



REPORT ON SESSION SIXTEEN OF HIGH-LEVEL BREAKFAST DISCUSSION AND STRATEGIC THINKING ON THE PEACE PROCESS IN SOUTH SUDAN

POLITICAL PARTIES OF SOUTH SUDAN AND CONSOLIDATION OF CULTURE OF PEACE AND GOOD GOVERNANCE THROUGH R-ARCSS IMPLEMENTATION IN ANTICIPATION FOR INCLUSIVE PARTICIPATION IN FAIR AND FREE DEMOCRATIC ELECTION

I - THE FUNCTION AND ATTENDANCE

The Center for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS) organized the sixteen session of HIGH-LEVEL BREAKFAST DISCUSSION AND STRATEGIC THINKING ON PEACE PROCESS IN SOUTH SUDAN at Pyramid Continental Hotel in Juba on Thursday, 5th December 2019. The function brought together 68 government officials, leaders of political parties, civil society leaders, political analysts, academic experts and diplomats who are engaged directly or indirectly in implementation of the 2018 Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS). The participants arrived at the venue at prime morning time and took interactive breakfast in the main Restaurant (07:35h – 08:30h a.m) before converging in the Conference Room for the discussion (08:30h to 11:15 am).

II – OBJECTIVES AND DISCUSSION

Session Sixteen of High-level Breakfast Discussion was organized to enhance critical strategic thinking and sharp precision on the role of political parties of South Sudan to consolidate culture of peace and good governance in anticipation for inclusive participation in fair and free democratic elections as endgame of R-ARCSS implementation. The deliberations was exclusive and frank (Chatham House Rule Applied) with the expectation for following outputs:

- 1). Strong support for R-ARCSS implementation with sense of urgency, including fulfilment of the necessary aspects of the process of unification of all armed forces as well as resolution of the problem of the viability of states and their local government units, which are conditional for establishment of Transitional Government of National Unity (RTGoNU) with seat in Juba for a term of 36 months to discharge the following mandate:
 - Ceasing the hostilities and upholding permanent ceasefire in order to restore peace, security and stability with reformed institutional security and sector;
 - Recovering and rebuilding war-devastated livelihoods and building physical infrastructure with special attention and priority accorded to the most-affected states and citizens;
 - Expediting relief and protection for voluntary repatriation, rehabilitation, resettlement, and reintegration of IDPs and returnees in cooperation with the region, the United Nations and international humanitarian agencies;
 - Facilitating and overseeing people-driven process of national reconciliation and healing through independent mechanisms provided in R-ARCSS, including budgetary provisions for compensation and reparations;

- Carrying out reforms and transformation in public service institutions, including in the judiciary and its justice system for law enforcement;
 - Ensuring prudent management of national wealth and resources with transparency and accountability in financial system, which should guarantee economic growth and the welfare of the people;
 - Devolving more powers and resources to state and local government so that development dividends could be enjoyed contextually at the grassroots;
 - Initiating and completing permanent constitution-making process based on federal system with lean government to put in place for post-transition era;
 - Conducting population census and households survey before the end of transitional period to know the exact post-conflict demography;
 - Reconstituting competent and independent National Elections Commission to conduct free, fair and credible elections at the end of transitional period; and
 - Working closely and collaboratively with IGAD-Plus member states, international organizations and partners/friends to consolidate peace and stability.
- 2). Taking note of advantageous benefits from lessons learnt from multiparty practices and success stories from well-established liberal democratic countries, particularly from Pan-Africanist view of struggle of the people against all forms of injustices and oppressions with inevitability of change.
 - 3). Appreciating the development of strong multiparty coalitions and networking partnership in an environment of consolidated people-centred peace and good governance, which should uproot the culture of violence and inculcate the rule of law and justice.
 - 4). Mainstreaming the gender and youth balance in building up visionary political leaders who should always put the interest of their nation at the top of their engagements and decisions, be it at the national or international levels.

Mr. Abdulrahman O. Kinana was the lead speaker. He is a renowned veteran Tanzanian politician holding Bachelor's Degree in Political Science and International Relations from Ljubljana University, Yugoslavia (1983) and Master's Degree in Public Policy from Harvard University, USA (1997). He commands wealth of experience in both military and civilian public services. He served as Colonel in Tanzanian People's Defence Forces (1972 – 1992). He was member of national Parliament of Tanzania (1985 – 1995), Deputy Minister of Defence (1985 – 1990), Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (1990 – 1991), Minister of Defense and National Service (1991 – 1993), Chairman of Tanzanian Red Cross Society (1996 – 2006), Speaker of the East African Legislative Assembly (2001 – 2006), Secretary-General of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (2012 to 2018). He served diligently outside Tanzania in different capacities, officially and privately. He was member of Julius Nyerere's Team to 6th UN Nuclear Disarmament Summit (1987 – 1988). He was the chairman of Rwandan Peace Process in Arusha (1994 – 1995) and was in Kenya in 2013 as Team Leader of East African Community Elections Observation Mission. He chaired the South Sudanese Intra-SPLM Unification Talks (2014 – 2015), culminating into SPLM Unification Agreement (2015).



