



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

EXPEDITING THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS IN THE DEFENCE  
AND SECURITY SECTOR LEADING TO ESTABLISHMENT OF RTGoNU

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## I - THE FUNCTION AND ATTENDANCE

The South Sudan Center for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS) organized the fourteen HIGH-LEVEL BREAKFAST DISCUSSION AND STRATEGIC THINKING ON PEACE PROCESS IN SOUTH SUDAN at Pyramid Continental Hotel in Juba on Tuesday, 19th November, 2019. The event brought together a selected 48 policy and decision makers of Political Parties, Military and Security Professionals, Academics in Area of Defence and Security Studies, Civil Society Activists, Diplomatic Missions/Attachés, and UNMISS Peace Keeping Experts who are engaged directly or indirectly in the implementation of the September, 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 a.m) before converging in the Conference Room for the discussion (08:45h to 11:00 am).

**Moderator Gen. Elias Waya** recalled his 36 years of experience in the army and appealed to those involved in the security and defence arrangements in South Sudan, be they in government or opposition side, to borrow good practices from countries that had overcome their insecurity dilemmas in global context where the world has become small global village with unavoidable connectivity. He recalled the consequences of tribalism he had encountered when he served as Governor of Wau State for 6 months, and warned that if South Sudanese leaders do not acknowledge their mistakes on this there will be no peace among them and with the citizens as well as international community. The crisis of South Sudan after its independence from the Sudan is a strong prove that what united its tribes was the common enemy in Khartoum during the struggle against Arabs oppression. He confessed that he was part of the mess. However, the most important thing is how to adjust and do something good collectively to rescue the embattled South Sudan and safeguard its dignity as won through a combination of armed struggle with final victory decided by the overwhelming vote of the united people of South Sudan in the January, 2011 referendum for self-determination.

He shared his experience when he was the Co-Chair of JDB and Joint Integrated Unit (JIU) in Khartoum during the CPA implementation period, which prepared the ground for the conduct of the referendum in 2011 that legitimized the independence of South Sudan from the Sudan. According to him, they succeeded in their respective missions because of doing what they could professionally as military personnel without mixing these with politics. They operated as a team on the same ranks, respecting themselves as colleagues who graduated together in the Sudan Military Cadet College who fought each other in war fields. He shared his experience as the Deputy Chief of General Staff for SPLA Officers' Affairs and also as Deputy Chief of Staff for Training. He underscored that if the political will is not forthcoming from the hearts of leaders of South Sudan, nothing much will be achieved in the interest of peace and development. The country will remain trapped in fragilities. The other problem is tribalism and culture of revenge, which makes the forces and the people not to trust each other for any unified nationalistic work when there is no outside enemy to unite them like what happened during the history of South Sudanese struggles against Arab governments in Khartoum. He was concerned that a solution that will unify the people of South Sudan is not going to be found easily as long as those who had divided South Sudan since 1983 are the ones advising President Salva Kiir. However, he urged the good-hearted South Sudanese to save their nation by ensuring that peace is the only best choice for realizing a better livelihood for the citizens.

**Lt Gen. Elias Waya** thanked the CSPS for organizing the important discussion and recommended that such frank dialogue be extended to the leadership of the parties so that they could be helped to avail the necessary political will to support R-ARCSS implementation morally and financially. He advised that the liberation military training curriculum should be adjusted to that of an independent country with more focus on internal affairs rather than external aggression, which is almost becoming rare in the globalized contemporary world. Also there should be intensive literary programs to help educate the majority of the soldiers who have been mobilized for the war and had no time to go to schools or universities. He availed himself to anyone who is interested to learn something from his experience and closed the discussion with board of thanks to the lead expert and all the participants.

