



**CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND REVIEW OF THE REVITALIZED AGREEMENT
ON THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN
(R-ARCSS) IMPLEMENTATION (SEPTEMBER 2018 TO OCTOBER 2019)**

5-6th November 2019, Juba Grand Hotel, Juba, South Sudan

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acronyms.....	3
Acknowledgement.....	4
South Sudan Center for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS).....	5
United Nation Development Programme (UNDP)	6
United Nation Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS).....	7
The Rapporteurs.....	8
1. Introduction.....	9
2. Brief introduction of Presenters and Moderators.....	12
3. Presentations and Discussions.....	14
3.1. Chapter IV: Resource, Economic and Financial Management.....	14
3.2. Exploring New Directions for Humanitarian Assistances (HA) in South Sudan	13
3.3. Transitional Government of National Unity: Ideality of R-ARCSS and Reality Check of Implementation	17
3.4. Permanent Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangement	20
3.5. Permanent Constitution Making Process	22
4. Panel Discussions	26
5. Closing Remarks.....	28
6. Conclusions and Recommendations.....	29
To the Partners of CSPS:.....	30
Annexes.....	241
Annex I.....	241
Agenda.....	241
Annex II.....	36
List of Participants	36
Annex III	36
List of Staff from the Organizers	36
1. List of Staff from CSPS	36
2. List of staff from UNMISS-PAD	37
3. List of staff from UNDP	29

ACRONYMS

ARCSS	Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan
AU	African Union
CoHA	Cessation of Hostilities Agreement
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSPS	Center for Strategic and Policy Studies
CTSAMM	Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism
HA	Humanitarian Assistance
IBC	Independent Boundaries Commission
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority in Development
NCAC	National Constitutional Agreement Amendment Committee
NCS	national communication submissions
OLS	Operation Lifeline Sudan
OPP	Other Political Parties
PFM	Public Financial Management
R-ARCSS	Revitalize Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan
RJMEC	Reconstituted Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPLM-IO	Sudan People Liberation Movement in Opposition
SSOA	South Sudan Opposition Alliance
TBC	Technical Boundary Committee
TNLA	Transitional National Legislative Assembly
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nation Children Education Fund
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

South Sudan Center for Strategic and Policy Studies would like to express

its gratitude to the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for their financial support to the workshop. We are also very grateful to H.E the First Vice President Taban Deng Gai for accepting our invitation as a guest of honor and for delegating Dr. Barnaba Marial Benjamin, the Presidential Advisor and Special Envoy. We are equally thankful to H.E. David Shearer, Representative of the Secretary General and Head of UNMISS for participating in the workshop and for the excellent and encouraging statement. Our gratitude also goes to Dr. Kamil K. Kamaluddeen for his generous opening remarks and for his commitment to support future cooperation between CSPS and UNDP. Last, but not the least, we thank our speakers, moderators and staff involved in preparation of the workshop from UNMISS, UNDP and CSPS.

ABOUT THE ORGANIZERS

SOUTH SUDAN CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND POLICY STUDIES (CSPS)

South Sudan Center for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS) was established in July 2011 in Juba as a national think-tank in South Sudan. Since then, the CSPS has been aspiring to inform and shape policies on good governance, human rights and democratic traditions, under the aegis of which the resources are utilized sustainably for the well-being of the citizenry and humanity at large. CSPS aims at enabling the participatory development and state and nation-building as guided by applied research, which makes it possible to either influence or predict the best or worst possible future options with strategies and policies that are drawn out objectively through balanced critical thinking. CSPS operates with no compromise on core values and guiding principles of accountability, competence, confidentiality, dialogue, diversity, equity, integrity, professionalism, transparency and trust. See more details about projects, departments, publications and news about CSPS on <https://cspss.org.ss>

UNITED NATION DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (UNDP)

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has been working in South Sudan for over 30 years. With the independence of Republic of South Sudan in July 2011, UNDP established a Country Office and has staff working all over the country to help build government institutions. UNDP has maintained its presence despite significant challenges in the operating environment by adopting a flexible approach to its work. The overarching aim is to support the progress towards peace and reconciliation, early recovery and governance, and towards the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in South Sudan. UNDP has been helping to create more resilient communities and reinvigorated local economies, strength peace and governance, empower women and girls, and support the Government to manage public finances in an environment of respect for the rule of law with accountability to deliver inclusive economic growth. See more details about UNDP on <https://www.ss.undp.org>.

