



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

IGAD AS GUARANTOR OF THE R-ARCSS AND THE ROLE
IT CAN PLAY BEYOND THE MEDIATION OF THE CONFLICT
AMONG THE PARTIES OF SOUTH SUDAN

I - THE FUNCTION AND ATTENDANCE

The Center for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS) organized the twelve HIGH-LEVEL BREAKFAST DISCUSSION AND STRATEGIC THINKING ON PEACE PROCESS IN SOUTH SUDAN at Pyramid Continental Hotel in Juba on Friday, 27th 2019. The event brought together over 40 renowned government policy makers, leaders of political parties, civil society leaders, political analysts, academic experts, private sector actors, diplomatic corps and NGOs leaders who are linked directly or indirectly to the implementation of 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 breakfast in the main Restaurant (07:35h – 08:35h am) before converging in the Conference Room for the discussion (08:45h to 11:00 am).

II - THE OBJECTIVES AND DISCUSSION

Session twelve of the series of Breakfast Discussion was organized to enhance critical strategic thinking and sharp precision on the role of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) as Guarantor of the R-ARCSS and also what it can do beyond the mediation of the conflict among the parties of South Sudan. The following were the expected outputs:

- (i). Acknowledging the positive mediation role played by IGAD to bring to the negotiations table the parties to conflict in South Sudan.
- (ii). Evaluating the role of IGAD as the Guarantor of the R-ARCSS and monitor of implementation of this peace deal where the parties of South Sudan are expected to solemnly commit themselves to the end of war for restoration of stability.
- (iii). Exploring the role that the IGAD can play beyond mediation of the conflict among the parties of South Sudan and in accordance with its vision of peace, prosperity and regional integration aimed at:
 - Promoting joint development strategies based on macro-economic policies and programs in social, economic and political fields.
 - Harmonizing trade, customs, transport, infrastructure, communications, agriculture, natural resources and energy policies.
 - Promoting free movement of goods, services and people within the region in order to create enabling environment for foreign, cross-border and domestic interactions and investment.
 - Achieving food security with collective combating of drought and other disasters in the region through sustainable development programs, including protection of resources and natural environment.

- Mobilizing resources for emergency, short-term, medium-term and long-term projects of regional cooperation.
- Strengthening scientific research and development with applications of suitable technologies and in coordination with other regional communities.

Guided by these objectives, the lead expert and moderator steered the deliberations cordially with exclusive frank conversation under Chatham House Rule. **Hon. Dr. Barnanaba Marial Benjamin** (N.B: He hold Master's Degree of Diplomacy and International Relations from University of South Africa of Bachelor's Degree of Medicines from Cairo University. He is currently the Presidential Advisor and Special Envoy of H.E President Salva Kiir, Member of SPLM National Liberation Council; Member of Parliament representing Uror County, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of South Sudan, and Former Spokesperson of Government of South Sudan) welcomed **Madame Beatrice Kiraso** and introduced her elatedly as the well-placed expert to share her experience on this topical discussion with the participants (N.B: she holds Master's Degree in Public Administration from Kennedy School of Government in Harvard University and Bachelor's Degree in Economics and Social Administration from Makerere University. She is Policy Evaluation, Governance, Security and Development Consultant; former Deputy Secretary General of East African Community; former Principal Advisor of UN Economic Commission for Africa; and Former Chairperson of Budget Committee in Uganda National Parliament).

Madame Beatrice Kiraso took the floor and expressed her gratitude for being invited to come to South Sudan to give a talk on the IGAD and regional integration. She underscored the word 'frank' to be the key for informative search for truth and credible knowledge. She believed that this will expel the myths and falsities that have been often entertained without critical scrutiny of the nature of what is at stake regarding the expected role of the IGAD beyond mediation in South Sudan. According to her, the establishment of the High Level Revitalization Forum (HLRF) by the IGAD enabled it to definitely play a significant role of striking the R-ARCSS peace deal as preceded by the five key agreements by parties to the conflict:

- a). Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities, Protection of Civilians and Humanitarian Access, signed on 21 December 2017 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia;
- b). Addendum to the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities, Protection of Civilians and Humanitarian Access, signed on 22 May 2018 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia;
- c). Khartoum Declaration of Agreement between Parties to the Conflict in South Sudan, signed on 27 June 2018 in Khartoum, Sudan;
- d). Agreement on Outstanding Issues of Security Arrangements, signed on 6 July 2018 in Khartoum, Sudan; and
- e). Agreement on Outstanding Issues on Governance, signed on 5 August 2018 in Khartoum, Sudan.