**Dr. James Okuk** gave a summary of brief update on the status of security and defence sector reforms since the R-ARCSS was signed in September 2018 and how this is critical for the awaited formation of RTGoNU. He identified the holding of ceasefire as declared by R-ARCSS parties within 72 hours of the signing of R-ARCSS as one of the key positive outcomes, especially the disengagement and separation of forces in close proximity. Another positive achievement has been witnessed in the completion of formation and operationalization of all the mechanisms for implementation of Chapter II of R-ARCSS—Joint Defence Board (JDB), Joint Military Ceasefire Commission (JMCC), Joint Transitional Security Committee (JTSC), Joint Military Ceasefire Commission (AJMCC), Area Joint Military Ceasefire Teams (JMCTs), Monitoring and Verification Teams (MVTs), and Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Mechanism of Verification and Monitoring (CTSAMVM) and DDR Commission (though its formation by the Incumbent President of the Republic came late and without consensus by the parties and is still being contested).

Pre-Transitional Unification Management Structure (i.e., Training for the unified Army, National Security Service, Police, Wildlife, Prisons, and Fire Brigade) have been designed in documents but not fully operational yet in the identified cantonment areas and barracks where over 67 registration forms were completed. Also over 1500 unified instructors were trained in Luri, Mapel and Malakal. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Reconstituted Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (RJMEC), the National Pre-transitional Committee (NPTC) and Strategic Defence and Security Review Board (SDSRB) have been working to see to it that the peace process is intact. However, the forces have not declared or collected the heavy weapons at their disposal. Some civilian areas (e.g., schools, service centres, occupied houses, IDP camps, POCs, villages, churches, mosques, ritual centres, etc.) have not been evacuated and demilitarized. Also no significant conducive environment has been availed for voluntary repatriation, resettlement, rehabilitation and reintegration of returnees and IDPs. The allied troops and all non-South Sudanese armed groups have not totally withdrawn from South Sudan. The opposition forces of the non-signatories parties to the R-ARCSS are still fighting with the forces of the government in some parts of the country. All the prisoners of war and detainees have not been released under supervision of International Committee of the Red Cross. Recruitment and training of unauthorized forces have not been stopped. Most of the prohibited acts as stipulated in December 2017 Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA) have been committed and not condemned by the parties.

The agreed stages of Permanent Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangement (PCTSA) Strategy have not commenced fully though some workshops took place to discuss them:

**Stage 1 (120 days):** Assessment and examination of military and non-military security challenges, analysis of all state and non-state actors and allied armed groups, clarification of security policy framework and responsibilities of the established mechanisms in responding to challenges of management and oversight, revising the defence policy based on outlined vision for modernization with role and mission of national army and other organized services.

**Stage 2 (150 days):** Analysis of operational capabilities for addressing the challenges identified in Stage 1 regarding support systems and structures for effective strategic output of human resource, training, equipment, facilities and financial implications.

**Stage 3 (180 days):** Production of draft models garnered in stages 1 and 2 for Defence and Security White Paper and Security Sector Transformation (SST) to be approved by Council of Ministers and ratified by TNLA; and Stage 4 for implementation of visionary program of defence and security strategy in connection to TGoNU Annual Plans and Budgets, including DDR and economic sectoring. Commanders-in-Chief of unifying forces shall continue to operate independently but in coordination with partners of R-ARCSS until the end of unification process before the start of transitional period where the JDB shall take full command and control of all forces in coordination with established PCTSA mechanisms. Thereafter, all the unified security forces shall provide security for elections and related tasks at least 6 months before the end of the transitional period.

According to James Dr. Okuk, all delaying laxities during the 8-month pre-transitional period, the 6-month extension and also the 100-day further extension of pre-transitional period have been blamed on lack of political will by the leaders of the R-ARCSS parties whose effects became evident in the attitude of the Incumbent TGoNU not to avail the required finance and facilitation for all the above-mentioned mechanisms to complete their tasks in time. Lack of trust and negative perceptions among the forces, including inflated high ranking without grounds on professional military standards have not been address. Tribalism within the ranks and files has not been addressed too. Lack of coordination and oversight have also contributed to the persistence of the resistance to expedite the implementation of pre-transitional tasks of the PCTSA and complete them in time satisfactorily.