UNITED NATION MISSION IN SOUTH SUDAN (UNMISS)

Acting on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, the Security Council **resolution 1996 (2011)** of 8 July 2011, establishing the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) for an initial period of one year, from 9 July 2011, with the intention to renew for further periods as may be required. The mandate of the United Nations Mission in Sudan (**UNMIS**) ended on the same date.

UNMISS' objective is to consolidate peace and security, and help establish conditions for development in the Republic of South Sudan, with a view to strengthening the capacity of the Government of South Sudan to govern effectively and democratically and establish good relations with its neighbours.

On 9 July 2011, South Sudan became the newest country in the world. The birth of the Republic of South Sudan is the culmination of a six-year peace process which began with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) on 9 January 2005 between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), which ended more than 20 years of war.

The United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) supported the implementation of the CPA during the interim period set up by the Government of Sudan and SPLM when the CPA was signed. The CPA also called for a referendum to take place to determine the status of Southern Sudan. It was held on schedule in January 2011, with the overwhelming majority, 98.83% of participants, voting for independence. The Secretary-General welcomed the announcement of the final results stating that they were reflective of the will of the people of southern Sudan.

Following the end of this interim period, and the subsequent independence of South Sudan in July 2011, the Security Council established a new mission, the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) with the adoption of **resolution 1996 (2011)** on 8 July 2011.

THE RAPPORTEURS

Dr. Melha Rout Biel is the Acting Executive Director of South Sudan Center for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS). Mr. Gatluak Riek Mark is the Program Officer at South Sudan Center for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS), Juba, South Sudan.

INTRODUCTION

The South Sudan Center for Strategic and Policy Studies in collaboration with UNMISS and UNDP held a workshop on Critical Analysis and Review of the R-ARCSS Implementation (September 2018 to October 2019) between 5th and 6th of November 2019 in Juba. The workshop was attended by over 70 participants. They included, Representatives of political parties in the country, Government officials, Diplomatic corps, representatives of the academia, Civil society organizations, Think-Tanks in South Sudan as well as UN Agencies in the country.

After brief welcoming remarks by the acting Executive Director of CSPS Dr. Melha Rout Biel, the Workshop was officially opened by Dr. Barnaba Marial Benjamin, Presidential Advisor and Special Envoy of the Government of South Sudan, acting on behalf of the First Vice President, Gen. Taban Deng Gai who could not make it because of the opening of the parliament which was taking place at the same time. Dr. Marial thanks the South Sudan Center for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS), UNMISS and UNDP for organizing the Workshop at the right time. He urged CSPS and partners to continue offering such a discussion forum where stakeholders can debate on important issues such as peace and development in the country.

On the other hand, H.E. David Shearer, the United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary General commended the Center for Strategic and Policy Studies for organizing the Workshop on the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan. According to H.E. Shearer, *“Convened at this crucial time in the peace process, the workshop is a very key opportunity to reflect on the implementation of the revitalized peace agreement thus far, drawn upon lessons learned; and look forward to expeditiously and effectively implement the next key steps”*, said H.E. David Shearer in his opening remark at the Workshop. He underlined the importance of UNMISS and UNDP to support such an important event.

In addition, he noted that the permanent ceasefire is holding throughout the country and political violence has significantly reduced. As the result of this situation, more than 600,000 displaced South

Sudanese have returned home. At the same time food production has increased and more crops are being planted in the country. According to him, the humanitarian access has improved. He therefore urged humanitarian agencies to extend their support to more remote areas. In his concluding remarks, the Representative of the United Nations Secretary General called upon the parties to the peace agreement to undertake the following:

1. Expedite the implementation of transitional security arrangements;
2. Continue discussion on states and boundaries;
3. Recommit to the permanent ceasefire;
4. Speak the language of unity and compromise; and
5. Peacefully form a credible and inclusive government by November 12, 2019.