A Report of the Reconstituted Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (RJMEC) on the status of implementation of R-ARCSS covering the period from 1st April to 30th June 2019, highlighted the activities undertaken by the established institutions and implementation mechanisms for the 8-month preparatory pre-transitional period, which was extended for 6 months later (from 12th May to 11th November 2019) pending the formation of Revitalized Government of National Unity (RTGoNU). This has to take place under supervision of IGAD as a guarantor for R-ARCSS implementation, ensuring that peace process is protected on the track with incentives to its promoters as well as enforceable sanctions against

the spoilers. As a guarantor IGAD has the responsibility to enable the parties to bridge the gaps in trust, to revive negotiations on the pending issues, and to ensure commitment to delivery on agreed R-ARCSS provisions. These have to take place in environment where the parties are willing to give peace a chance greater confidence in each other's solemn commitments.

To evaluate the role of IGAD on concrete measures, Madame Beatrice would like seeing the mechanisms of oversight and verification that have been put in place for enforcement of R-ARCSS implementation being interrogated properly. That is, to what extent can IGAD ensure compliance or deter parties from noncompliance, including option of sanctions against spoilers? She stressed that IGAD comprises a number of individual leaders and sovereign countries with different interests within this regional bloc, overriding the common and collective interests at times. She noted that regional integration is largely politically driven process with power interests of individual leaders influencing the outcomes.

Therefore, it is paramount to discuss frankly and critically the role of IGAD's individual leaders beyond rhetoric in order to ascertain the perceptions that some of them see opportunities when South Sudan is at war with itself. The economic interests of South Sudan's neighbours and their evolving roles cannot be detached from the alliances with parties to the conflict. South Sudan attracted both small and big investors into various sectors of its economy from Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Sudan. As a landlocked country with no sufficient roads, South Sudan depends much on Kenya Seaport of Mombasa, and en route via Uganda, for transportation of its goods. Engagements by these countries could be seen as being informed by their desire to protect such economic interests and investments.



South Sudan's ability to continue exporting crude oil, which constitutes 98% of national revenues, depends on maintaining good relations with the Sudan. The secession of South Sudan resulted in the loss of more than 70% of oil revenue of the Sudan, which it compensates for by putting exorbitant charges on oil transportation, processing and transit fees for exporting South Sudan's crude through its pipelines to Port Sudan on the Red Sea coast (i.e., the Sudan draws a fixed amount of 24.5 USD per barrel exported, estimated to amount to half of South Sudan's total oil revenue). Also the Sudan levy huge Transitional Financial Arrangement (TFA) of over 3 billion on South Sudan aimed at boosting its economy after the income losses that were incurred by the breakaway of the new country from it. These examples indicate that the IGAD's role as a mediator and guarantor could potentially be compromised as the members themselves shy away or become too diplomatic to speak out with one voice against unfair deals.

There is no doubt that economic rivalries, power struggles, absence of solid institutions, the challenge of making the peace process people-centred, delay in operationalizing the performance of the constituted (or reconstituted) R-ARCSAS institutions, and inability to access sufficient resources (285 million USD) necessary to carry out the responsibilities tasked to the peace mechanisms, shall render the future of peace agreement uncertain in South Sudan. If IGAD cannot put up the required resources, ensure that the setup activities are prioritised, facilitate more meetings of the top leadership of the parties (to get them to solemnly commit to R-ARCSS), engage the respective military wings of each of the parties, and address the major underlying causes of the conflict, the realisation of real peace and stability may take longer than is desirable for South Sudan.

Exploring the role that IGAD in South Sudan beyond mediation of the conflict, particularly in the areas of macro-economic policies, social and economic development, harmonisation of trade, customs, transport, infrastructure, promotion of free movement, factors of production, and calls for understanding the Horn of Africa as a region, Madame Beatrice contended that there are less optimistic signs of integration agenda and progress available for South Sudan to benefit from. Though IGAD covers a diverse region with a population of over 230 million, comprising opportunities of economic growth and investment, yet it is also challenged by violent conflicts, political instability, and humanitarian crises. International and regional geopolitical and geo-economic interests have so often dictated the level of external interventions, especially in relation to maritime security, countering terrorism, violent extremism and anti-piracy. Disputes over trans-boundary resources such as the Nile River and other border disputes, also play into peace and security dynamics of the region. But it is imperative that IGAD member countries employ interventions that support the transformation processes that address socio-economic imbalances within and among countries, and adopt a proactive rather than a reactive approach towards the crises. Some of the IGAD member states have suffered decades of warfare and the severe human security as well as economic development issues that go with violent conflicts.

