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Afrique de l'**Est**
Enjeux politiques & sécuritaires

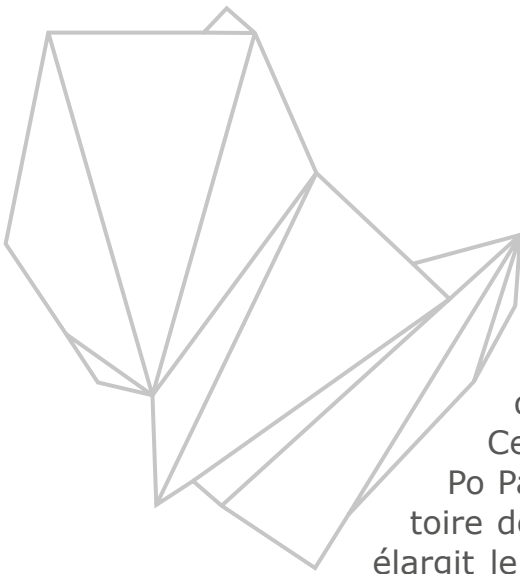
**SOUTH SUDAN:
WAR, PEACE PROCESSES
AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION**

B. C. ROGERS

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Coordination
Jean-Nicolas BACH
Roland MARCHAL



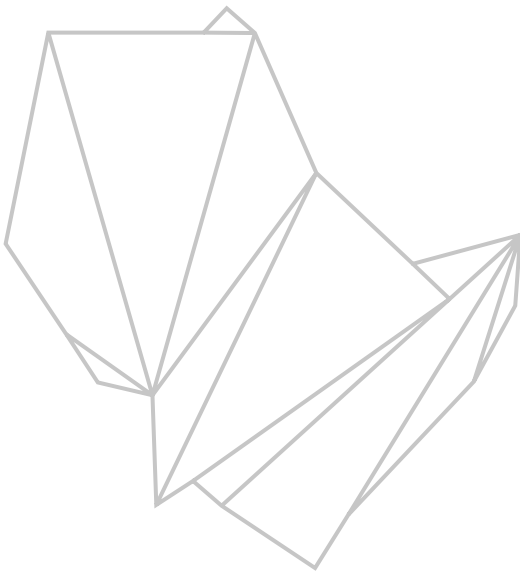
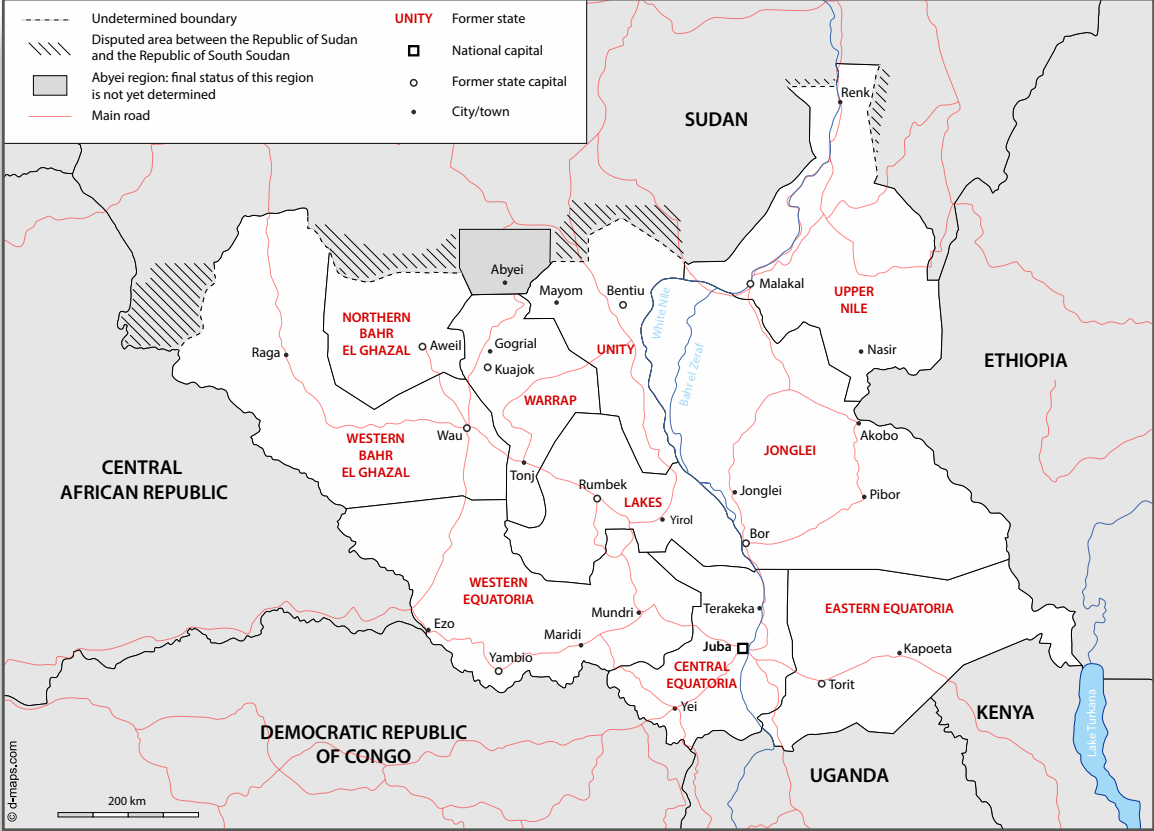