Dr. Peter Adwok Nyaba was the moderator. He is a renowned South Sudanese intellectual, researcher, writer, consultant and politician. He holds Bachelor's and Master's of Science in Geology as well as PhD in the same field. He witnessed and participated in the Anyanya liberation struggle (1964 to 1966) before going back to school. Thereafter, he became interested in politics as member of Sudanese Communist Party. He joined SPLM/A Liberation in early 1980s as a combatant and lost his leg in the battle field. He became a legislature in the National Council of State and Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology in the Government of National Unity in Khartoum (2005 – 2011). He was appointed in the same ministerial portfolio when South Sudan became independent in 2011 and continued to serve there until 2013 after which he joined the SSPLM/A-IO and was one of the negotiators of 2015 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan. He presented a number of intellectual papers in many international and regional fora and also at home in South Sudan. He published books, including *The Politics of Liberation in South Sudan: An Insider View* and yielded him Norma Award in 1998, *The State We Aspire* (2016) and *South Sudan: Elites, Ethnicity, Endless Wars and the Stunted State* (2019).

Dr. Peter Adwok Nyaba welcomed the participants and introduced the key speaker with a board of thanks to the CSPS for organizing the High-Level Breakfast Discussion for the political parties in South Sudan to share their views with each other and get some helpful hints for progress despite the complicated situation of South Sudan. He jokingly recalled a certain politician who regarded Sudan the country of 1 million cubic mile, suggesting the gravity of the abyss into which it has found itself in due to recurrent political blunders. The result was the separation of South Sudan from the Sudan but with replication of the same political problems without significant change. He invited Ngugu Kinana to share his experience of party politics and how countries should be founded and built in Africa, especially from the point of view of lessons that could be learnt from Tanzania.

Mr. Abdulrahman Kinana expressed his happiness for being honoured by the CSPS and political parties in Juba to come from Dar es Salaam, share his experience and also learn from experiences of South Sudanese. He asked each and everyone in the room to introduce himself/herself and the affiliate institution where they work for. Having listened to the personal introduction of each and every participant, Mr. Kinana underscored that dialogue and listening to each other is the starting point of political work. This is what has happened with 124 tribes of the United Republic of Tanzania who decided to come together from Tanganyika and Zanzibar to form a one nation under main political party called Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). That country has enjoyed peace and stability due to right start with firm foundation laid down by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania and his team in CCM who believed in gradual change in the interest of the welfare of the people. Such change had to be pursued with patience and determination because it takes longer time and with the people getting tired of the old status.

He identified the following principles as the keys to keeping the CCM relevant and vibrant in power for over 60 years on political landscape of Tanzania since the independence:



- 1). Upholding peace and stability as cardinal values for implementing the agreed national agenda by indigenous communities and leaders of Tanzania as well as with their neighbours, near and far, in international arena.
- 2). Inculcating inclusive democratic culture and opportunities for all within and among the 57 political parties of Tanzania with guarantee to exercise the right to elect and be elected to office without restriction.
- 3). Tolerance and dialogue of diversity with freedom of thought, expression of opinion and promotion of ideology without fear or favour from anybody or institutional entity.

- 4). Gender recognition and mainstreaming for a balance that is accorded for women to have 35% share in holding top political power and being treated as VIPs with acknowledgement that females have better social relations and are less corrupt.
- 5). Frequent joint meetings to plan, execute or resolve issues of concerns to the nation and the parties so as to own them collectively through facilitation by the rotational Tanzanian Centre of Democracy and Leadership.
- 6). Sacrifice on differential issues that need consensus and compromise by the parties and their leaders in the interest of unity for preservation of core national goals.
- 7). Acknowledgement of both collective and individual contribution to nation-building and developmental progress based on the ability of the parties and citizens of Tanzania where each and every one is encouraged to exert the best of the efforts.
- 8). Reliant on internal strengths and pressure group in the country, first and foremost, before seeking external interventions or assistance.
- 9). Generational change for refreshing the political will and collective responsibility with innovative young leaders who got mentored by the elders.