Mr. Shearer acknowledged that the November 12 deadline proposed for the formation of the RTGONU was not imposed by the international community such as the Security Council, IGAD, Troika or the African Union, but it was what the parties to the R-ARCSS agreed upon early. He acknowledged that the successful securing of a durable peace is more important than meeting the deadline. Therefore, sorting out peacefully the outstanding issues is necessary.

Finally, he reiterated the UN full support for the peace process and its commitment to work with all parties and people as an impartial partner in seeking for peace and prosperity in South Sudan.

On his part, the Resident Representative of UNDP, Dr. Kamil K. Kamaludeen thanks the organizers for initiating this important event. He reiterated the UNPD support to work with the CSPS and urged the importance of achievement of a permanent peace in South Sudan.

It is worth to note that the organizers of the workshop have given opportunity to representatives of all the parties in the government and opposition, as well as from the neighboring Sudan, Uganda, in addition to IGAD, RJMEC, AU as well as TROIKA countries to give remarks. Hon. Gatwech Lam Puoch of the SPLM-IO spoke on the need to postpone the formation of government of National Unity until the outstanding

issues are fully addressed. Meanwhile, the Chair lady of South Sudan Opposition Alliance (SSOA), Josephine Lagu, in her opening statement called for no delays to the formation of government of national unity. She was of the opinion that continuing to extend deadlines will not help, because training of unify national army is a process that will take time as well as the issues relating to boundaries and number of states. Hon. Peter Mayen also spoke on behalf of Other Political Parties (OPP) and reiterate their commitment toward the full implementation of R-ARCSS. He emphasized that extension of the formation of Unity Government beyond November 12, 2019 deadline would add no value to the peace implementation, instead it would prolong the suffering of the people of South Sudan.



David Sharer, Head UNMISS addresses the workshop

BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF PRESENTERS AND MODERATORS

Six scholars were invited to present papers on the Six Chapters of the South Sudan Peace Agreement of September 2018 and they were, Prof. Kimo Adiebo, an Economist from the University of Juba. Dr. Adiebo worked with the World Bank for a long time and has been advising the banking institutions and government officials in South Sudan. He is a recognized expert on the economic affairs. He spoke on resource, economic and financial management.

Dr. Francis Onditi is a senior lecturer from the University of Raira and Dean of School of International Relations and Diplomacy. He spoke on Humanitarian Assistance and Reconstruction in general and the case of South Sudan.

Prof. Samson Wassara is the Director of Institute of Peace, Development and Security Studies of the University of Juba. He was the Vice Chancellor of University of Bahr El Ghazal in South Sudan. Prof. Wassara spoke on Permanent Constitution Making Process. Dr. Wassara is well-known expert on conflict studies in Africa. He previously worked for UNCEF in Sudan and has also worked for many research institutions in Europe as well.

Prof. Maunzoul Addalla M. Assal from Peace and Research Institute of University of Khartoum could not make it to the Workshop because of urgent matter that needed his attention at the time.

Dr. James Solomon Padiet of University of Juba, school of Economics and Social Studies, Department of Political Science has made an engaging presentation on Revitalized Transitional Government of National Unity of the Republic of South Sudan. Dr. Okuk elaborated the challenges and opportunities available for the parties to the conflict, the people of South Sudan and their friends. He urged the peace partners to sincerely address the pending issues and implement the accord in spirit and letter.

Lastly, but not the least, Prof. Kassahun Berhanu from Department of Political Science and International Relations, Addis Ababa University

presented on Permanent Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangement.

The presentations and discussions were moderated by Prof. Mamur Chuol Turuk, former Deputy Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs of University of Bahr El Ghazal, Prof. Robert Mayom Deng, Deputy Vice Chancellor for Administration and Finance, University of Juba and Prof. Peter Adwok Nyaba, former Minister of Higher Education of the Republic of South Sudan and former Lecturer University of Juba.