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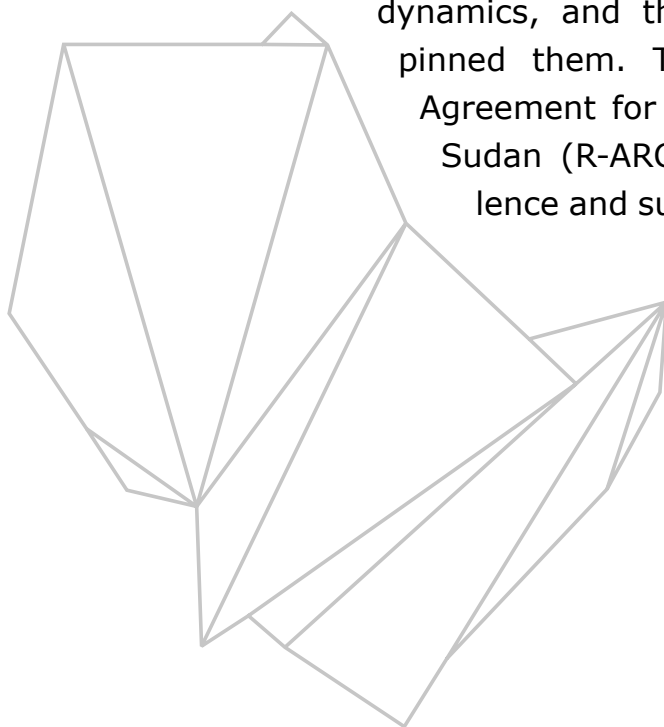
South Sudan

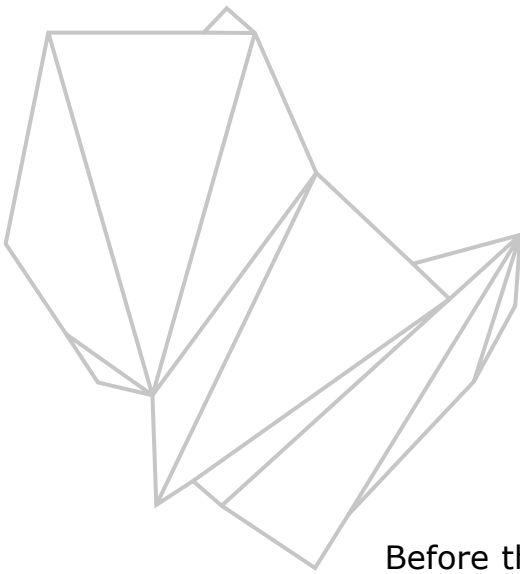


Abstract

In retrospect, South Sudan's independence presaged a change in the regional economic order. The implications of these changes became apparent in the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)'s inability to bring a swift end to the post-independence civil war and hold parties to the original Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (ARCSS) they had forced them to sign in 2015. Early fears that the first South Sudan civil war would become the site of a wider regional conflagration, with Uganda and Sudan as the principal protagonists and the Kiir government and Machar's opposition as their respective proxies, did not materialise. Rapprochement between Juba and Khartoum, and Khartoum and Kampala, based on their mutual interests in Juba's oil-based economy had gone relatively unnoticed. Instead of South Sudan representing a theatre for competition between security actors as it had during the pre-independence period, post-2011 Kampala and Khartoum were in fact co-dependent on a Juba government friendly and compliant to both their interests, and integrated into the regional interstate system. One reason for the eventual failure of the original 2015 ARCSS, was because

it was insufficiently rooted in these changed regional dynamics, and the economic interests that underpinned them. The subsequent 2018 Revitalised-Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS) reduced overall levels of violence and sustained a process of sorts, precisely because it captured the right set of regional economic incentives.





Introduction: South Sudan's dependent struggle for self-determination

Before the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in 2005, southern Sudan's long struggle for self-determination took place against a wider background of post-colonial competitive state building in the Horn of Africa. In the 1970s and 80s this saw revolutionary military regimes confronting their neighbours directly or indirectly in theatres like southern Sudan. As a result, Southern Sudan's struggle for self-determination and its eventual independence, was often portrayed as a pawn or proxy in wider regional and geo-political rivalries.

