 9 February 2012.
50 Interview with UN and NGO representatives and civilians, Juba, Bor, and Pibor, February and March 2012.
51 Interviews with UNMISS officials, Juba, February–March 2012.
52 UNMISS (2012a, p. 20).
53 Interview with UNMISS official, Juba, 27 March 2012; Business Week (2012).
54 Hutchinson and Jok (2002, p. 98).
55 SSCCSE (2009, p. 7). According to the 2008 census, there were 734,327 males and 624,275 females in Jonglei state.
56 Arensen (2012).
57 Interview with Jonglei Murle expert, Nairobi, 5 April 2012. There are at least 10 other older age-sets that do not take part in age-set activities.
58 Interviews with international Murle experts and Jonglei officials, Juba and Bor, February–March 2012.
59 Interviews with Murle leaders, Pibor, February 2012.
60 As of September 2012, Dak Kueth was believed to be moving between Ethiopia and Upper Nile state with a small number of followers.
61 Dak Kueth rose to prominence a few years ago, and became connected to the Ngundeng lineage when he married the former prophet's great-great granddaughter.
62 Interviews with Lou Nuer experts, Juba and Nairobi, February–April 2012.
63 The Uror county commander is Bor Doang, and his deputy is Gatloy Chuol; the Nyirol county commander is Wie Bol, and his deputy is Deng Wengluat; and the Akobo county commander is Bol Chol, and his deputy is Gok Nakhok.
64 UNMISS (2012a, p. 15).
65 Interview with Lou Nuer expert, Nairobi, 7 April 2012.
66 Interviews with South Sudanese and pastoralist experts, Juba, February–March 2012.
67 Small Arms Survey (2007, p. 2); UNOCHA (2009b, p. 1).
68 Phone interview with Jonglei expert, 6 July 2012.
69 Internal UN document.
70 Rands and LeRiche (2012, p. 6).
71 Interviews with international experts close to the Lou Nuer, Bor, Juba, and Pibor, February–March 2012.
72 The cost of building roads in Jonglei is prohibitive due to the composition of much of its soil.
73 Interviews with Lou Nuer and Murle leaders and international experts, Juba and Pibor, February–March 2012.
74 SSCCSE (2009, p.3). The Murle population of Pibor county is estimated at 100,000–120,000.
75 Interviews with international experts and Murle officials, Pibor and Juba, February–March 2012.
76 Interview with senior SPLA officials, Pibor, 14 February 2012.
77 MSF (2007); UNOCHA (2007).
78 Interviews with South Sudanese and international experts on Jonglei, Bor, Juba, Pibor, and Nairobi, February–September 2012.
79 Interviews with locals, Pibor county, February 2012.
80 Interviews with Jonglei experts and local community members, Bor, Juba, Pibor, February–March 2012.
81 Interviews with South Sudanese and international experts, Juba and Bor, February–March 2012.
82 Interview with Jonglei expert, Nairobi, 3 February 2012.
83 Interview with health experts, Pibor, 9 February 2012; Rolandsen and Breidlid (2012).
84 Interviews with and Murle leaders and international experts, Juba and Pibor, February–March 2012.
85 Interviews with international experts and South Sudan government officials, Bor, Juba, and Pibor, February–March 2012.
86 Interview with an international expert close to the Lou Nuer, Nairobi, 7 April 2012.
87 Interviews with government officials and international pastoralist experts, Juba, February–March 2012.
88 Interview with UNMISS official close to the peace process, Juba, 7 February 2012.
89 Because of Deng's Dinka affiliation, many did not feel he was impartial.
90 Interview with Rev. Mark Akec Cien, acting general secretary, SCC, Juba, 3 April 2012.
91 Interview with Rev. Mark Akec Cien, acting general secretary, SCC, Juba, 3 April 2012.
92 Interviews with security experts, Juba and Bor, February–March 2012.
93 Private video viewed by the author on 7 February 2012.
94 Interview with SPLA spokesman Col. Philip Aguer, Juba, 26 March 2012.
95 Interview with Pibor County Commissioner Joshua Konyi, Pibor, 8 February 2012.
96 UNMISS (2012a, p. 27).
97 UNMISS (2012a, p. iiii).
98 See O'Brien (2009); Small Arms Survey (2006).
99 Small Arms Survey (2006, p. 4). The 2006 civilian disarmament campaign in Jonglei state resulted in an estimated 1,200 'white army' and 400 SPLA deaths. The UN said 3,300 weapons were collected, roughly two weapons for every person killed.
100 Interviews with Jonglei officials and an SPLA commander, Bor, 30 March 2012.
101 Interview with Lt. Gen. Kuol Diem Kuol, commander for disarmament, Bor, 29 March 2012.
102 Interview with the governor of Jonglei state, Koul Manyang, Bor, 26 September 2012.
103 Since security forces within the Ministry of the Interior do not yet have a record-keeping system for their inventory, it is unclear how the SPLA was able to disaggregate between civilian and state-owned firearms. Interviews with SPLA officials, Bor, March 2012.
104 Interviews with international experts and Jonglei residents, Juba and Bor, September 2012.
105 *Sudan Tribune* (2012a).
126 *Sudan Tribune* (2012b).
107 Republic of South Sudan (2012).
108 Phone interviews with Murle and international experts, September 2012.
109 Interview with Lt. Gen. Kuol Diem Kuol, commander for disarmament, Bor, 29 March 2012.
110 Interviews with Jonglei experts, Juba, June 2012.
111 Interview with international expert, Juba, 13 June 2012. In June, international observers interviewed a group of 50 villagers who said the SPLA had beaten about 100 men with sticks to get information on guns. The men were later brought to a nearby SPLA base where they were kept for up to three days. Eight of the men were subjected to waterboarding. The villagers also reported that up to 20 children had been mistreated by the SPLA. In March, two SPLA soldiers raped two women in Bor county. The soldiers were apprehended and sent to the military court.
112 Interviews with international NGO and UN officials and civilians in Jonglei, March–June 2012.
113 Interview with international experts, Juba, June 2012.
114 HRW (2012).
115 AI (2012).
116 Phone interviews with international experts and local Murle leaders, June–July 2012.
117 Phone interview with UNMISS official, 3 September 2012.
118 MSF data reporting sheet, 5 September 2012.
119 UNMISS (2012b).
120 Phone interviews with international experts and local Murle leaders, June–July 2012.
121 For purposes of disarmament, the SPLA broke Jonglei into five sectors: Boma, Pibor, Waat, Bor, and Ayod.
122 Interview with Lt. Gen. Kuol Diem Kuol, commander for disarmament, Bor, 29 March 2012.
123 Phone interview with UNMISS official, 9 September 2012.
124 Phone interviews with Jonglei experts, July 2012.
125 Phone interviews with international experts and local Murle leaders, June–July 2012.
126 Interview with Rev. Mark Akec Cien, acting general secretary, SCC, Juba, 14 June 2012.
127 UNMISS (2012a, p. 14).
128 A platoon consists of 32 soldiers.
129 UNMISS (2012a, p. 14).
130 Interviews with UNMISS officials, Juba, February–March 2012.
131 Phone interviews with international experts close to the Lou Nuer and Murle, June 2012.
132 Interview with UNMISS official, Juba, 11 June 2012.