Participants attentively follow the presentations

1. PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

1.1. Chapter IV: Resource, Economic and Financial Management

The presenter on the above-cited topic began his discussion with the question: *Why the call for resource, economic and financial management?* He argued that there is systemic and endemic budget indiscipline as well as lack of adherence by the spending agencies to the Appropriation Act. Agencies/sectors such as the Office of the President, Security Sector, Public Administration, and the Ministry of Finance have always been exceeding their budget allocations at the expense of education, health, and infrastructure. In addition, he highlighted the lack of transparency and accountability with regard to public revenues and expenditures- the ministries of Finance and Petroleum had not been adhering to the provisions of the Public Financial Management and Accountability Act, 2012 and Petroleum Revenue Management Act, 2012. Furthermore, he reiterated the question: *Why the call for resource, economic, and financial management?*

In response to this question, Prof. Adiebo identified the followings: Lack of "Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Act"- since 2005, public services and goods have been procured without the "Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Act". This legal vacuum has created loopholes in the public financial management (PFM) system and this resulted in "Dura Saga- 2008-2009", "LCs Saga", "Cardinal Saga," etc. He went on to mention the ineffectiveness of the Anti-Corruption Commission. Since its establishment, the Commission has been categorized as "toothless" because it doesn't have prosecution powers. He further pointed out that there is a lack of independence of the Central Bank of South Sudan.

In his research Dr. Adiebo argued that there is poor resource management in oil sector as well as lack of transparency and accountability regarding loans and contracts collateralized or guaranteed against oil. At the same time, there are no records of payments made to oil-producing states and no reports published on the same for public consumption.

Furthermore, there are inequitable wealth sharing and revenue allocation between different levels of government. Almost 80% of the nation's wealth is allocated to the national level, which causes the states/counties to be dysfunctional and unable to deliver on their mandates (services to the citizens). The paper called for radical financial and banking reform which was referred to by some participants as a "Revolution". The speaker recommended transparent and accountable allocation and management of the country's wealth. He urged for a radical review of the effectiveness of the Fiscal and Financial Allocation and Monitoring Commission to ensure that equitable wealth sharing and revenue allocation is achieved.

1.2. Exploring New Directions for Humanitarian Assistances (HA) in South Sudan

The presenter identified issues such as political patronage, cyclical persistence of conflict, insecurity and militarization of humanitarian assistance and power sharing asymmetries (real and perceived). These issues have implicated the delivery of needed humanitarian assistances.

Dr. Onditi introduced two Models that can be applied in handling Humanitarian Assistances in South Sudan, namely, Dunantist approach which is Non-political, and emphasizing principles of humanity, neutrality, independence, and impartiality. The second approach is the Wilsonian Approach which is more politically inclined.

Lastly, the presenter suggested the following considerations:

- Humanitarian Assistance (HA) has becomes part of Foreign Policy; states position themselves within the competing global system.
- HA is framed within the fundamental principles of neutrality and humanity.
- Providers of HA should offer support to those perceived anti-government-the case of the Tamil Tiger of Sri-Lanka.
- Create 'safer areas'-the 1996-Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS).

1.3. Transitional Government of National Unity: Ideality of R-ARCSS and Reality Check of Implementation

Dr. James Okuk introduced the Westphalia model of state in South Sudan which composed of stable people, administrative territory, legitimate government and recognizable international relations. He believed that restoration of peace, security and stability requires (cessation of hostilities, ceasefire & reorganization) via reconciliatory unity and reforms on good governance, humanitarian outreach and economic development (recovery and growth). He suggested that continuation of mediation and consensus-building for compromise on pending issues with pressure from international allies and support from region, including media and civil society as well as religious leaders is important.