Based on these principles, Mr. Kinana inquired about national agenda of R-ARCS and the usefulness of this for the required change in South Sudan, including the extension of formation of RTGoNU by another 100 days more. He inquired about what the parties are doing to overcome the outstanding issues blocking the formation of RTGoNU but also whether they have started to formulate a programme for that waited government. He cited how Tanzanians used to wonder about the need of liberal democracy in a poor country and where there is no much ideological difference. According to him, the people of South Sudan should be rallied behind a unified agenda like what Mwalimu Nyerere and CCM did to rally Tanzanians along eradication of poverty, disease and ignorance regardless of dominant or negligible tribal and religious affiliations. This culture and its social engineering has made it possible for Tanzania to have 4 Presidents so far hailing from smaller tribes out of 124 tribes in the united republic but being trusted for their nationalism.

Dr. Peter Adwok Nyaba identified the issues of security, borders and elections to have been made divisive by the elites of South Sudan who have refused to unite themselves and the people, especially in the SPLM. Those elites have been exploiting tribalism to promote their parochial political agenda and associated wealth in a violent manner. They failed to prioritize state building and national identity. This has made it easier for the neighbouring countries to smuggle their respective national interests in the expense of volatile situation of the embattled and sieged South Sudan. He opened the floor for the participants to discuss.

III– THE PILLARS OF ACTION AND WAY FORWARD

The following are the pillars of action that are gleaned from expert talk and deliberations by the participants on the topic of Session Fourteen of High-level Breakfast Discussion ON Political Parties of South Sudan and Consolidation of Culture of Peace and Good Governance through R-ARCSS Implementation in Anticipation for Inclusive Participation in Fair and Free Democratic Elections:

- 1). Strong support for R-ARCSS implementation with sense of urgency and prioritization of stability through dialogue and consensus-building for formation of RTGoNU that is fully mandated by the parties to manage the peace process accordingly.
- 2). Continuous Learning and adoption of good practices of multiparty politics from well-established liberal democratic countries where the respect of the other and tolerance of different views harmoniously as a core norm for keeping the Republic united.
- 3). Building constructive coalitions and networking partnership in an environment of consolidated people-centred peace and good governance based on reforms for transformation of what has been spoiled by the crises of war time and absence of peace.

- 4). Uprooting the culture of violence by inculcating the culture of peace as grounded in the rule of law and promotion of justice within the strong institutions to enforce what is in the interest of the common good of the citizens.
- 5). Mainstreaming the contribution of women and youth with gender balance in mentoring visionary political leaders who are apt for safeguarding the core national interests and sustainable development of their country in solidarity with the rest of dignified nations.

The key speaker, moderator and participants deliberated objectively and frankly on the topic and recommend well-informed practical way forward for the political parties and government of South Sudan to consolidate culture of peace and good governance in anticipation for inclusive participation in fair and free democratic elections as endgame of R-ARCSS implementation with restored comprehensive peace in the country. The following analytical policy action points were drawn from the High-Level Breakfast to help in charting new and effective outlook for South Sudan. Wider dissemination of these would help in forging better way forward for cementing peace and promoting development in South Sudan with guarantees of the welfare of all citizens.

S/N	LEADERSHIP	CITIZENS	STAKEHOLDERS	GUARANTORS	PARTNERS
1.	Support R-ARCSS implementation with sense of urgency and prioritization of stability through dialogue for consensus-building, culminating in establishment of RTGoNU with full mandate to manage the peace process and ensure multiparty democratic.	Support the parties to implement the R-ARCSS as priority for stability through dialogue with consensus-building, culminating in formation of RTGoNU with full mandate to manage the peace and multiparty democracy in South Sudan.	Pressure the parties to implement the R-ARCSS as priority for stability through dialogue with consensus-building, culminating in formation of RTGoNU with full mandate to manage the peace process and democracy.	Oversee the parties to implement the R-ARCSS as priority for stability through dialogue with consensus-building, culminating in formation of RTGoNU with full mandate to manage the peace process and democracy.	Assist the parties to implement the R-ARCSS as priority for stability through dialogue with consensus-building, culminating in formation of RTGoNU with full mandate to manage the peace process and democracy.
2.	Adopt good practices with respect of the other and tolerance of different views in harmonious manner, which keeps the republic united around the security of the common good of its citizens.	Embrace good practices with respect of the other and tolerance of different views in harmonious manner, which keeps the republic united around the security of the common good.	Ensure good practices with respect of the other and tolerance of different views in harmonious manner, which keeps the republic united around the security of the common good.	Share good practices with respect of the other and tolerance of different views in harmonious manner, which keeps the republic united around the security of the common good.	Support good practices with respect of the other and tolerance of different views in harmonious manner, which keeps the republic united around the security of the common good.