On paper, IGAD has a mandate to promote regional cooperation and integration across a broad range of topics: cooperation on macroeconomic policies; free movement of goods, services, and people; regional food security; drought resilience; complementary infrastructures; peace & stability in the sub region; programmes in the social, technological and scientific fields; and the objectives of the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). Yet IGAD is a relatively young institution in the region; worst when its status is characterised by long-running inter and intra-state conflicts, rivalries, alliances and anti-alliances of members with varying political settlements and lack of capacities to govern. There has been limited progress in regional market integration, especially in light of the overlapping membership in other faster moving Regional Economic Communities RECs (N.B: all IGAD members except Somalia are members of either or both EAC and COMESA).

The role of IGAD's economic agenda also suffers a challenge of ownership, with a question on who the driver could be, and what could possibly be unique to IGAD that is lacking in the processes being driven at those other RECs. There are unique economic characteristics in IGAD region, which would justify greater regional integration, some of these, however, also work as impediments. Though IGAD is relatively homogeneous in many aspects, yet when it comes to the economies, the richest country income per head is three times that of the poorest, and the region's economy is dominated by the 3 economies of Sudan, Kenya, and Ethiopia. Together they represent more than 80% of the region's GDP.

IGAD can push for trade and customs harmonisation, as economic interdependence increases, but it should be noted that there is very limited complementarity between IGAD member states' production. Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda are significant producers of coffee, each with their different types, recognised in international markets; Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan are major exporters of livestock and livestock products; Sudan and Ethiopia produce sesame and oil seeds for export. Exporting of similar products and lack of specialisation does not therefore support free trade among members. Without greater regional economic complementarities and enhanced private sector opportunities, some of those policies cannot get implemented as the push and pull drivers are weak. There is also a problem of credible data available on trade owing to amount of informal trade, notably of livestock and that in the region. This in a way undermines the role of institutions aimed at formal trade and thereby promoting greater integration. Besides Kenya and Uganda which to a large extent trade among themselves and within IGAD countries, notably South Sudan and Sudan, most IGAD traders prefer to trade with the Middle East and Asian economies.



IGAD might wish to support transport, infrastructure, communications, agriculture and other economic initiatives. All these occur amidst major environmental challenges and continually changing external interests and influences. Also from the available records, only 10% of the annual budget of IGAD is said to be financed from member state contributions, and half of it is spent on peace and security. And with 90% a budget of IGAD being funded by development partners, its programs are likely to be dictated by the donors overseas.

IGAD's Vision, in nutshell, is seen by many as reflecting a specialisation in peace and security, not trade issue or other economic issues, despite its Strategy (2016 – 2020) and perception of successes in the following:

- (i). Much more positive engagement of member states;
- (ii). Working together and development of successful partnerships;
- (iii). Awareness raising in the regional community and on targeted sectors e.g. drought risk management;
- (iv). Signing of a Joint Financing Agreement (JFA) with donors;
- (v). *Working towards better monitoring, evaluation and reporting for improvement;*
- (vi). *Enhancement of capacity within the secretariat;*
- (vii). *Adoption of the Minimum Integration Plan (MIP);*
- (viii). *Development and harmonisation of regional sector policies and strategies such as the IGAD Environment Policy, IGAD Environment Impact Assessment (EIA) Policy Framework, the GAD EIA Protocol, etc;*
- (ix). *Preparation, adoption and implementation of the IGAD Sustainable Tourism Master Plan;*
- (x). *Development and approval of an IGAD water policy; and*
- (xi). *Continued IGAD led peace processes in member states such as Sudan and Somalia.*

Despite the self-declared success, the breadth of IGAD's mandate raises questions about the demand for this broad agenda, especially when this regional bloc had identifies the following challenges from its Strategy (2012 – 2016): lack of progress towards ratification of the IGAD treaty; irregular meetings of the key IGAD organs particularly the ordinary summit that has not been convened for a very long time; high reliance on donor funding and delay in transfer of committed funds to IGAD; slow domestication of protocols and policies; and difficulties in monitoring progress and impacts from the previous strategy. Also without instruments to enforce regional agreements or sanctions, the IGAD shall remain as weak entity to advance a successful course of actions on its mandate. Though its Treaty was negotiated for eight years (until 2016 when it was adopted by the Council of Ministers), yet the status of this key instrument remains bleak as it remains unendorsed by the Summit of Heads of State and Government for ratification into force to take effect. Worst, there has been less commitment by the IGAD member-states to domesticate the signed protocols and policies.