The Transitional Government should enact people-centered constitution and laws to institutionalize the mechanisms of addressing root causes and effects of war so as to hook out the country from trapping fragilities, recycled violence, displacement, humanitarian catastrophe, economic breakdown, poverty, ignorance, tribalism, deprivation, isolation, unfit government, unrealistic opposition and unreliable allies. The leaders should prepare the country for multiparty democratic elections and credible power succession to end the traps of transitions and avoid fickle politics of survival so as to embrace dignified future with equal opportunity in the interest of justice and fairness with enlightened visionary productive citizens, especially youth and women.

Dr. Okuk urged the stakeholders to ensure withdrawal of unauthorized allied foreign troops from South Sudan (Sudanese and Ugandans), release PoWs and political detainees, canton/barrack all forces for screening, DDR, training, redeployment of necessary unified forces and continuation with reforms of security sector, and to facilitate humanitarian assistance in coordination with UN and related international agencies.

In addition, he urged the stakeholders to support transitional mechanisms to complete the conditional pre-transitional tasks, and to cooperate on formation of RTGoNU as agreed in R-ARCSS with the

mandate to deliver on good governance (including devolution of power and resources, culminating in federal system of government); sustainable security, prudent economy, healing, reconciliation, and multiparty democracy (competitive elections).

Finally, he called upon concern pre-transitional committee to handover the amended constitution to the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs to present it to the Council of Ministers and then table this in TNLA (within 7 days). The same procedures shall apply in reviewing/passing critical laws in security and political sectors—SPLA Act, National Security Service Act, Police Service Act, Prison Service Act, Wildlife Service Act, Fire Brigade Service Act, Political Parties Act and Elections Act, etc. Meanwhile TBC/IBC shall recommend solution to issue of number of states and tribal boundaries (01/01/1956). Also, NCAC shall receive nominees of R-ARCSS Parties to the reconstituted TNLA/NCS and submit the list to the President who shall assent to all the above towards the end of pre-transitional period.

According to the presenter, the formation of RTGoNU shall be determined by the completion of pre-transitional security/defense tasks of training, unification and redeployment of joint necessary forces to be under one command as symbolized by the President of the Republic, and based on consultative collegiality of 5 Vice Presidents for collective safeguard of peace, citizens, constitution, territory and other core national interests. "This provision prevails on any other contrary text" (R-ARCSS, Article 2.2.1). He went on by arguing that the settlement of issue of number and boundaries of states, as recommended by the commissioned technical experts (IGAD, AU, Troika, etc.) and agreed on consensus or votes (at least 7 out of 10) R-ARCSS Parties, shall determine the status of reconstitution of National Council of States and establishment of states/local government.



Participants react to presentation

1.4.

1.5. Permanent Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangement

The presenter gave historical background of the crisis and narrated how the conflict in South Sudan started around the end of 2013. According to him, the IGAD's Monitoring and Verification Mechanism (MVM) was established to ensure that the implementation of Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA), which was signed by the warring Parties in January 2014, is respected. The MVM Mechanism was later on transformed to what is known as the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism (CTSAMM)

CTSAMM was therefore established following the conclusion of the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (ARCSS), which was signed by the warring parties in August 2015. However, the peace process in South Sudan, despite signing of another agreement in September 2018, remained uncertain. The September 2018 agreement was aimed at reviving the failed deal reached in 2015, entailing another round of violence for two more years. However, the 2018 agreement, like the one before it, is facing implementation challenges since neither side has implemented some of the core elements of the agreement, such as merging their armed forces and

redrawing the country's internal borders prior to forming a transitional government of national unity. Despite recognizing the urgency of creating a unified army and settling the border issues, the parties are still far behind in implementing agreed plans, which resulted in stalling the entire peace process with a possibility for unfolding of new rounds of violence, he noted.