It is true that while under Khartoum's rule, southern Sudanese political actors and associated armed movements were dependent on the support and succour of neighbouring governments, and the wider international community. For example, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) was dealt a near critical blow when it lost its regional sponsor with the fall of the Ethiopian Derg government in 1991, leaving it bereft of a source of arms and a rear operating base.¹

As a result of this experience, the SPLM/A and the changing cast of southern Sudanese factions opposed to it, became adept at exploiting changing regional and international dynamics, the better to protect and entrench their power, and in particular the power of its elites and connections with neighbouring states.²

Each of the states bordering the then still unitary Sudan, namely Egypt, Libya, Eritrea, Chad, in addition to Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, CAR, and DRC,

1. Douglas H. Johnson, *South Sudan: A New History for a New Nation*, (Ohio, 2016), p. 140- 144.

2. For example, the flows of humanitarian aid, see Sara de Simone, 'Playing the 'fragile state' card: The SPLM and state extraversion in South Sudan', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56, 3 (2018), pp. 395-420. Also see Edward Thomas, *South Sudan: A Slow Liberation* (Zed, 2015), pp. 279.

had distinct national interests, and differing objectives for the outcome of the southern Sudanese struggle. The SPLM/A recognised that in spite of the willingness to arm and host southern Sudanese movements, the region was ambivalent about the eventual possibility of South Sudan's succession.

This regional ambivalence was also useful in managing the SPLM/A's own internal disagreements about their ultimate objective. At the same time, the regional peace and security organisation IGAD was critical for managing the interests of the immediate neighbours and the SPLM/A's internal contradictions, which it did with international support through the CPA process.³

Because the pre-independence context was so riven with regional competition (that also played out in the SPLM/A's internal divisions) when South Sudan's civil war broke out only two years after achieving independence in 2011, (mostly western) external opinion assumed that these tensions would re-emerge: South Sudanese factions would play on external sponsors for support, threatening a wider conflagration.⁴

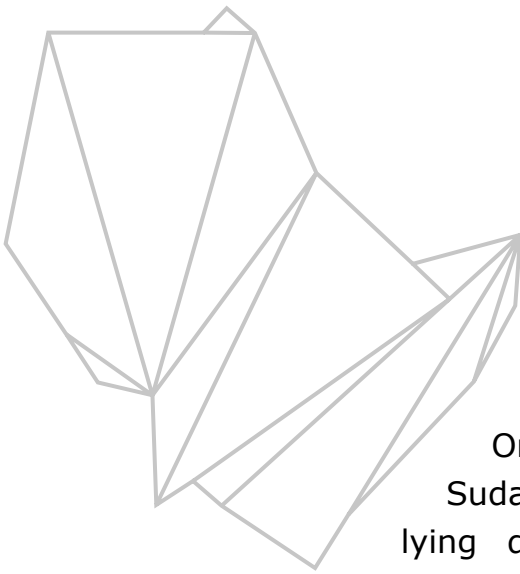
Though there were some familiar reflexes, they were habitual rather than purposeful. In fact, the old regional order was in a state of flux, a process of change that South Sudan's independence had itself helped provoke.⁵ A clear manifestation of the changed regional order that included an independent South Sudan was that former adversaries Uganda and Sudan, found themselves largely supporting the same side in the form President Salva Kiir's government.⁶

3. Two accounts of the many contradictions within the SPLM-A and the CPA, are Mareike Schomerus and Lotje de Vries, 'A State of Contradiction: Sudan's Unity Goes South', in Lotje de Vries, Pierre Englebert and Mareike Schomerus eds. *Secessionism in African Politics: Aspiration, Grievance, Performance and Disenchantment* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019) pp. 423-454; and John Young, 'Sudan IGAD Peace Process: An Evaluation', (2007, available on www.Sudantribune.com).

4. For example, International Crisis Group, *Sudan and South Sudan's Merging Conflicts*, Africa Report N°223, 29 January 2015.

5. Roland Marchal, 'Une Histoire d'États', *Politique africaine*, No. 122, Juin 2011, pp. 59-83.

6. Thomas, *South Sudan: A Slow Liberation*, pp. 279; 288-289.



Sudan's rehabilitation

One reason for the merging of formerly opposed Sudanese and Ugandan interests, were the underlying drivers behind the (now former) Sudanese President Bashir's bid to rehabilitate Sudan's reputation from that of regional disrupter to constructive international actor. Ultimately for Bashir this was a means to ensure his regime's economic survival, and it arguably postponed his departure for a number of years after the first cracks in the ruling National Congress Party (NCP) edifice began to show in mid-2012.⁷

During the period between the 2005 CPA and independence in 2011, Khartoum used various means to preserve its influence over the economy of its former southern provinces. But Khartoum's previous sway was being actively diminished by South Sudan's deliberate shift towards its southern neighbours, Uganda and Kenya in particular, who were both the biggest supporters of, and were to become the biggest economic beneficiaries of Juba's independence.⁸

Boundary disputes, primarily linked to oil fields, Juba's decision to close the pipeline to Sudan, and the clashes over Heglig/Pantou in April 2012 did not augur well for the world's newest nation. International opinion continued to give Juba the benefit of the doubt however, and blamed Khartoum for spoiling the south's independence. The reality was more complicated, not least because of the internal political struggles within the SPLM/A in South Sudan.⁹

Despite the mutual suspicion between Khartoum and Juba, one result of the Heglig/Pantou clashes and border closures, was to entrench the econo-

7. Alex de Waal, 'Making Sense of the Protests in Khartoum', *African Arguments*, 16 October 2013.

8. Marchal, 'Une Histoire d'États'; also see Oystein H. Rolandsen and Nicki Kindersley, 'South Sudan: A Political Economy Analysis', (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2007), p. 25.

