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Article 2 on South Sudan

South Sudan: Situation Analysis

Our Article 1 of December 23rd, 2013 gave quick analysis of the situation in South Sudan while the conflict was just one week old. A lot of dust had not settled by then and a lot of dust is not settled now.

In such a fluid and dynamically changing landscape it is very difficult for anyone to give a narrative account on a structured format of reporting. This article 2 will address headings and sub-headings to be further developed and updated as situations change.

The US: The leverage that the US is trying to exert is not yielding fruits. Kiir is extremely stubborn and does not seem to see the damage he is doing to South Sudan. The US came out January 9th through the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Affairs and said “We have not seen any evidence of a coup attempt”¹ She went on to say “It is an armed rebellion against the government of South Sudan.

The US: The largest financial and political stakes that any country has invested in South Sudan are those of the US. One Billion dollars yearly are pooled into South Sudan for about 7 years now. The unequivocal backing to South Sudan and its struggle during the civil war did not come without a price to the US. Their relation with Sudan was damaged and saw no fairness. Now: Sudan may be needed as an ally and a catalyst in restoring order in South Sudan. How to make the U-Turn?

The US: One of the areas in which the US has invested money and know-how is in the SPLA’s induction into a regular army. This effort was, regrettably, not completed and now may have evaporated into thin air. The anger of the US over the violence is warranted.

The US: It is surprising and worth of thinking why the US is donating only \$50 million for the humanitarian efforts in South Sudan². It is not clear if the \$50 million are under the USIAD that works independently of all other organizations or part of the \$166 million call of the UN. In a democracy, the administration cannot do all what they want. The callas questions “why help people who decide to kill each other” is in wide circulation. Several Western Countries have literally distanced themselves from the current situation in South Sudan. The threat of stopping aid is being repeated by the US³.

The US: The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has concluded its hearing on South Sudan. Next week there will be a Congressional hearing on South Sudan as well. There is a notion that the US may support Kenya and Uganda is military interventions on the side of Kiir and his government⁴. That will be catastrophic for the longer term stability of South Sudan. It is better to

¹ Linda Thomas-Greenfield to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Bloomberg Businessweek 09 01 14

² The Associated press Washington 09 01 14

³ Reuters, Linda Thomas-Greenfield 10 01 14

⁴ Reuters 10 01 14

have two solid military blocks than disintegrate one of them and we would end up with banditry and small renegade groups of soldiers. In the terrain and demography of South Sudan it could be years before they can be brought under control. The small tribe of Murule and their Yau Yau are but a small example compared to the Nuer Tribe.

Uganda: Museveni "does not sleep over South Sudan"⁵. The man does not sleep over South Sudan not for the black eyes of Kiir. From tomatoes to fish to sugar to beer comes to South Sudan from Uganda. South Sudan has emerged in recent years as the largest importer of Ugandan goods. Over 150,000 Ugandan traders operate across the border, generating an estimated \$900 million in business. South Sudan relies heavily on its neighbors to provide goods such as construction materials and services such as skilled and unskilled labor. Approximately 1,500 Ugandans work in Southern Sudan in the construction industry, and 1,200 Ugandan professionals are employed there with non-governmental organizations, ministries and industries. An estimated 15,000 Ugandans work in petty jobs all over South Sudan. All that is up in the air with the current conflict in South Sudan

Uganda: The governments of Uganda and Southern Sudan have taken steps to strengthen economies ties, including a joint project to construct a state-of-the-art market in Juba, estimated to cost around \$850,000. That will now have to wait.

Challenges to Ugandan trade and business in Southern Sudan include concerns over corruption and discrimination, poor road conditions, and language barriers. And now it is security.

Uganda: Over 100,000 students from Southern Sudan are currently attending school in Uganda. With the violence, parents cannot make transfers to the students. Calls are already coming across to Diaspora to help out.

At the same time, many teachers from Uganda have come to Southern Sudan to teach, given the region's shortage of professionally trained educators. For a nation of 35 million and \$1400 per capita, South Sudan has weight.

Uganda: After the first 500 soldiers that Museveni sent to South Sudan in December 2013, further 800 are now in South Sudan and Ugandan fighter jets are still bombarding rebel held areas

Uganda: Over 25,000 Southern Sudanese have so far fled into Uganda. Most of them have nothing. Many of them have dual nationality (Ugandan/South Sudanese). Tribes such as the Acholi from where LRA Koni hails, Didinga, Luo, Toposa/Karamojok, Nayepto, Madi, Kakwa are found along the borders of both countries. One would expect those to be the first to move across the borders.

