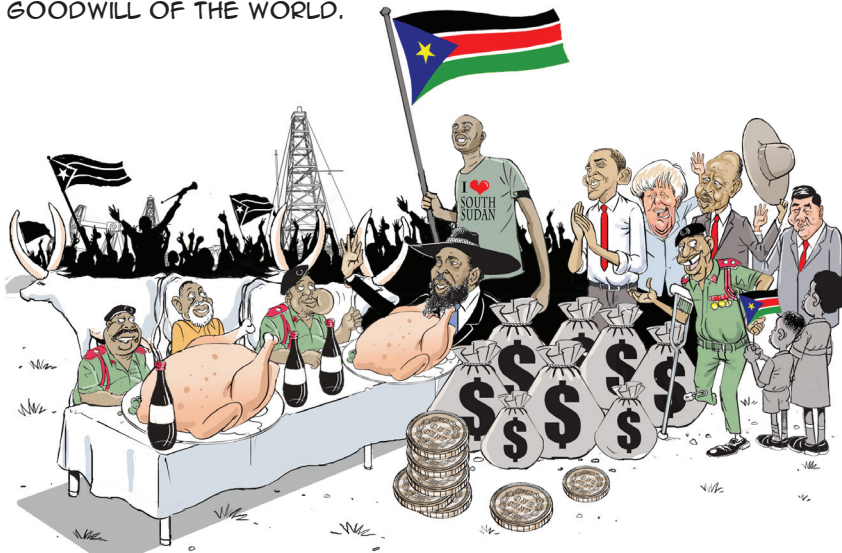
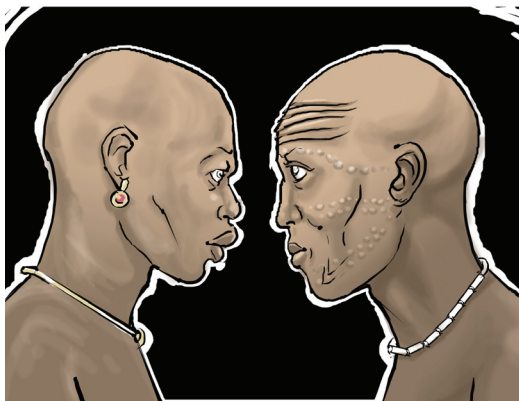
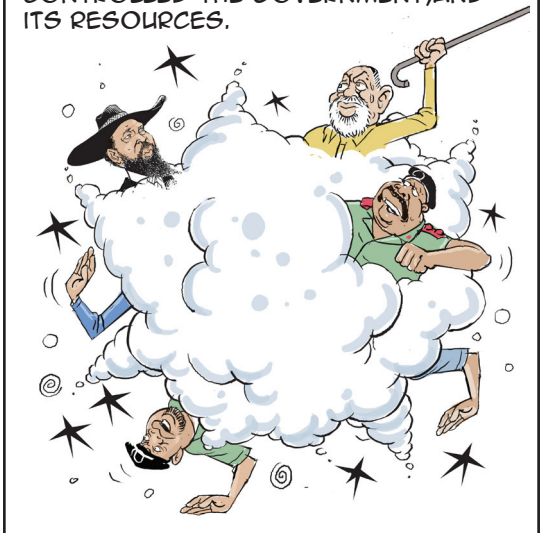


SOUTH SUDAN THE PRICE OF WAR, THE PRICE OF PEACE

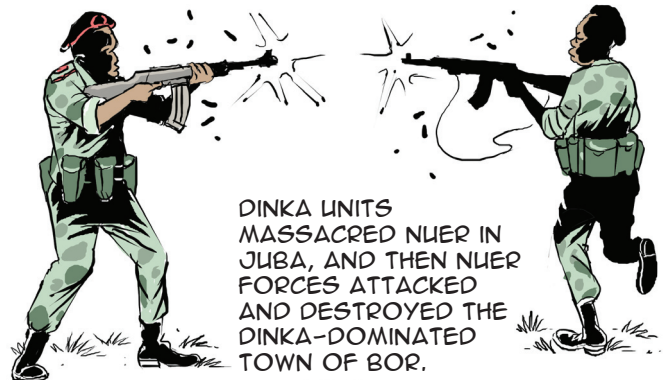
IN 2011, SOUTH SUDAN WON ITS INDEPENDENCE AMIDST WIDESPREAD CELEBRATION. SOUTH SUDANESE HAD PEACEFULLY GAINED LIBERATION AND THEY ENJOYED THE GOODWILL OF THE WORLD.



BUT THIS QUICKLY TURNED TO TRAGEDY. IN 2013, THE RULING ELITES OF SOUTH SUDAN BEGAN TO FIGHT OVER WHO CONTROLLED THE GOVERNMENT, AND ITS RESOURCES.



IN DECEMBER THAT YEAR, THE POLITICAL COMPETITION TURNED VIOLENT, AND THE SPLA SPLIT APART ALONG ETHNIC LINES, DINKA VERSUS NUER.



DINKA UNITS MASSACRED NUER IN JUBA, AND THEN NUER FORCES ATTACKED AND DESTROYED THE DINKA-DOMINATED TOWN OF BOR.