9. Laura M. James, 'Fields of Control: Oil and (In)security in Sudan and South Sudan', *Small Arms Survey*, November 2015, p.43; Jok Madut Jok, 'Contextualising the Cooperation Agreements between the Two Sudans', Policy Brief 2, 5 December 2012, The Sudd Institute

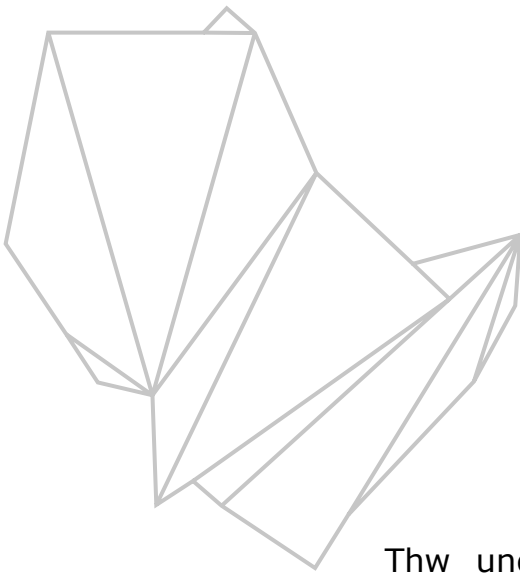
mic co-dependence between South Sudan and Sudan. This co-dependence was recognised in the agreed Transitional Financial Arrangement (TFA) and further entrenched in the post-Heglig/Pantou September 2012 cooperation agreements.¹⁰

These formal economic arrangements were also reflected politically, with the rise of the so-called NCP faction – South Sudanese politicians and officials who had served the National Congress Party government in Khartoum - in Salva Kiir's presidential circle.¹¹ Presidents Bashir and Salva visited Juba and Khartoum respectively during 2013 furthering the rapprochement.¹²

10. James, 'Fields of Control', 42-47; Jok Madut Jok, 'Contextualising the Cooperation Agreements between the Two Sudans', *Sudd Institute Policy Brief 2*, 5 December 2012.

11. Mention of the rise of the NCP faction is made in Abraham Awolich and Zacharia Diing Akol, 'The SPLM Leadership Contest: An Opportunity for Change or a Crisis of Governance?' *Sudd Institute Policy Brief*, 23 July 2013; and Abraham A. Awolich, 'SPLM's Internal Politics: A Catalyst to the Dissolution of Government', *Sudd Institute Policy Brief*, 9 October 2013.

12. Abraham A. Awolich, 'Bashir's Official Visit: What It Means for the two Sudans', *Sudd Institute Weekly Review*, 18 April 2013; Adel Sandrai 'President Salva Kiir's Visit to Khartoum' *Sudd Institute Weekly Review*, 13 September 2013.



The civil war and South Sudan's co-dependence with Sudan

The underlying and existential economic co-dependence, which was focused on the rehabilitation of oil fields and restarting oil production, was evident in Khartoum's response to the civil war. In retrospect, and contrary to expectations at the time, when fighting broke out in Juba in late 2013 and spread in early 2014 to the greater Upper Nile regions, Khartoum's interventions were relatively restrained.

In fact, Khartoum hedged its bets, keeping relations with Riek Machar's nascent SPLM-In Opposition (SPLM-IO) faction by drip-feeding it support, while also encouraging armed factions it had previously supported against Juba to fight for President Salva Kiir's government.¹³ In return for Khartoum reducing their support to their long-term ally Riek Machar, Juba distanced itself from Khartoum's internal armed opposition, the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) - which had continued the SPLM/A struggle for marginalised groups in the north after Juba's secession, along with some of the Darfuri armed groups.¹⁴

For different reasons, both Juba and Khartoum were struggling with deepening internal financial crises. The loss of South Sudan and with it 75% of its oil revenues was a huge challenge for the political economy of Bashir's regime. It was paramount that Juba's oil fields were rehabilitated and continued to operate, so Khartoum could receive both transit fees payments under the TFA and Cooperation Agreements while it looked for new sources of revenues and external patrons. Juba was bankrupted by the cost of funding the continuing

13. See analysis in *Crisis Group*, 'Sudan and South Sudan's Merging Conflicts'; and *International Crisis Group*, *South Sudan: Rearranging the Chessboard*, Report No. 243, 20 December 2016.