Finally, the presenter made the below suggestions as the way forward:

- In light of prevailing uncertainties, charting means and ways of entrenching durable and sustained peace and stability in South Sudan remains a matter of no-option. In this regard, South Sudanese state and non-state actors should be at the forefront of shouldering the onus of charting means and ways of realizing the objectives and the goals of the peace agreements;
- In as long as the sufferings of South Sudanese persist unabated wreaking havoc and widespread human sufferings, others in the neighborhood should not cherish any illusion that the spillovers cannot affect them;
- The unbridled escalation of conflict and insecurity in South Sudan will not be merely limited to the country and its immediate environs but has a likelihood of adversely impacting on the security of both the continent and the globe in various ways;

1.6. Permanent Constitution Making Process

Prof. Samson Wassara started his presentation with description and definitions of Constitution-making. He went on by saying that Constitution-making is a limited process in which a group of political actors and citizen/social groups engage in drafting, discussion, and approval of a formal document and explained that the Constitution-making includes the process for making a new constitution, amending an existing constitution, which involves substantive decision about design, form and contents. The constitution is intended to regulate the basic structure of the state and the political regime like allocation of powers among branches and levels of government and fundamental individual rights.

He further elaborates the constitution-making includes rules adopted via amendment or constitutional adjudication. Prof. Wassara introduced Chapter VI of R-ARCSS which according to him provides parameters of Permanent Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan. He explained the purpose of Article 6.1, which states that the RTGoNU shall initiate and oversee a permanent constitutional-making process during the transitional period. Prof. Wassara urged the participants to note that his presentation is neither about review of implementation nor critical analysis of the R-ARCSS, but is all about drawing attention to a requirement after RTGoNU is constituted and that it is intended to raise theoretical issues and examine practical processes and procedures.

The presenter told the audiences that there is always causes of Constitution-Making. For instant, political changes such as founding a new state or regime transition, establishment of new states mark their birth by enacting new constitutions like the situation of massive independence of African countries in 1960s. In addition, Constitutions may be replaced within a democratic order when basic features of the existing constitution become dysfunctional at a particular time. Furthermore, Constitutional replacements do take place as a result of significant shifts in party competition, especially when established parties collapse and new ones emerge.

Prof. Wassara discussed the Processes & Procedural Features of Constitution-Making and underlined the importance of Citizen participation in constitution-making. This can take place through election of representatives, which is an indirect approach to citizen participation. There is a need for popular participation which should be geared towards direct citizen involvement such as public consultation processes, making proposals and the right to vote on ratification. These mechanisms are there to enhance democratic legitimacy of the process by providing opportunities of expressing preferences and consent to changes. Citizen participation should be made possible before and during drafting process in form of consultations meetings, participatory forums and public hearings.

The presenter explained the purpose of Chapter VI of the R-ARCSS in the Context of the Exploration Process and Procedures. According to him, Constitution-making is not a Pre-Transitional activity; Article 6.3 stipulates the process to start in six months of the Transitional period and to end not later than 24 months (Art. 6.4 & Art. 6.5).

The whole chapter comprises of 16 Articles and 8 sub-sections. Art. 6.2 elaborated constitution-making process based on expressed principles concerned. He finally, clarified that, these articles give supremacy to the people such as initiation of a federal democratic system of government with all the characteristics of good governance (Art. 6.2.1 & Art. 6.2.2).

He concluded as follows: The provisions on the parameters of permanent constitution look impressive, but will parties to the R-ARCSS be able to adhere to the principles they agreed to?

Experience shows that parties to the revitalized agreement are bad time keepers; it remains to be seen if they will respect the timelines in Chapter VI of the R-ARCSS. This presentation serves as an expert view reinforced by inputs from the participants that could help the parties to design a credible program for constitution-making in South Sudan, which is yet to start.

The way forward to assist in constitution-making should include the following:

- Limit the role of RTGoNU from dominating the process and boost the participation of citizens and their organizations to ensure a people-centered constitution.
- Provide more opportunities to the public to generate useful ideas compatible with a model for future democratic behavior.
- Focus on the future and avoid opening speeches that stress the past, i.e. use the constitution to define relationships between different communities in South Sudan.
- Establish workable mechanisms to accommodate evolving relationships between people and their environment.

- Adopt procedural rules in advance that foster compromise; uncertainty about format and timing breeds mistrust and charges of manipulation.

The presentation was excellent and very important for South Sudanese participants as far as constitution making process is concerned.