3.	Build constructive coalitions and networking partnership by the parties in environment of consolidated people-centred peace and good governance based on reforms for transformation of what has been spoiled by the crises of war time in South Sudan.	Support the coalitions and networking partnership by the parties in environment of consolidated good governance for the timely transformation of what has been spoiled by the crises of war and abhorrent destruction of livelihoods.	Pressure the parties to develop coalitions and networking partnership in environment of consolidated good governance for transformation of what has been spoiled by the crises of war and destruction.	Urge the parties to develop coalitions and networking partnership in environment of consolidated good governance for transformation of what has been spoiled by the crises of war and destruction of livelihoods.	Assist the parties to develop coalitions and networking in environment of consolidated good governance for transformation of what has been spoiled by the crises of war and destruction of livelihoods.
4.	Denounce culture of violence by inculcating the culture of peace as grounded in rule of law and promotion of justice with strong institutions that are capable of enforcing what is in the interest of the common good of the citizens.	Forgo culture of violence by inculcating the culture of peace as grounded in rule of law and justice with strong institutions that are capable of enforcing what is in the interest of the common good.	Shun culture of violence by inculcating the culture of peace as grounded in rule of law and justice with strong institutions that are capable of enforcing what is in the interest of the common good.	Condemn violence and encourage the culture of peace as grounded in rule of law and justice with strong institutions that are capable of enforcing what is in the interest of the good of citizens.	Abhor culture of violence and encourage the culture of peace as grounded in rule of law and justice with strong institutions that are capable of enforcing what is in the interest of the good of the citizens.
5.	Mainstream the contribution of women and youth with gender balance in mentoring visionary political leaders who can sacrifice for safeguarding the core national interests and development of their country in solidarity with the rest of dignified nations.	Demand for mainstreaming of contribution of women and youth with gender balance in mentoring visionary political leaders who can sacrifice for safeguarding the core national interests and development in solidarity with the rest human nations.	Advocate for mainstreaming of contribution of women and youth with gender balance in mentoring visionary political leaders who can sacrifice for safeguarding the core national interests and development in South Sudan.	Support the mainstreaming of contribution of women and youth with gender balance in mentoring visionary political leaders who can sacrifice for safeguarding the core national interests and development in South Sudan.	Assist the mainstreaming of contribution of women and youth with gender balance in mentoring visionary political leaders who can sacrifice for safeguarding the core national interests and development in South Sudan.

6.	Acknowledge the importance of collective and individual contribution to nation-building based on the ability of the parties and citizens where each and every one is encouraged to exert the best of their efforts.	Uphold the importance of collective and individual contribution to nation-building based on the ability of the parties and generations where each and every one is to exert the best of their efforts.	Defend the importance of collective and individual contribution to nation-building based on ability of the parties and citizens where each and every one of them is to exert the best of their efforts.	Encourage South Sudanese to recognize collective and individual contribution to nation-building based on ability of the parties and citizens where each and every one is to exert the best of their efforts.	urge South Sudanese to recognize collective and individual contribution to nation-building based on ability of the parties and citizens where each and every one is to exert the best of their efforts.
7.	Work for self-reliance on internal strengths of South Sudanese parties and government as well as the pressure groups in the country, first and foremost, before seeking external interventions for assistance.	Prioritize self-reliance on internal strengths of South Sudanese parties and government as well as the pressure groups in the country, first and foremost, before seeking external interventions for assistance.	Support self-reliance on internal strengths of South Sudanese parties and government as well as the pressure groups in the country before seeking external interventions for assistance.	Urge for self-reliance on internal strengths of South Sudanese parties and government as well as the pressure groups in the country before seeking external interventions for assistance.	Backing-up self-reliance on internal strengths of South Sudanese parties and government as well as the pressure groups in the country before seeking external interventions for assistance.
8.	Embrace the generational change for refreshing the political will with collective responsibility that meet the demand of the time and relevance of what is considered valuable for the people to uphold sustainably.	Support the merits of generational change for refreshing the political will with collective responsibility that meet the demand of time and relevance of what is considered valuable for South Sudan.	Upkeep the generational change for refreshing the political will and responsibility that meet the demand of time and relevance of what is considered valuable for the people of South Sudan.	Ensure the generational change for refreshing the political will and responsibility that meet the demand of time and relevance of what is considered valuable for the people of South Sudan.	Provide assistance for generational change with refreshment of political will and responsibility that meet the demand of time and relevance of what is considered valuable for South Sudan.

ABOUT THE CENTER

South Sudan Center for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS) was established in July 2011 with aims of participating in the development of the country through applied research to enhance the debate on governance, nation and state-building in South Sudan, with the purpose of adding objectivity, critical thinking, nurturing strategic thinking, progressive and well-informed leadership.

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