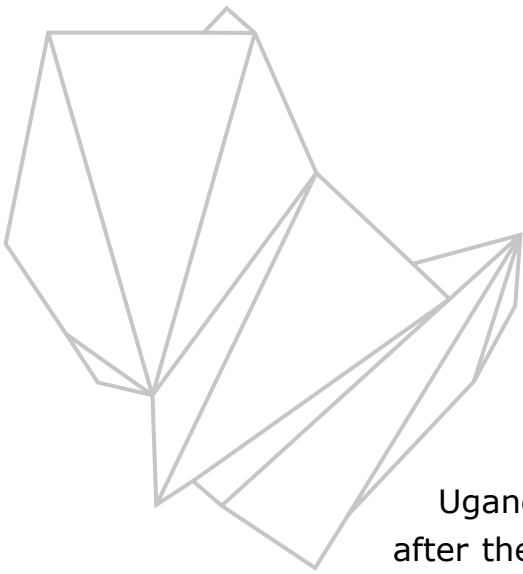
14. *Crisis Group*, 'Sudan and South Sudan's Merging Conflicts', p.5; for a full description of the Sudanese armed opposition see Andrew McCutchen, 'The Sudan Revolutionary Front: Its Formation and Development', *Small Arms Survey*, October 2014.

civil war, with oil receipts barely recovering from the 2012 shut down and renewed damage and interruptions due to the post-2013 civil war.¹⁵

While the Khartoum and Juba governments were quietly realigning primarily through the two presidencies and intelligence services,¹⁶ another unexpected rapprochement grew between Kampala and Khartoum

15. James, 'Fields of Control'; *Crisis Group*, *Rearranging the Chessboard*, p.6.

16. The key links to Khartoum in Juba include Akol Kuur Kuc, Head of National Security Service, and Tut Kew Gatluak, Presidential Advisor and Chair of the National Pre-Transition Committee, among others.



The Kampala-Khartoum dimension

Uganda had long supported the SPLM-A, in particular after the latter lost Ethiopian backing in 1991 with the fall of the Derg regime. During the 1990s Uganda became one of the National Islamic Front's (the precursor to Bashir's National Congress Party regime) bitterest foes, with southern Sudan the main theatre for their rivalry. Before, during and after the CPA and after independence, Uganda and Sudanese antagonism continued.

From 2002 Ugandan Peoples Defence Force (UPDF) was officially deployed in Western Equatoria and Bahr el Ghazal as part of the US-backed anti-Lords Resistance Army (LRA) Operation Iron Fist - though they had been unofficially deployed in southern Sudan since at least 1997.¹⁷ When civil war broke out in South Sudan in late 2013, UPDF troops already well entrenched in South Sudan fought alongside SPLA forces loyal to Kiir, not only to bolster a long-term ally but also to ensure that Riek Machar as a long-term pro-Khartoum foe did not capture the Juba government.

The general expectation at the time that South Sudan's own civil war would deepen the mutual antagonism between Sudan and Uganda failed to take in account the wider economic dimensions of the impact and opportunity that South Sudan's independence brought to Uganda's political economy. Like Bashir's NCP, the political economy of President Museveni's National Resistance Movement rule in Uganda was closely intertwined with those of neighbouring states.

Much of the international focus on Uganda's economic stakes in South Sudan are the long-standing and repeated allegations that valuable South Sudanese

17. Broadly Ugandan support for the SPLM/A was countered by Khartoum's support to the Lords Resistance Army (LRA); for a full treatment of the complicated history of the LRA in Sudan, see Mareike Schomerus, *The Lord's Resistance Army in Sudan: A History and Overview*, *Small Arms Survey*, September 2007.

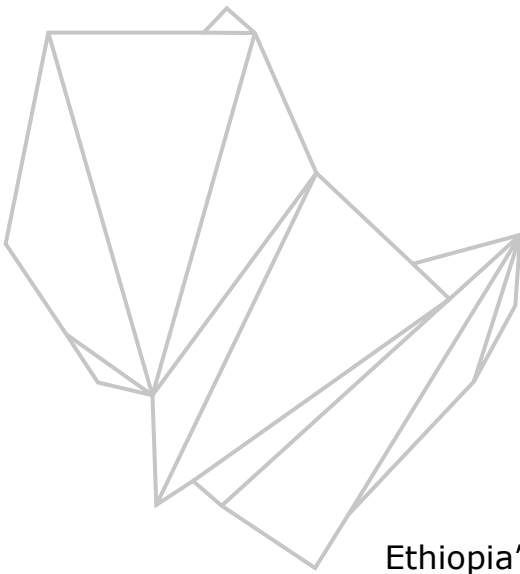
exports including timber (teak) and gold are unofficially exported via Uganda.¹⁸ Yet reports around the elite-based informal economy obscures the economic importance of South Sudan as a critical market for Ugandan produce (maize in particular), and for Ugandan labour.¹⁹

South Sudan was of particular significance to the post-conflict economy of Uganda (and the north in particular). And instead of South Sudan representing a theatre for competition between security actors as it had during the pre-independence period, Kampala and Khartoum were in fact co-dependent on a Juba government friendly and compliant to both their interests.