**Keynote Speaker Gen. Daniel Opande** jokingly referred to himself as retired but not a tired army general with wealth of experience on peace-making, peace-building and conflict transformation in post-conflict countries. He expressed his sincere wish to see South Sudan moving smoothly to overcome the challenges of reforming the security and defence sector, culmination in realization of national professional armed forces operating under civilian authority in accordance with international standards of military doctrines.

He recalled chairing the reconciliatory meeting that took place in Nairobi as organized by former Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi in 2005 between selected top SPLA Commanders led by Dr. John Garang (before he was killed in the crash of Ugandan Presidential Chopper) and SSDF Commanders under Paulino Matip. After the lengthy but useful discussion on integration of their forces, both sides got convinced that the only guaranteed way to reclaim the dignity of South Sudan after decades of liberation struggle was to form a unified army under one Commander-in-Chief who is accountable to civilian authority in accordance with the constitution. According to him, Arabs in Khartoum didn't want this to happen because the divisive South

Sudan was an advantage for them to exploit the internal rifts and keep the people weaker to demand their rights forcefully with unified voice. That important dialogue, even after the demise of Dr. John Garang, paved the way later for Juba Declaration in January 2006 where SPLA Commander-In-Chief, President Salva Kiir Mayardit, appointed Gen. Paulino Matip as Deputy Commander-In-Chief of unified SPLA.

Gen. Daniel Opande underscored that he didn't come to talk on his expertise on security and defence arrangements of peace process in South Sudan but to listen more from those who are directly involved implementation of Chapter II of R-ARCSS, and know from them what they have achieved or failed to do as far as military professionalism and accountability for civilian authority are concerned. He stressed that what is needed critically in South Sudan is a professional army under civilian authority. This is possible with good movements and efforts that have been exerted by the mechanisms of the security and defence arrangements to see to it that the unified forces are well-trained and empowered with the capacity to protect the territorial integrity and serve the people of South Sudan to live in secure environment.



He underscored the importance of availing the political will for moving the peace process forward. He emphasised that a stable military is the one that is under one command with accountability to civilian authority, otherwise it will end up as a doomed armed force devoid of nationalistic direction for the country. Security and defence arrangements in post-conflict situation doesn't get realized smoothly and instantly without challenges on the way. He narrated the experience of Namibians where they ended their civil war by negotiating, reorganizing, re-integrating and reunified the armed forces of government (under the support of the apartheid South Africa) and of SWAPO freedom fighters who were regarded as rebels. They decided to do this jointly and it was done despite the initial reluctant to finalize the security arrangements. That is

why Namibia has been enjoying its independence up to date with their national army oriented properly to defend and protect their country rather than allegiance to individual politicians, parties or tribes. According to him, Mozambique is still facing a lot of conflicts-related problems because of the resistance of its leaders and their failure to avail the necessary political will to what Namibians did successfully the interest of safeguarding the nation as a top priority.

Given the above-mentioned examples of post-conflict countries, especially in African context, Gen. Daniel Opande advised South Sudanese government and opposition that they should be the ones to decide finally on the desired unified professional army accordingly in order to contribute to stabilization of post-conflict South Sudan. The diversified army commanders working in the security and defence arrangements mechanisms should continue to do their utmost best even with minimal resources and difficulty they are facing to complete the required tasks during the pre-transition period. There shouldn't be compromise in the cantonment areas and barracks regarding the upkeep and health of those who are to be trained and unified in accordance with Chapter II of R-ARCSS. This critical work should be complemented and enhanced by the DDR programs that must absorb those who will be dropped from the new unified armed forces and encouraged to re-join civilian life.

