

Ottawa

Wednesday, August-06-14

## **Article 34 on South Sudan**

### **Developments in South Sudan Conflict: 5<sup>th</sup> Session of the talks in Addis Ababa; What a shame IGAD Mediation**

Our Articles 1 to 3 and 5 to 33 were situation analyses of the conflict in South Sudan. Our articles 4 (A), 4 (B) and 4 (C) were the first of our series on “Who is Who”. This article 34 is dedicated to the continuous blunders of IGAD Mediation and suggesting time for change and some professionalism of the Process.

#### **Shame #1**

Quote: The opening session saw the mediators, the United Nations, and other partners mount **“pressure”** on the two conflicting parties to agree on the establishment of a transitional government by the 10<sup>th</sup> of August deadline. Unquote<sup>1</sup>. Just like that!

As if the establishment of a transitional government was the first priority. Or, as if the IGAD Mediators have done their homework with the two parties over the one month of recess and only dots and dashes are left for the talks. The talks started on the 4<sup>th</sup> of August. Wasted the day in abusive and useless talk and preaching and in 5 days the “Bad Boys” of South Sudan need to be pushed to come up with a transitional government (Of national unity) for 10.6 million people now divided to the core: Army, Police, tribes and communities! Or else! Get lost!

#### **Shame # 2**

Mesfin urged “The Government of South Sudan and rebel delegations to “Expediently” reach durable political settlement warning that any further delay was “intolerable”. Just like that. Start trembling South Sudanese.<sup>2</sup>I wonder from where he gets this kind of language. This is not conflict resolution language. Why would one want to threaten people who have not even started talking?

“Promises are not enough. We must truly deliver. The region will not tolerate any delay”<sup>3</sup>

“Any result to continue it (Fighting) will have serious consequences. Those that insist on continued fighting must be held accountable”<sup>4</sup> Seyoum Mesfin needs to work out and check the BATNA (Best Alternative To Negotiated Agreement” of both parties and assess what they may lose before threatening. We will come to that later in the article to the stick and the carrot.

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<sup>1</sup> Sudan Tribune August 4th

<sup>2</sup> International and regional media

<sup>3</sup> From the text of his speech

<sup>4</sup> From the text of his speech

### **Shame # 3**

“IGAD Mediators “appealed” to South Sudan’s former VP Riek Machar to attend a new round of peace talks after he “failed” to turn up for the talks in Addis Ababa on Monday”<sup>5</sup>

Appeal? Is that mediation and negotiations language to come from a Process that has so far spent \$17.5 million on ZERO outcome (not output)? And in the public media? Don’t you know where they live? Or have phone numbers for them? Is the public media where a mediation process is to be conducted?

“The mediation further calls on the ***“People of South Sudan”*** (*who are dying, hungry and ill and have no hotel and per diems-our insert*), IGAD Member States and International Partners to “urge” the SPLM/A-IO to return to the on-going peace talks without “further delay”<sup>6</sup>

If it is the aggrieved “People of South Sudan”, IGAD Countries (That Mesfin has just toured) and the international partners who would “urge” the SPLM/A-IO to come back to the negotiations, then what the hell are you doing? Why are you there? This is YOUR job Mr. Mesfin; and if you cannot do it then go. This is pathetic performance,

### **Shame # 4**

Blocking Machar from going to Khartoum. This is a shame, a true shame. But it is Dr. Machar’s own fault. A leader and his top ranks should never be in the country where the talks are held during the talks. Make your exit before the talks or you will be trapped one way or the other.

The same thing happened to Mini Arko Minnawi of the SLM-Darfur and the abusive Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria.

The reasons given for not allowing Khartoum to receive Dr. Machar were rubbish. An extra \$20,000 out of the \$17.5 million spent so far would not have run IGAD bankrupt. This is crude treatment to say the least.