By mid-2014 there were a number of bilateral meetings between Khartoum and Kampala. In February 2015, Uganda president visited Khartoum: Bashir made a reciprocal visit to Kampala in May 2016, and a joint security committee was established. Yet though there was clear evidence of a growing Khartoum and Kampala rapprochement, it was not reflected in the formal peace process in Addis Ababa. Uganda, in particular felt excluded from the IGAD-led talks, and had little incentive to put pressure on the Kiir government to respect the original 2015 agreement.

18. For example, United Nations Security Council, 'Final report of the Panel of Experts on South Sudan submitted pursuant to resolution 2428 (2018), S/2019/301, 9 April 2019.

19. Edward Thomas, 'Moving Towards Markets: Cash, Commodification and Conflict in South Sudan', Rift Valley Institute, 2019, pp. 86-87.



Ethiopia's internal convulsions and an underpowered IGAD

Ethiopia's interests in South Sudan were not as economically focused as those of Sudan, Uganda and Kenya.²⁰ Addis Ababa's concern partly lay in the management of the overspill of ethnic politics primarily between Nuer and Anuak from South Sudan, in its far western regional state of Gambella.²¹ Another important dimension was the containment of presumed anti-Ethiopian Egyptian influence, which focused on their competing claims over the use of Nile Waters.²²

During the CPA and before South Sudan's independence, Sudan's neighbour's bilateral interests were balanced by Ethiopia's strong convening influence of the regional body, IGAD. Ethiopia's influence lay in the ability to agree heads of state action, and in particular where rival interests (and strong and weak personalities) were mediated by the late Ethiopian Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi. Though IGAD was clearly bigger than Meles, he made a virtue of Ethiopia's centrality to it, and as a neutral third party in the regional system of states.

Given this background, and despite Meles's untimely death in August 2012, when the fighting broke out in Juba late the following year, it was logical that IGAD should lead on seeking a peaceful resolution. Meles' absence was underscored by the fact that his successor as Prime Minister and Chair of IGAD, Haile-Mariam Desalgen, did not have the depth of relationships the former had held with his regional peers, and Presidents Bashir and Museveni in particular.

20. There was a good deal of private Ethiopian investment in South Sudan, but not on the scale of Uganda and Kenya; Rolandsen and Kindersley, 'South Sudan: A Political Economy Analysis', p.27

21. Dereje Feyissa, 'Alternative Citizenship: The Nuer between Ethiopia and the Sudan', in Christopher Vaughan, Mareike Schomerus, and Lotje de Vries, *The Borderlands of South Sudan: Authority and Identity in Contemporary and Historical Perspectives* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 109-131.

22. Zecharias Zelalem, 'Analysis: Nile Diplomacy: Cunning arm twists and turns, but whose losing game?', Addis Standard, 10 February 2017.

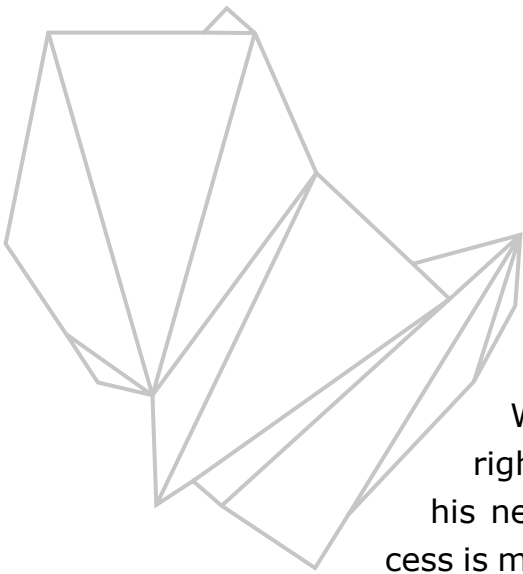
A triumvirate of senior IGAD envoys from Kenya, Sudan, and Ethiopia struggled to make a breakthrough in mediation, and when they finally did, it was against expectations. But once the original Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (ARCSS) was signed in August 2015, IGAD could not maintain a unity of purpose to hold the warring parties to their commitments. The most palpable divide was between Ethiopia and Uganda, though overall, ARCSS was beset regional inertia rather than regional rivalries.

Part of the reason for an underpowered IGAD process in Addis Ababa was the growing pre-occupation of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) leadership with their own internal disagreements. Previously Ethiopian influence in IGAD would be in lock-step with the Ethiopian Prime Minister's office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was no longer always the case.

As the momentum of protests in Ethiopia grew and regional leadership from Addis Ababa was increasingly absent. There was little IGAD could do when only months after Riek Machar's return to Juba as Vice-President of the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) agreed to in ARCSS, in early July 2016 the uneasy truce broke down with fighting between Presidential guard forces and Machar's security detail. Riek Machar again fled Juba.

