

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



R-ARCSS IMPLEMENTATION AND THE RELATIONS OF
SOUTH SUDAN WITH SUDAN, IGAD-MEMBER STATES AND
NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

8TH SESSION REPORT | 21ST MAY 2019

I - THE FUNCTION AND ATTENDANCE

The Center for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS) organized the EIGHTH HIGH-LEVEL BREAKFAST DISCUSSION AND STRATEGIC THINKING ON PEACE PROCESS IN SOUTH SUDAN at Pyramid Continental Hotel in Juba on Monday, 29th April 2019. The event brought together renowned policy and decision makers, experts, opinion leaders and activists who are linked directly or indirectly to the peace process in South Sudan (high-level government officials, political parties/movements leaders, civil society leaders, NGOs leaders, academia experts, journalism leaders and heads/representatives of diplomatic missions). The 41 participants arrived at the venue at prime morning time and took breakfast in the main Restaurant (07:35h – 08:35h a.m) before converging in the Conference Room prepared for the Breakfast Discussion (08:35h to 11:00h a.m).

II – THE OBJECTIVES OF DISCUSSION

The objective was to deliberate constructively and critically on the topic with well-informed recommendations and way forward for R-ARCSS Implementation from perspective of the relations of South Sudan with Sudan, IGAD-Member States and Neighbouring Countries. The following were the expected outputs from session eighth of the Breakfast Discussion:

- 1). Harnessing and cementing the relations of South Sudan (government and people) with the Sudan and the immediate neighboring countries as well as other IGAD Member-States and the region at large.
- 2). Forging unity of purpose for peace in South Sudan with Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya and other neighboring countries as well as IGAD and region playing key roles.
- 3). Unifying the lobby and solidarity with the Sudan, the neighboring countries, the IGAD and the region for consolidation of peace process in South Sudan.
- 4). Managing regional geopolitics amicably for mutual benefits of the peoples and the governments of South Sudan, the neighboring countries and the IGAD region.
- 5). Assisting in repatriating the refugees of South Sudan in the Sudan and neighboring countries in accordance with dignified domestic and international best practices and vice versa for the refugees of the Sudan, Ethiopia, DRC and C.A.R.

Guided by the above-mentioned key objectives, the lead expert, the moderator and the translator steered the deliberations with cordially frank conversation on opportunities and challenges presented by 2018 Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS). The core objective was to harness cordial relations of South Sudan with Sudan, IGAD-Member States and Neighbouring Countries.

Hon. Abdon Agaw—Graduate of Linguistics in the Faculty of Arts of University of Khartoum, liberation political activist as well as a top notch professional civil servant—introduced the rationale of the discussed topic. He underlined the effect of the situation of the Sudan after the ousting of President Omar El-Bashir from power, the number one guarantor of the peace process in South Sudan. He heightened the profile of Dr. Amani El Taweel (LLB and PhD from Ain Shams University, Expert and Researcher on Governance in Al Ahram Political and Strategic Studies Center, Member of Egyptian Council for African Affairs, Member of Sudanese Studies Center in Cairo University, Board Member of the Family of the Nile Valley, Visiting Professor in the School of Foreign Affairs at George Washington University, Media Specialist for Senior Government Officials, and Author of a number of Books as well as several Chapters of Professional Books) before giving her the audience.

Dr. Amani El Taweel thanked the CSPS for inviting her and expressed her happiness to see Juba developing to catch up with the rest of established capitals. She preferred to speak in Arabic language on her presentation on the current affairs and the challenges and opportunities about the peace process in South Sudan. She regarded the fall of President El-Bashir as not a surprise to the observers of the Sudanese affairs. This was preceded by critical factors of bread shortages, fuel scarcity, low salaries, and depletion of banks savings crises that were faced acutely by the citizens of the Sudan.