He wondered as to why the political will is not forthcoming while 100 days of the extension of pre-transitional period is counting down very fast? He urged the army commanders to maintain the comprehensive ceasefire and continue the dialogue among each other with optimism to complete the necessary tasks that will lead finally to the unification of the armed forces of South Sudan under one command, and contributing to unity of the people at different levels for the good of their hard-won country. Gen. Daniel Opande inquire whether Norway is willing to offer in-kind support, technical advice and good management for the reforms in the security and defence sector if the Government of South Sudan requested so. He thanked all the participants for the frank discussions. He urged them to continue conducting such professional discussions among themselves and it will not take a longer time for South Sudan to become an admirable peaceful country again.

## II– 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 Expediting the Necessary Arrangements in the Defence and Security Sector Leading to Establishment of RTGoNU:

- 1). Availing the necessary political will to implement the R-ARCSS in spirit and letter with reaffirmation of the solemn commitment to peace process.
- 2). Funding the required pre-transitional tasks as prelude for kick-starting the transitional arrangements of R-ARCSS implementation process.
- 3). Building trust and confidence by facing the challenges together and finding a solution as a team of parties and partners for peace.
- 4). Disqualifying negative perceptions by focusing on realistic actions and embracing new conventional best practices that enabled others to succeed in making and sustaining peace for their respective countries.
- 5). Shunning tribalism and all negative discrimination among the people of South Sudan, especially in the process of unification of forces.
- 6). Accountability of all the armed forces as they discharge their duty of protection of the citizens and defence of territorial integrity under civilian authority.

At the end of session fourteen of 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 cementing peace and promoting development in South Sudan with guarantees of the welfare of the citizens, government and opposition through full implementation of R-ARCSS:

S/N	LEADERSHIP	CITIZENS	STAKEHOLDERS	GUARANTORS	PARTNERS
1.	Avail political will to build on the achievements that encourage the parties to complete the necessary arrangements in the defence and security sector reforms and transformation to peace dividends.	Demand for the political will to be availed by the parties with encouragement for them to build on progressive achievements and complete the arrangements in the defence and security sector as key to restoration of peace.	Help in gauging the political will by the parties and encourage them to build on progressive achievements and complete the key arrangements in the defence and security sector for restoring peace.	Ensure that the parties have availed political will with encouragement for them to build on good achievements and complete the necessary arrangements in the defence and security for restoring peace.	Support the parties to gauge the political will and encourage them to build on progressive achievements and complete the necessary arrangements in the defence and security for restoration of peace.
2.	Take challenges as opportunity to learn and forge a better way forward with concrete solutions in the security and defence sector reforms that will enable South Sudan to enjoy peace and pursue sustainable development.	Use challenges as opportunity for learning and improving in forging a better way forward in the security and defence sector reforms to enable South Sudan enjoy the fruits of peace and pursue sustainable development without fear.	Help in turning challenges into opportunity of learning for improvement in the security and defence sector reforms to enable South Sudan enjoy the fruits of peace and pursue sustainable development without fear.	Help the parties to overcome challenges and learn to improve the security and defence sector reforms to enable South Sudan enjoy the fruits of peace and pursue sustainable development without fear.	Encourage the parties to overcome challenges and improve the security and defence sector reforms to enable South Sudan enjoy the fruits of peace and pursue sustainable development without fear.
3.	Build the trust and confidence that change the negative perceptions, which tend to block the parties from working as a team on issues of security and defence sector reforms in South Sudan with resistance and intentional delays.	Help the parties in building trust and confidence that change negative perceptions, which tend to block them from working as team on issues of security and defence sector reforms in South Sudan with resistance and delays.	Help the parties to build trust and confidence that change negative perceptions, which tend to block them from working as team on issues of security and defence sector reforms in South Sudan with delays and resistance.	Encourage the parties to build trust and confidence that change negative perceptions, which tend to block teamwork on issues of security and defence sector reforms in South Sudan with delays and resistance.	Assist the parties to build trust and confidence that change negative perceptions, which tend to block teamwork on issues of security and defence sector reforms in South Sudan with delays and resistance.