Haile Mariam Desalegn's eventual resignation as EPRDF Chair in February 2018 triggered an internal party election for a new Chairman of the ruling EPRDF, who by virtue of heading the sole parliamentary party, would also become Ethiopia's Prime Minister. The winner of this internal party contest was the relatively unknown and untested Dr Abiy Ahmed, who as Prime Minister would also assume the Chair of IGAD, which Ethiopia had held since 2008. As IGAD Chair, Dr Abiy was faced with a moribund South Sudan peace, which the High-Level Revitalisation Forum (HLRF) held in Addis Ababa from late 2017 to mid-2018 had failed resuscitate. With number of other pressing domestic problems Abiy ceded the HLRF process to a Khartoum offer to mediate.²³

23. 'Observation Report on IGAD-led High Level Revitalisation Forum', 20 September 2018 (available at www.cepo-southsudan.org)



The Khartoum- deal behind R-ARCSS

Whether Abiy recognised that Khartoum had the right levers to pull, or simply wanted to distance his new government from another failed peace process is moot.²⁴ But despite low expectations of Sudanese mediation, the so-called 'Khartoum deal' was achieved in a matter of months between June and late August 2018.²⁵

Always expedient, President Bashir and his security cohorts, including the National Intelligence Security Service (NISS) head, Saleh Gosh, ditched the idea of an inclusive deal, and mediated directly between Kiir and Machar as leaders of SPLM (in government) and SPLM-IO respectively. Though much of the post-2016 fighting had spread to areas not immediately affected by the original outbreak of war in 2013 – in particular the greater Equatoria regions – the breakdown of the deal between President Salva Kiir and the Vice-President Riek Machar, had animated the underlying conflicts in Unity and Upper Nile.

The conflict in these areas which directly bordered Sudan and held most of South Sudan's oil fields, threatened existing and expanded oil production and the economic settlement on which the post-2011 Khartoum and Juba regimes depended. This was well-trodden Sudanese terrain and the areas where in the past Khartoum had helped create and support anti-SPLM-A factions, in particular among the Nuer and Shilluk, and had most leverage.²⁶ Khartoum also has close contact with Fertit groups in Western Bahr-el-Ghazal, where opposition activity had also increased.²⁷

24. Abiy also signalled that Addis Ababa would relinquish its near ten-year tenure as IGAD Chair. IGAD's cohesion was further disrupted by another unexpected rapprochement, this time between Ethiopia and Eritrea, mediated not by IGAD, but by Saudi Arabia (with the support of the UAE).

25. 'Observation Report on IGAD-led High Level Revitalisation Forum'; 'IGAD Statement on the initialling of South Sudan R-ARCSS', Khartoum, 30 August 2018.

26. James, 'Fields of Control'; *Crisis Group*, 'Sudan and South Sudan's Merging Conflicts'.

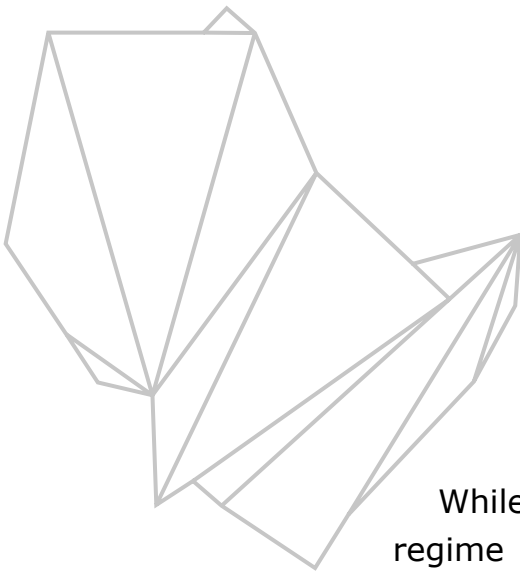
27. Sarah Vuylsteke, 'Identity and Self-Determination: The Fertit Opposition in South Sudan', Briefing Paper, Small Arms Survey, December 2018.

Once the Revitalised - Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS) had been signed in Addis Ababa on 12 September, IGAD picked up the reins once more. However, the leverage that was expected from Khartoum in support of IGAD's implementation fell away as Sudan's domestic situation deteriorated. The potential fragmentation of Bashir's security apparatus, and by implication its ability to control the South Sudanese opposition (or for factions of the former regime to arm and ally with the opposition) concerned Juba in particular.

The uncertainty of who would come out on top in Khartoum and the fate of the military-security apparatus, meant Kiir and the presidential faction played for time, and the opposition were able to keep their options open.²⁸ In retrospect, the relatively easy agreement of the R-ARCSS parties to an extension of the pre-transition period supposed to end in May 2019 but postponed to November, was because South Sudanese parties needed clarity on the post-Bashir political leadership.²⁹

28. Matthew LeRiche, 'What al-Bashir's removal means for South Sudan's fragile peace', Africa Arguments, 30 April 2019.

29. <https://igad.int/programs/115-south-sudan-office/2117-south-sudan-parties-extend-the-pre-transitional-period-by-six-months-after-12-may-2019>



Continuity and Change in Khartoum

While the unexpectedly rapid decline of the Bashir regime in the first quarter of 2019 impacted on their ability to influence the rival South Sudanese parties, it did not alter the economic equations that underpinned R-ARCSS. The outcome of the TMC-FFC negotiations in Khartoum finally agreed to in August 2019 were favourable to the continuation of R-ARCSS. The technocratic and cash-strapped government in Khartoum had every reason to want R-ARCSS to persist given the economic benefits to Sudan's finances.