Despite the shortcomings of IGAD, Madame Beatrice commended this unavoidable regional bloc for all the initiatives it has taken and the strategic agenda it has developed beyond mediation of conflicts.

The progress or lack of it in economic integration ultimately is relative to the competing interests of the member-countries and groups within the IGAD, depending on whether they aim to address their issues through regional processes or preferred bilateralism. The role of IGAD beyond mediation of conflicts in South Sudan will be determined by how member-countries might want to collaborate on the economic integration agenda, harnessing potential business interests on economic agenda and how this might take place with the strong specific path taken by the biggest economic player and long-serving IGAD chair, Ethiopia. Therefore, South Sudan should not rely solely on IGAD but to draw on its own untapped strengths and move forward in self-reliant on internal peace and harmony among its leaders and people.



III- THE PILLARS OF ACTION AND WAY FORWARD

The participants deliberated on the topic objectivity and recommended well-informed practical way forward for enhancing the role of IGAD as Guarantor of the R-ARCSS and beyond the mediation of the conflict among the Parties of South Sudan. This made the topic of session twelve of the HIGH-LEVEL BREAKFAST DISCUSSION AND STRATEGIC THINKING ON THE PEACE PROCESS IN SOUTH SUDAN to be successful in its timing and relevance. The presentation by lead speaker, the contribution by the participants and the summary by moderator were all geared towards making sense of what the IGAD, as guarantor of the R-ARCSS, can do beyond the mediation of the conflict among the parties of South Sudan. The outcome of the Discussion is summarized into these key pillars:

- (i). Regular meetings and effective follow-ups of the resolutions of the IGAD on the peace process in South Sudan and beyond, including pressure of South Sudanese parties to cease hostilities (especially hate speech) and encourage them to urgently adopt culture of peace for sustainable development by changing the approach to be attractive with avoidance of repeated failure of 2015 ARCSS.
- (ii). Enfacement of strategic thinking to help in taking the R-ARCSS forward in a concretely planned manner for easier and transparent support by partners and with involvement of national think tank institutions and researchers in building objective ideas for best practices.
- (iii). Ownership of responsibility for peace and development by South Sudanese themselves, and with participation of national civil society in building trust and raising the level of confidence in peace beyond mediation of conflicts.
- (iv). International support to South Sudan and IGAD in form of financing, technical assistance and leverage on the parties, especially in comprehensive tasks of DDR and mechanisms that have been established for preventing the parties to slip back to senseless war.
- (v). Articulation of national interests clearly and harmonising these with the external interests of the neighbouring countries, the region and beyond internationally in a sustainable peaceful environment of development and investment prospects.
- (vi). Cordial and frank discussions, which capitalize on identification of what the people want to achieve for the welfare of South Sudan with strong foundation of good governance in atmosphere of dialogue, aiding the parties and partners with correct reading of situations.

At the end of this important Breakfast Discussion and based on the gleaned pillars from the way forward as presented by the lead expert and the participants, the following analytical policy action points were compiled for wider dissemination. These would help in forging better way forward for peace and development in South Sudan, which shall guarantee the welfare of the citizens and their government:

S/N	LEADERSHIP	CITIZENS	STAKEHOLDERS	GUARANTORS	PARTNERS
1.	Build on the positive mediation role played by IGAD to bring the parties to the negotiations table and commit them to peace process through R-ARCSS.	Support positive mediation role played by IGAD to bring the parties to the negotiations table and commit them to peace process through R-ARCSS.	Assist IGAD in persuading the parties of South Sudan to commit themselves to peace process through R-ARCSS and beyond mediation.	Demonstrate leadership via IGAD to bring the parties of South Sudan together and commit them to peace process through R-ARCSS and beyond.	Support IGAD initiatives in South Sudan and urge this regional bloc to commit the parties to peace process via R-ARCSS and beyond mediation.