We wish to bring to the attention of Dr. Machar and his colleagues the betrayal of Ethiopia in 1991 when late Meles sacked the SPLM/A out of Ethiopia in three days from Debre Zeit to Gambella to Moyale!<sup>7</sup> If it were not for the foresightedness of Commander Martin Manyiel Ayuwal and Dr. Justin Yac, and the wisdom of Arab Moi and Bethuel Kiplagat, history of South Sudan would have been different.<sup>8</sup>

### **Shame # 5**

Slap on the face by John Kerry to Salva Kiir:

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<sup>5</sup> New Vision Uganda

<sup>6</sup> From the text of the press statement

<sup>7</sup> Personal conversation with late Justin Yac

<sup>8</sup> Our own involvement in the process

"The most important thing, **I know President Kiir agrees with this**, is to make sure that people are able to find security and hopefully that we're able to get food, medicine, humanitarian assistance to people at a time of huge need," Kerry said<sup>9</sup>

That is it! That is what the US and the world care about. No other money.

Before and during the US Africa Conference, \$14 billion were "pledged" by the Private Sector of the USA with General Motors and IBM at the top. But those are "Pledges": May or may not materialize. The total dream of Obama is \$33 billion. That is for 54 countries. But even if there is money on the table, why would anyone go to South Sudan?

1. Rwanda has a rate of growth of 7% for two consecutive years now with President Kagame holding Rwanda with a fist of iron.
2. Ghana with its gold and other products although has a high deficit, is a stable country
3. Ivory Coast, the jewel of West Africa with its export oriented production and growing stability.
4. South Africa with its massive economy and stability and resources

That is where the money will go. That is where the investors will go. The others will eat coal!

### **Shame # 6**

Whenever things go wrong with the ill-designed process, mediation is always looking for an escape goat. They never look at or into themselves: What have we done wrong. Even once! One does not herd people into a hall like sheep without preparations and groundwork. Why on earth would Seyoum Mesfin go to Juba, Nairobi, Sudan to rally support of their governments to bring pressure to bear on the two parties? Is this mediation? Both parties to the conflict informed us that they did not know what they were going to go into.

### **Shame # 7**

"The mediation renews its call to the SPLM/A (In Opposition) to honour its commitment to resolve the crisis. The mediation expects the SPLM/A (In Opposition) to immediately return to and fully participate in the multi-stakeholder negotiations, which will continue on 6 August 2014," said the statement.<sup>10</sup>

Are you going to do that every morning?

What if they come to the hall and become obstructive; what have you gained? Ato Mesfin: You are a mediator working FOR the two parties. You do not own them. You do not command them. You and your colleagues are not tasked with bullying the parties into a solution. You are to facilitate **their** negotiations and **their** solution. Capito!

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<sup>9</sup> Defence Web

<sup>10</sup> IGAD Media release

## **Shame # 8**

“Organisers of the talks said it was not clear why they had not shown up”<sup>11</sup>. Yes Sir! That is the Mediation. They live in the same city as the SPLM/A-IO. Dhieu Mathok gave the reasons in his statement quoted by Sudan Tribune.<sup>12</sup>

1. The UPDF are still in South Sudan
2. The group 11 (Now Group 9) have no place in the hall
3. CSO have no place in the hall
4. Small and minor political parties have no place in the hall.

Then from us: The one million \$\$ question: Why should they come to the hall? What is in it for them?

Is that difficult to understand? Was it not known to mediation? Dhieu made it clear who are the two primary Stakeholders and he is technically right. Instead of going to media and appealing to every Tom Dick and Harry, talk to the SPLM/A-IO.

But why is GRSS delegation in hall? Because for any incumbent government the Status Quo is an option. That is ABC of armed conflict.

## **The hollow threat**

Let us conclude with the “stick”. There are no carrots here. Even The Rapid Deployment Forces from Kenya, Rwanda and Ethiopia have not arrived as yet. NOTHING has been done other than Obasanjo talking.

## **What can anyone do, even the UN under any chapter:**

1. Put oil and its revenues under international control and management. Machar gains and does not lose. This will take 6 months to put into effect
2. Tighten arms control. GRSS just brought in the first shipment from a \$58 million deal including 300 KM range rockets! Yes sir! GRSS may fire rockets into rebel held areas and the rebels are living among the population.
3. If Gaza with a tight blockade by Israel for years is still fighting the mightiest army in the Middle East, what effect will any embargo have on a country surrounded by porous borders with 6 countries?

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<sup>11</sup> BBC News Africa August 5<sup>th</sup>

<sup>12</sup> August 5, 2014