One of Presenters takes the participants through his main points

PANEL DISCUSSIONS

Most of the questions and discussion focused on two main areas, namely: the formation of the Government of National Unity in accordance with the 2018 peace accord which stipulated the deadline as 12th November 2019. Will it be postponed once more? Will the parties resolve the pending key issues (Number and Boundaries of States, unify national army and ministerial Portfolios) before the 12th November deadline or not?

During the discussion, it was clear that representatives of the political parties who were present at the workshop were divided. Some were for the formation of government by 12th November, while others were for extension of the deadline. However, Dr. James Okuk who spoke on R-ARCSS Implementation status warned the parties that, the government cannot be formed unless key provisions are met. He

explained that the two main principals to the agreement, namely President Salva Kiir and Opposition Leader Dr. Riek Machar must be in Juba in order to form the government. Once one of them is not there or not a part of the government, there is no legitimate government in South Sudan. But some participants believed that the training and unification of the army is a process and may take time.

While the issues of the number of states and distribution of ministerial positions requires political decision, the need to reform financial sector has also dominated the discussions. This attracted the call for radical reform, particularly Ministry of Finance and Planning, Bank of South Sudan among others. Some participants talked of a real “Revolution” if this reform become a success.

It was also suggested that the paper on constitution making process should identify gaps in the constitution making process during colonial eras, old Sudan time and during 2005 CPA. There is a need to focus as well on the implementation challenges and achievements of the transitional security arrangements of the 2018 agreement and the presenter should also reflect some aspects from the 2015 and 2005 security arrangement implementation challenges.

The participants believe that the R-ARCSS is more than peace agreement because it contain reform packages which if implemented can help the country achieve stability. Lack of political will from the leaders was seen to be another bottleneck to speed up the implementation of this agreement. International community’s stand of observe and see decision has also contributed a stake in the implementation process.

2. CLOSING REMARKS

The workshop was officially closed by Hon. Aggrey Tissa Sabuni, Presidential Advisor on Economic Affairs and former Minister of Finance and Planning of the Government of South Sudan. Hon. Sabuni thanks CSPS, UNMISS and UNDP for organizing the workshop. He also thanks the audiences, speakers and moderators for the good work well done. Aggrey Tissa Sabuni called upon UNMISS and UNDP to continue supporting such a forum which aims at discussing important issues like peace and development in this country. He lastly declared the workshop closed.

3. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The papers presented were excellent and met the expectations of both the participants and organizers. The two days discussions were good enough because, it offers enough time for lengthy discussions. This is clear from the number of questions asked and time allocated for discussions. We can conclude that the workshop was a great success as many issues pertaining to the peace implementation in South Sudan were identified by scholars and discussed in detail. As far as peace process is concerned, we recommended that more funding need to be made available by our partners as the really discussions will in fact take place after the formation of the government, possibly after February 2020. We therefore take this opportunity to appeal to UNMISS and UNDP to continue to collaborate with CSPS.

To the Partners of CSPS:

- (1) The Workshop has discussed successfully Five Chapters of the Peace Agreement.

- (2) However, an important Chapter on Transitional Justice and Accountability was not handled, because the scholar could not receive all necessary documents from the organizers in time. This needs to be look into, there may be a need to organize an event for this chapter.
- (3) Now that the government formation has been extended for 100 more days, what do we do as partners?
- (4) There is need to organize a discussion on the future of Humanitarian operations in South Sudan, as the country is preparing for lasting peace. Focus should orient on development and not emergency operations.
- (5) Can we also think of organizing a discussion only for political parties on .
- (6) number of unification of forces and states?