2.	Respect the role of IGAD as sole Guarantor of R-ARCSS with the parties working together to end the war, restore stability and pursue inclusive development.	Stand with IGAD as Guarantor of R-ARCSS and persuader of parties of South Sudan to end the war, restore stability and pursue inclusive development.	Help IGAD to be effective Guarantor of R-ARCSS with the parties ending the war, restoring stability and pursuing development.	Be effective Guarantor of R-ARCSS behind IGAD to help the parties of South Sudan end the war, restore stability and pursue development.	Support IGAD to be effective Guarantor of R-ARCSS by holding the parties of South Sudan to end the war and pursue development.
3.	Explore the role that IGAD can play beyond mediation of the conflict among the parties in accordance with its vision of peace, prosperity and regional integration.	Appreciate the role that IGAD can play beyond mediation among the parties with refocusing on vision of peace, prosperity and regional integration.	Urge IGAD to go beyond mediation among the parties of South Sudan so as to realize the vision of prosperity via regional integration.	Expand the role that IGAD can play beyond mediation of conflict in South Sudan to pursue the vision of peace, prosperity and regional integration.	Support IGAD to go beyond mediation of conflict in South Sudan and refocus its attention to vision of peace, prosperity and regional integration.
4.	Encourage honest dialogue and frank discussion with IGAD in order to dispel myths and falsities through critical scrutiny of what is at stake for peace to reign sustainably in South Sudan.	Be involved in dialogue and frank discussion with IGAD in order to dispel myths and falsities through critical scrutiny of what is at stake for peace and prosperity in South Sudan.	Push for frank dialogue and discussion with IGAD so as to dispel myths and falsities via critical scrutiny of what is at stake for peace and prosperity in South Sudan	Prioritize frank dialogue and discussion on South Sudan through IGAD in order to dispel myths and falsities with critical scrutiny of what is at stake for peace and prosperity.	Support frank dialogue and discussion on South Sudan through IGAD in order to dispel myths and falsities with critical scrutiny of what is at stake for peace and prosperity.
5.	Develop a culture of self-reliance on internal strength of people of South Sudan to co-exist harmoniously in order to promote their national interests in an atmosphere of peace for all.	Accept culture of self-reliance on internal strength of South Sudan via harmonious co-existence, which promotes core national interests that is grounded on secured peace for all.	Inculcate culture of self-reliance on internal strength of South Sudan via harmonious co-existence on core national interests.	Encourage South Sudanese to adopt culture of self-reliance on their internal strength via harmonious co-existence on core national interests.	Support South Sudanese to adopt culture of self-reliance on their internal strength of via harmonious co-existence on core national interests based on peace.

6.	Identify the hot spots and issues that need urgent attention, using combination of right theory and practice, to ensure that the failures of 2015 ARCSS are not repeated in 2018 R-ARCSS.	Avail hot spots and issues that need urgent attention, using combination of right theory and practice, to ensure that the failures of 2015 R-ARCSS are not repeated in 2018 R-ARCSS.	Survey hot spots and issues that need urgent attention, using combination of right theory and practice to ensure viability of peace via R-ARCSS	Take serious note of hot spots and issues that need urgent attention, using combination of right theory and practice to ensure viability of peace via R-ARCSS.	Scrutinize objectively hot spots and issues that need urgent attention, using combination of right theory and practice to ensure viability of peace via R-ARCSS.
7.	Design strategic thinking and planning to help in taking the R-ARCSS and other core national interests forward transparently with attraction of meaningful aid and support by partners/friends of South Sudan.	Be the source of strategic thinking and planning that take R-ARCSS and other core national interests forward with attraction of support by partners/friends of South Sudan.	Be the source of strategic thinking and planning that take forward R-ARCSS and other core national interests with attraction of sufficient external support.	Inform the content of strategic thinking and planning that take forward R-ARCSS and other core national interests with sufficient external support.	Advice on the content of strategic thinking and planning that take forward R-ARCSS and other core national interests with attraction of external support.
8.	Involve think tank institutions and researchers in peace process, especially in technical aspects of reforms in civil service, foreign affairs, security and economic sectors in interest of welfare of the people.	Demand think tank institutions and researchers to be involved in peace process, especially in providing technical nuances for concrete reforms of public service and economy.	Support think tank institutions and researchers to inform peace process, especially in technical aspects of reforms of public service and economy.	Guarantee that think tank institutions and researchers are involved in peace process to provide technical nuances for concrete reforms of public service and economy.	Assist in funding think tank institutions and researchers to get involved in peace process and provide technical nuances for reforms of public service and economy.

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.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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