The brewing of these crises was not resolved by the declared National Dialogue since January 2014. President El-Bashir decided to run his administration alone with his own secretary with neglect of institutional outputs. The levels of corruption in the economic management of the country got heightened into intolerable level. Strive for constitutional amendments to perpetuate President El-Bashir's over-stay in power created more tensions with his competitors. His tactics of regional dodging and changing of international alliances made the situation worst and unbearable for the discontented Sudanese and their external allies.



The situation of the Sudan after ousting President El-Bashir has remained fluid with state institutions becoming paralyzed to perform their roles accordingly. Nevertheless, it won't be an easy ride for the protesters to dismantle the military junta as well as security and intelligence services so that power is taken back to the civilians. The transition from the current tensions is hanging on critical balance confrontation, especially with the keenness of the Islamic National Movement and its political elites to rebrand themselves for the future political process to maintain their economic interests and military capabilities.

According to her, the Sudan has lost its regional weight because of its preoccupation with internal political squabbles and shifting external alliances. Hence, it has become difficult for Khartoum to effectively comply with its regional obligations in the wake of the current confusion of the new actors and the process of their decision-making process. Meanwhile, the economic potentials of the Sudan has deteriorated despite the pledged support by some Gulf countries. The Transitional Military Council (TMC) has been focusing on gaining the support from Darfur with influence of Gen. Mohammed H. D. Hemiditti who commands the heavily armed Rapid Response Force with involvement in the Gulf coalition that is fighting in Yemen under support of Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates (UAE). The TMC's alliances are likely to be stable with Egypt-UAE-Saudi Arabia axis, given the military agreements that were advanced mutually prior to the fall of El-Bashir. But particularly, Egypt has limited scale to solve some economic problems of the Sudan and provide key security support. However, Egypt has the advantage of the presidency of the African Union, which it can use to influence favorable regional decisions in the interest of change of political leadership in the Sudan.

While the fluid situation of the Sudan poses a concern on the strength of its being a major guarantor of R-ARCSS process in South Sudan, the IGAD continues to face an internal crisis of leadership because of the elongating Ethiopian Presidency of this bloc for more than ten years. Also the tendency of Addis Ababa to build mini regional alliances via Asmara Declaration (Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia) has deviation from the tradition of the IGAD acting as one bloc. But similar to the situation of the Sudan, Ethiopia has been preoccupied with the rifts in its internal situation the gravity of which could get aggravated by the next elections. This is in addition to the complicating active Gulf diplomacy in both Sudan and Ethiopia, particularly at political and economic levels. Moreover, it has to be noted that Egyptian diplomacy is active in the Nile Basin and East Africa region, including Tanzania and its new power-generation dam on the map of East African power balance.

According to Dr. Amani, the repercussions of the fluidity of the situation of the Sudan on the interests of South Sudan could be felt more severely on the following areas of interests:

- a). The sustainable safety of oil pipelines and flow of crudes from South Sudan to the Sudan.
- b). The transportation of petrochemicals from the Sudan to oil fields of South Sudan.
- c). The status of implementation of 2012 cooperation agreements and other bilateral commitments between the Sudan and South Sudan.
- d). Extension of the pre-transitional period by 6 months due to the continuous difficulty of unifying the forces in the country under one state command, including the holdout groups that refused to abide by the terms of 2018 R-ARCSS.
- e). Polarization of the boundaries and number of states on ethnic bases and with emotionally charged politics of exclusions.

At the end of her keynote talks, Dr. Amani recommended for extension of pre-transitional period by 6 months. She expected the R-ARCSS parties to reach a consensus on this at the scheduled Addis Ababa meeting on 2nd to 3rd May 2019. There are no other exits for forming the RTGoNU without consensus by the leaders who negotiated this peace deal. Also she recommended for speed-up of Truth, Reconciliation and Healing Commission to initiate direct interaction among all the forces and parties of South Sudan whose members should be made aware of value of peace and stability for their well-being and that of the country as a whole. This trend should influence public culture of peace via the media outlets (e.g., radio and television programs). It should be enhanced by resolution of the boundaries and number of states within the framework of national integration rather than creation of violent tribal enclaves. Also it should be accompanied by sustainable development projects (such as road infrastructure and electric energy) key services to the citizens. The Parties must raise community perceptions to see that oil is not a sustainable wealth compared to agriculture, mining, tourism and other sources of economic advantages that come with peace.