Both the South Sudanese government and opposition needed continuity in the Sudanese military and security apparatus that had mediated R-ARCSS. Though several key figures were no longer there – primarily Bashir and Saleh Gosh – others survived the change. But where NISS had been an important player in R-ARCSS, its influence declined in the post-Bashir arrangements, eclipsed by the rise of the paramilitary Rapid Response Forces (RSF) under the command of the Mohamed Hamdan Dagolo 'Hemedti'.³⁰

After Bashir's fall, Riek Machar's former NISS minders overseeing his quasi-house arrest in Khartoum were replaced by RSF forces. It was Hemedti himself, who accompanied Riek Machar in his long-awaited visit to Juba in early September 2019 to meet President Kiir. Hemedti succeeded getting Riek to Juba, where previous attempts by Ethiopian Prime Minister Dr Abiy and Kenyan President Kenyatta to facilitate meetings between the two principals in regional capitals had failed.

There was a further dimension to Hemedti's trip to Juba. The transitional political arrangements in Khartoum also provided further impetus for President Kiir's on-going attempts to mediate between the factionalised Sudanese

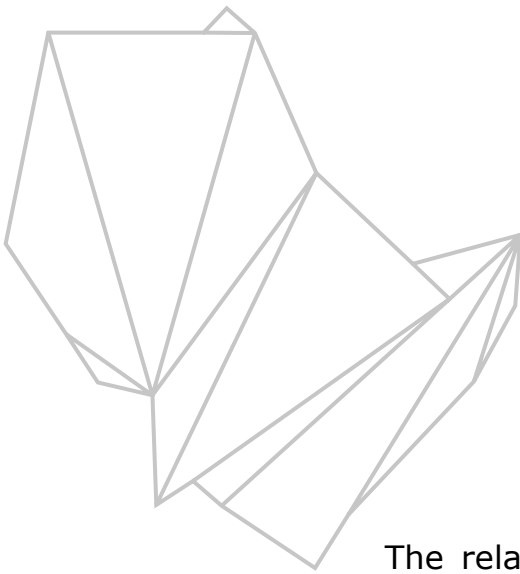
30. Michael Georgy, Khalid Abdelaziz, 'Sudanese militia commander waits in wings after president ousted', Reuters, 23 April 2019.

armed groups.³¹ Hemedti was important to this mediation, since it was the RSF-led campaigns that had largely defeated most of the groups militarily (with the exception of Abdulaziz Al-Hilou's SPLM-N Blue Nile faction). Despite their military weakness, the armed groups were nevertheless in a better position to negotiate given the still nascent cohabitation of military, RSF and civilian forces in Khartoum, and held out for separate negotiations from Sudan's transitional deal.³²

It made sense that Hemedti, whose adept exploitation of Sudan's politicised economy and the resources of its extensive peripheries including in the borderlands with South Sudan, should take up the R-ARCSS file. Hemedti's trip to Juba with Machar and Kiir's mediation with the Sudanese armed groups, effectively conjoined the peace process in South Sudan and Sudan.

31. Kiir's mediation began before Bashir's departure where the long-standing Africa Union High Implementation Panel (AUHIP) efforts had failed to make a breakthrough.

32. Reuters, 'Sudan's ruling council, rebel leaders agree on peace talks roadmap', Reuters, 11 September 2019; 'Sudan rebel leader says government agreed to open access for aid', Reuters 21 October 2019.



Conclusion: War and the regional economic order

The relative success of the revitalized R-ARCSS owed much to the direct bilateral engagement of Khartoum and Kampala, in contrast to the multi-lateral efforts of ARCSS and the Addis-based High-Level Revitalisation Forum. Sudan and Uganda were the neighbours with the greatest economic and related political interests in South Sudan, and the subsequent civil war further 'integrated South Sudan into the regional interstate system'.³³

Sudan and Uganda continuing relevance to South Sudan's peace process, also creates further indirect links to external actors with stakes in Khartoum and Kampala, namely the Gulf states (Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Qatar), Egypt, Chad and Libya. This in turn will make the existing intra-regional IGAD approach to solving conflict less relevant to a widening regional interstate system.³⁴

R-ARCSS was and is an expedient peace informed by the underlying logic of economic co-dependency of Juba, Khartoum and Kampala, which does little to address the structural issues behind conflict in South Sudan. It is also unlikely it will continue to contain and reduce conflict in South Sudan over the medium to long term without further adjustments and accommodations. The ordinary South Sudanese civilian, including the huge numbers of internally displaced and refugees, and the average soldier or militia-man, will continue to be the collateral damage of these arrangements.³⁵

33. Thomas, *South Sudan*, pp. 291.

34. Roland Marchal, 'Une Histoire d'États'.

35. Nicki Kindersley, 'Armed work and state reconstruction in South Sudan: beyond the peace deal', *Observatoire de l'Afrique de l'Est*, Note d'analyse, 10 Juin 2019.