Uganda: I will not give credibility for the analysis now surfacing that Museveni is worried about Machar's relations with Koni for a number of good reasons: Koni comes from the Acholi tribe living on the East bank of the Nile in both Uganda and South Sudan with the majority being in Uganda. Machar's encounter with Koni's deputies was not pure LRA. ALL the prominent

⁵ Trevor Baleke, Deo Walusimbi & agencies 02 01 14

leaders of the Acholi were part of the talks. As an eyewitness then, I had several interviews with them in their hotels in Juba. The initiative started in 2006 and ended in 2008. How on earth can Machar still be in contact with Koni who is not even in South Sudan?

Uganda: Being crude, undiplomatic and a bully, Museveni draw criticism from his own members of parliament. The general voice of those opposed to the military intervention on the side of Kiir is that Uganda loses its neutrality and becomes redundant in the IGAD brokered talks in Addis Ababa. They also voiced their concerns that no one knows the cost of the war.⁶ This is not the only war Uganda got into: Somalia, CAR and previously Rwanda. I do not see Machar's group coming to any terms with Kiir without Uganda pulling out their forces. If not now, at a later time, a vendetta by the Nuers will come about. They never forget or forgive.

Uganda: For Mme Rebecca not to go to Addis to head the rebel's team or guide them but sends her son instead; for her to meet with President Museveni in his private residence shaking hands with a smile⁷, there must be a reason. Is she standing at the fence now? Is Museveni "detouring" around the IGAD where he does not seem to have a seat in Addis? Is she using track II as part of Riek Machar's group?

It was only 10 days ago on New Year's Eve that she said "Threats unhelpful to resolve South Sudan Crisis because it will be like the region is going to South Sudan and fight only one ethnic group or tribe in South Sudan"⁸

Sudan: The win-win situation. They are the ones laughing. The NCP regime has always been "lucky" and their fortunes change in the 11th hour. "The triumph card" is now in their hand: The oil passage and where its proceeds in money can go.

Sudan: The current mayhem in South Sudan leaves little resources or will to support the SPLM-N or the SRF. They are both now dead silent other than responsiveness to SAF's activities. Who would have expected that Dr. Barnaba Marial's visits Khartoum with such warmth⁹ and South Sudan sign a postal agreement on January 6th 10th and news are scarce about another agreement signed for youth and cultural cooperation.

Sudan: If Khartoum gets too close to Kiir and his government and if he loses the battle for staying as president or is compelled to share power substantially with Machar's group, life may be hell for Khartoum. All the oil is in Nuer or Nuer dominated lands.

(More on Sudan to come in Article 3)

UN: UNSC Resolution 1996 of July 8th 2011 states"..... that the mandate of UNMISS shall be to consolidate peace and security, and to help establish the conditions for development in the Republic of South Sudan, with a view to strengthening the capacity of the Government of the

⁶ VOA 09 01 14

⁷ AFP 09 01 14

⁸ Peter Clotey

⁹ Sudan Tribune 08 01 14

¹⁰ Sudan Tribune 08 01 14

Republic of South Sudan to govern effectively and democratically and establish good relations with its neighbours, and *accordingly authorizes* UNMISS to perform the following tasks;

(a) Support for peace consolidation and thereby fostering longer-term statebuilding and economic development.....

(b) Support the Government of the Republic of South Sudan in exercising its responsibilities for conflict prevention, mitigation, and resolution and protect civilians.....

(c) Support the Government of the Republic of South Sudan, in accordance with the principles of national ownership, and in cooperation with the UN Country Team and other international partners, in developing its capacity to provide security, to establish rule of law, and to strengthen the security and justice sectors.....

Does the mandate need to be revised now? Does the “Status of Forces Agreement” (SOFA) of August 8th 2011 need to be revised?

UN: It is expected that the additional forces of Peacekeepers and CivPol of 5500 are “slowly arriving” and will only be completed in about 4 to 8 weeks¹¹! The difference between 4 and 8 is 100%! It seems that other than 850 troops from Nepal¹² there is little in the pipeline now.

UN: It seems that a lot of expatriate staff had to be evacuated from compounds where IDPs are sheltering. Local staff and even IDPs are helping to guard the stores and help with work around the compounds¹³. The UN may well get the \$166 million needed to deal with the humanitarian situation¹⁴. The big question will be who will and how will the proposed aid be distributed to the needy without considerable cessation of hostilities and effective mechanisms of the WFP and related agencies? Will the donors actually cough out the funds under the present situation of violence?

IGAD: “In a joint statement by the leaders of the IGAD they said they would not accept a violent overthrow of the country's democratically elected government, and said any change must come through the democratic process” says the CNN¹⁵. What the IGAD leaders did not tell us is: Will they accept a violent approach to keep and consolidate power outside the frameworks of the democratic modalities and frameworks?

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¹¹ UN/AFP 10 01 14

¹² UN/AFP 10 01 14

¹³ UNHCR and Sudan Tribune 09 01 14

¹⁴ Indian The Financial Express 26 12 13

¹⁵ CNN 17 12 13