To maintain cordial relations with Khartoum, Dr. Amani recommended Juba to keep the direct line of communication open with the TMC and civilian revolutionaries with assurance of supporting R-ARCSS implementation and other bilateral cooperation agreements. This has to involve initiatives to control the subversive activities of South Sudanese armed groups allied with Khartoum and also persuading the holdout group of Thomas Cirilo and Paul Malong to join the peace process. Also Juba and all the peace parties and partners should engage in robust communication with Uganda and Egypt to exert pressure on donor countries to contribute in funding the peace process in South Sudan. Since Egypt is a member of the UNMISS Peacekeeping Forces in South Sudan with observer status in the Reconstituted Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (RJMEC), it should step up its historic and African role of influence to see to it that the R-ARCSS is implemented in its entirety as agreed by the South Sudanese parties and stakeholders. The issue of IGAD leadership should be resolved urgently so that this regional bloc is enabled to regain the required efficiency in its mandated tasks. There is also a need to appoint an UN envoy to activate regional diplomacy and engage with the Troika in pressing for peace in South Sudan without delay.

Hon. Abdon Agaw thanked Dr. Amani for her pertinent presentation and excellent translation from Arabic to English by Amb. Moses Akol. He opened the floor for the participants with advice to focus their rejoinders on R-ARCSS implementation, putting into consideration that South Sudanese politics looks so interesting with the unfolding situations in the Sudan.

III– THE PILLARS OF ACTION POINTS AND WAY FORWARD

the eighth session of the HIGH-LEVEL BREAKFAST DISCUSSION AND STRATEGIC THINKING ON THE PEACE PROCESS IN SOUTH SUDAN was successful in its timing and deliberations. The keynote speaker, the moderator, the translator and participants deliberated objectivity on the topic with practical well-informed way forward for harnessing the relations of South Sudan with Sudan, IGAD-Member States and neighboring countries as crucial for R-ARCSS implementation. The discussion is summarized into these key pillars:

- 1). Maintaining consensus-building by the leadership bodies of the parties that signed the R-ARCSS with solemn commitment to implement its provisions accordingly.
- 2). Intensifying the direct contacts with the Sudan with assurances of keeping the historical mutual interests intact for the well-being of their people and governments.
- 3). Cementing the IGAD's mandate with efficiency in its core mediating and guaranteeing oversight and remedial measures for timely implementation of R-ARCSS.
- 4). Keeping close contacts with the African Union and the United Nations so as to benefit from their support for peacekeeping and promotion of justice in post-war South Sudan.
- 5). Earning the support of the Troika and other international partners who have been historically linked to the peace and development endeavors in South Sudan.
- 6). Incorporating the historical links of Egypt into the support of R-ARCSS implementation with shared experience on lobbying for regional and international support.

Based on these pillars and garnering the recommended way forward during the high-level engagement of above-mentioned experts and discussants, the following analytical action points have been gleaned for dissemination and in order to help in forging better way forward in the relations of South Sudan with Sudan, IGAD-Member States and Neighbouring Countries for consolidation of peace and development as a success story of 2018 R-ARCSS:



S/N	Leadership	Citizens	Stakeholders	Guarantors	Partners
1.	Maintain close contacts with all R-ARCSS parties and engage them continuously for consensus and trust building on the way forward for sustainable peace in the country.	Encourage all R-ARCSS parties to keep close contacts and continuous engagement with each other for consensus and trust building for peace.	Keep pressure on all R-ARCSS parties to keep constructive contacts and engagement with each other for consensus and trust building for peace.	Motivate all R-ARCSS parties to keep constructive contacts and engagement with each other for consensus and trust building for peace.	Offer incentives to all R-ARCSS parties to continue engaging with each other constructively with consensus and trust building for peace.
2.	Intensify the diplomacy and direct contacts with the Sudan by building on the historical mutual cooperation for the well-being of the peoples and governments of the two countries	Support the government to establish strong diplomatic ties and contacts with leaders and people of the Sudan who are influential in the different sectors of livelihood.	Engage in Track II Diplomacy with the Sudanese in different sectors to persuade them to support peace in South Sudan.	Help in linking South Sudan with the Sudan in different sectors so as to strengthen the bilateral relations in the interests of peace in the two countries.	Encourage South Sudan and the Sudan to cement their bilateral relations in the interests of promoting the benefits of peace in the two countries.
3.	Cooperate with the IGAD and assist it to become more efficient in discharging its mandate of mediating and providing timely remedial actions on the R-ARCSS implementation.	Check on the IGAD and pressure it to become more efficient in discharging its mandate of mediating and providing timely remedial actions on the R-ARCSS implementation.	Keep pressure on the IGAD to become more efficient in discharging its mandate of mediating and providing remedial measures on progress of the R-ARCSS.	Ensure better efficiency for the IGAD to discharge its mandate of mediating and providing remedial measures for the terms of the R-ARCSS to be honoured.	Support the IGAD to be more efficient in discharging its mandate of mediating and providing remedial measures for challenges of the R-ARCSS implementation

4.	Keep close contacts with AU and UN in order to benefit from the experience and support that these institutions provide for peacekeeping and transitional justice in post-war South Sudan.	Support the AU and the UN in their endeavours to share their experiences of peacekeeping and promotion of transitional justice in post-war South Sudan in accordance with R-ARCSS.	Engage the AU and the UN to boost their peacekeeping mission and promotion of transitional justice in post-war South Sudan in accordance with R-ARCSS.	Ensure that the capacity of the AU and the UN are boosted for peacekeeping and promotion of transitional justice in post-war South Sudan in accordance with R-ARCSS.	Check and support the AU and the UN to boost their peacekeeping capacity with promotion of transitional justice in post-war South Sudan without delays.
5.	Step up the engagement with the Troika and other international partners who have been historically linked to South Sudan to continue supporting peace.	Appreciate the Troika and other international partners who have been historically linked to South Sudan to keep the momentum of peace support.	Engage with the Troika and international partners who have been historically linked to South Sudan to keep the good will of support peace.	Encourage the Troika and international partners who have been historically linked to South Sudan to keep on supporting the peace process.	Keep up the historical links to South Sudan and support it to embrace peace in accordance with timely implementation of R-ARCSS provisions.
6.	Cement the historical links with Egypt to throw its weight behind the implementation of R-ARCSS and to help in lobbying for lifting of the targeted sanctions against South Sudan.	Assist in cementing the historical links with Egypt to throw its weight behind the implementation of R-ARCSS and to help in lobbying for lifting of the sanctions on South Sudan.	Promote the historical links with Egypt so that it could rally behind implementation of R-ARCSS and help in lobbying for lifting of the sanctions on South Sudan.	Enhance the harnessing of historical links with Egypt so that it could rally behind implementation of R-ARCSS and help in lobbying for lifting of the sanctions on South Sudan.	Encourage Egypt to build on its historical links and rally behind the implementation of R-ARCSS with assistance in lobbying for lifting of the sanctions on South Sudan.
7.	Keep cordial bilateral relations with all the neighbouring countries and engage their leaders to support peace in South Sudan.	Harness the bilateral relations with all neighbouring countries and urge them support peace in South Sudan.	Promote the bilateral relations with neighbouring countries and urge them support peace in South Sudan.	Encourage germination of fruitful bilateral relations with neighbouring countries and urge them support peace in South Sudan.	Inspire the fostering of fruitful bilateral relations with neighbouring countries and urge them support peace in 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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