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HSBA project summary

The Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA) for Sudan/South Sudan is a multi-year project administered by the Small Arms Survey. It was developed in cooperation with the Canadian government, the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and a wide array of international and Sudanese partners. Through the active generation and dissemination of timely, empirical research, the project supports violence reduction initiatives, including disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programmes, incentive schemes for civilian arms collection, as well as security sector reform and arms control interventions across Sudan and South Sudan. The HSBA also offers policy-relevant advice on redressing insecurity.

Issue Briefs are designed to provide timely periodic snapshots of baseline information in a reader-friendly format. The HSBA also generates a series of longer and more detailed *Working Papers*. All publications are available in English and Arabic at www.smallarmssurveysudan.org. We also produce monthly 'Facts and Figures' reports on key security issues at <www.smallarmssurveysudan.org/facts-figures.php>.

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Credits

Series editor: Emile LeBrun (emile.lebrun@smallarmssurvey.org)

Copy editor: Clar Ni Chonghaile

Cartographer: Jillie Luff, MAP*grafix* (jluff@mapgrafix.com)

Design and layout: Richard Jones (rick@studioexile.com)

Contact details

For more information or to provide feedback, contact Jonah Leff, HSBA Project Coordinator, at jonah.leff@smallarmssurvey.org

Sudan Human Security Baseline Assessment
Small Arms Survey
47 Avenue Blanc
1202 Geneva, Switzerland

t +41 22 908 5777
f +41 22 732 2738

small arms survey