4.	Prioritize funding, logistics, morale and consultative leadership for speedy resolution of outstanding issues of critical concerns to the citizens in the defence and security sector in a manner that is satisfactory for the parties to compromise and move forward.	Call upon the government to urgently fund and provide logistics as well as morale and consultative leadership for speedy start and completion of the necessary defence and security sector reforms in a manner that is satisfactory for the parties.	Pressurize the government to urgently fund and provide logistics as well as morale and consultative leadership for speedy start and completion of necessary defence and security sector reforms in accordance with R-ARCSS.	Recommit the government to urgently fund and provide logistics as well as morale and consultative leadership for speedy start and completion of necessary defence and security sector reforms in accordance with R-ARCSS.	Encourage the government to urgently fund and provide logistics as well as morale and consultative leadership for speedy start and completion of necessary defence and security sector reforms in accordance with R-ARCSS.
5.	Disqualify vice of tribalism and discrimination against any citizens or community in the security and defence sector so that the required reforms could take nationalistic direction, which embraces the spirit of unity in diversity of South Sudanese people.	Denounce vice of tribalism and discrimination against any citizens or community in the security and defence sector so that the required reforms could take nationalistic direction, which embraces the spirit of unity in diversity of South Sudanese people.	Condemn tribalism and discrimination against any citizens or community in the security and defence sector so that reforms could be done nationalistically, embracing the spirit of unity in diversity of South Sudanese people.	Discourage tribalism and discrimination against any citizens or community in the security and defence sector so that reforms could be done nationalistically, embracing the spirit of unity in diversity of South Sudanese people.	Censure tribalism and discrimination against any citizens or community in the security and defence sector so that reforms could be done nationalistically, embracing the spirit of unity in diversity of South Sudanese people.
6.	Enforce rule of law, professional discipline and accountability of security and defence sector under civilian authority of the people of South Sudan, and based on military conventional standards of best practices.	Push for rule of law, professional discipline and accountability of security and defence sector under civilian authority of the people of South Sudan, and based on military conventional standards of best practices.	Advocate for rule of law, professional discipline and accountability of security and defence sector under civilian authority of the people of South Sudan with conventional standards of best practices.	Support rule of law, military discipline and accountability of security and defence sector under civilian authority of the people of South Sudan, and based on conventional standards of best practices.	Support rule of law, military discipline and accountability of security and defence sector under civilian authority of the people of South Sudan, and based on conventional standards of best practices.

7.	Improve safety and protection capacity of the unified armed forces in South Sudan with involvement of civilians, regional and international partners in enhancing the performance competence in the interest of peace and security.	Demand safety and protection capacity of the unified armed forces in South Sudan with involvement of civilians, regional and international partners in enhancing the performance competence in the interest of peace and security.	Ensure safety and protection capacity of the unified armed forces in South Sudan with involvement of civilians as well as regional and international partners in enhancing the performance competence on peace and security.	Guarantee that safety and protection capacity of the unified armed forces in South Sudan are enhanced with involvement of civilians as well as regional and international partners in contributing to peace and security.	Assure that safety and protection capacity of the unified armed forces in South Sudan are enhanced with involvement of civilians as well as regional and international partners in contributing to peace and security.
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## 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

This report was compiled by Dr. James Okuk, Project coordinator for the High-level Breakfast Discussion and Strategic Thinking on the Peace Process in South Sudan. He is renown academic and Senior Research Fellow at CSPS.

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ROYAL NORWEGIAN  
EMBASSY, SOUTH SUDAN



P.O.BOX 619

Juba, South Sudan

Tel: +211 (0) 920 310 415 | +211 (0) 915 652 847

[www.ss-csps.org](http://www.ss-csps.org)

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