ANNEXES

ANNEX I

Agenda

Day One			
Time	Activity	Facilitator	Moderator
8:00-9:00	Registration	CSPS Staff	
9:00-9:10	Welcoming Remarks	Dr. Melha Rout Biel , Acting Executive Director, CSPS	CSPS
9:10-9:30	Opening Remarks	H.E. David Shearer , Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the UN and Head of UNMISS Dr. Kamil K. Kamaluddeen Resident Representative, UNDP	CSPS
9:30-10:00	Keynote address	H.E. Gen. Taban Deng Gai , First Vice President of the Republic of South Sudan	CSPS
	Opening Comments	Political Leaders	

		(SPLM, SPLM-IO, FDs, OPP and SSOA) and Sudan, Uganda, IGAD, JMEC, AU and TROIKA.	CSPS
10:00-10:30		Health Break	
10:30-11:00	Revitalized Transitional Government of National Unity of the Republic of South Sudan	Dr. James Solomon Padiet, University of Juba	Prof. Spencer Kenyi
11:00-12:00	Discussion	Moderator	Prof. Mamur Chuol Turuk, Former Deputy Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of Bahr El Ghazal
12:00-12:30	Permanent Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangement	Prof. Kassahun Berhanu Department of Political Science and International Relations, Addis Ababa University	Prof. Spencer Kenyi
12:00-1:30		Lunch	
1:30-2:30	Discussion	Moderator	Prof. Mamur Chuol Turuk, Former Deputy Vice

			Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of Bahr El Ghazal
2:30-3:00	Humanitarian Assistance and Reconstruction	Dr. Francis Onditi, Dean, School of International Relations and Diplomacy, University of Nairobi	Prof. Robert Mayom Deng, Deputy Vice Chancellor for Administration and Finance, University of Juba
3:00-4:00	Discussion	Moderator	Prof. Mamur Chuol Turuk, Former Deputy Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of Bahr El Ghazal
4:00-4:10	End of day one		
Day Two			
8:00-9:00	Registration		
9:00 – 9:30	Resources, Economic and Financial Arrangements	Dr. Kimo Aban, University of Juba	Prof. Spencer Kenyi
9:30-	Discussion	Moderator	Prof. Mamur Chuol Turuk,

10:30			Former Deputy Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of Bahr El Ghazal
10:30-11:00	Health Break		
11:00-11:30	Transitional Justice, Accountability, Reconciliation and Healing	Prof. Munzoul Abdalla M Assal , Director of Peace Research Institute, University of Khartoum	Prof. Robert Mayom Deng , Deputy Vice Chancellor for Administration and Finance, University of Juba
11:30-12:30	Discussion	Moderator	Prof. Mamur Chuol Turuk , Former Deputy Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of Bahr El Ghazal
12:00-1:30	Lunch		
1:30-2:00	Permanent Constitution Making Process	Prof. Samson Wassara , Director of Institute for Peace, Development and Security Studies, University of Juba	Prof. Robert Mayom Deng , Deputy Vice Chancellor for Administration and Finance, University of

			Juba
2:00-3:00	Discussion	Moderator	Prof. Mamur Chuol Turuk , Former Deputy Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of Bahr El Ghazal
3:00-3:20	Closing Remarks	Hon. Martin Elia Lomuro , Minister of Cabinet Affairs	

ANNEX II

List of Participants

ANNEX III

List of Staff from the Organizers

1. List of Staff from CSPS

S/No.	Name	Designation
1.	Prof. Melha Rout Biel	Acting Executive Director, CSPS
2.	Gatluak Riek Mark	Program Officer, CSPS
3.	Ms. Georgetta Edward	Executive Secretary, CSPS
4.	Mr. Bul John Maluk	Research Assistant, CSPS
5.	Mr. Mujahied Abiyat Majok	Logistic Officer, CSPS

2. List of staff from UNMISS-PAD

S/No.	Name	Designation
1.	Mr. Ndubisi Obiorah	Political Affairs Officer, UNMISS, Juba
2.	Mr. Garang James Yach Akot	Associate Political Affairs Officer, UNMISS, Juba
3	Julie Drakai	Administrative Assistant Office of the Political Affairs Division, UNMISS, UN House.

3. List of staff from UNDP

S/No	Name	Designation
1	Chrysantus Ayangafac	Chief Technical Advisor,

		Democratic Governance and Stabilization Unit, UNDP, Juba
2	Charles Loker	Programme Analyst, Democratic Governance and Stabilization Unit, UNDP, Juba



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