THIS 'TRAGIC SCRIPT' FOLLOWS ON FROM 'SOUTH SUDAN: WHO GOT WHAT?' TO TELL THE STORY OF THE NEW CIVIL WAR IN SOUTH SUDAN, AND EFFORTS TO BRING PEACE. TWO YEARS AFTER THE FIGHTING BEGAN, THOUSANDS HAVE BEEN KILLED, MILLIONS HAVE LOST THEIR HOMES, AND THE OUTCOME OF A COMPROMISE PEACE AGREEMENT HANGS IN THE BALANCE. THE HOPES OF ALL SOUTH SUDANESE FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY HAVE BEEN DASHED. JUST AS THE WAR WAS CAUSED BY GREED AND CORRUPTION, SO TOO SOUTH SUDAN'S ELITES SEE PEACE TALKS AS THE CHANCE TO GET RICH.

GOVERNMENT VERSUS REBELS SOLDIERS VERSUS CITIZENS

WE WILL FIGHT THE REBELS! WE WILL CUT THEM DOWN TO THEIR PROPER SIZE!"

THE SPLA-IN OPPOSITION CAPTURES A TOWN. FIVE SOLDIERS DIE ON EACH SIDE BUT HUNDREDS OF CIVILIANS ARE KILLED AND HALF THE TOWN IS LOOTED. THIS IS A WAR OF MASSACRES, NOT BATTLES.

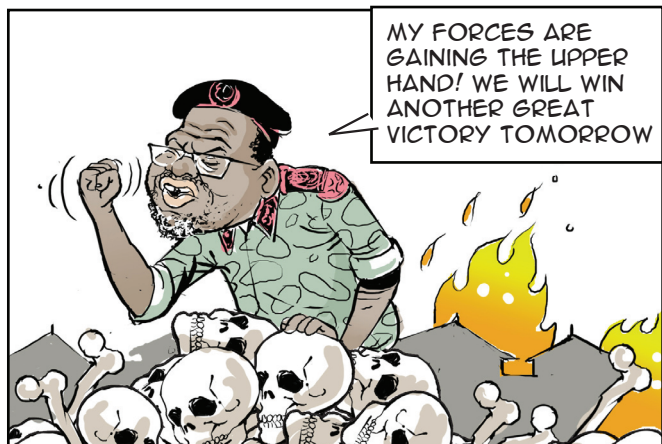


WE WILL REVENGE OUR PEOPLE! WE WILL FORCE THE GOVERNMENT TO SUBMIT TO US!"

WE HAVE WON A GREAT VICTORY! MY FORCES ARE GAINING THE UPPER HAND!"



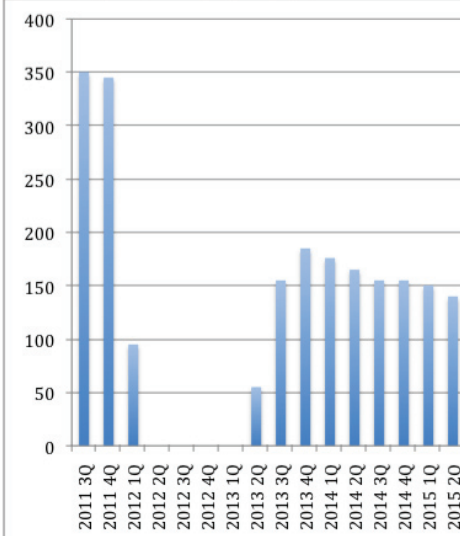
MY FORCES ARE GAINING THE UPPER HAND! WE WILL WIN ANOTHER GREAT VICTORY TOMORROW



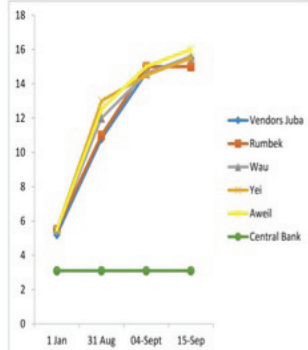
SOME TOWNS HAVE CHANGED HANDS AS MANY AS EIGHT TIMES. EACH TIMES, THE CITIZENS PAY THE PRICE.

HOW SOUTH SUDANESE PAY FOR THEIR LEADERS' WAR

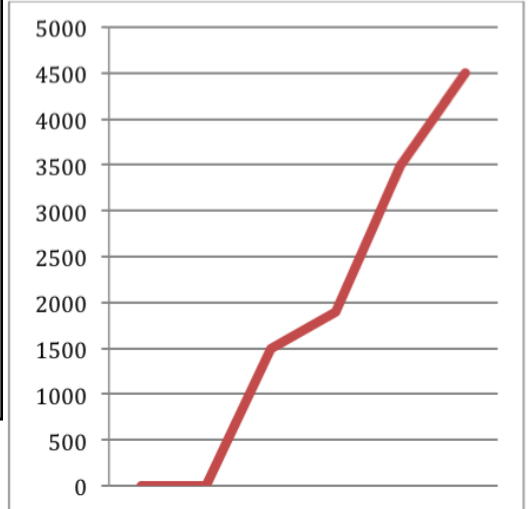
Oil Production in South Sudan



Exchange Rate SSP to USD South Sudan
15 September 2015, (Source: Share Media)

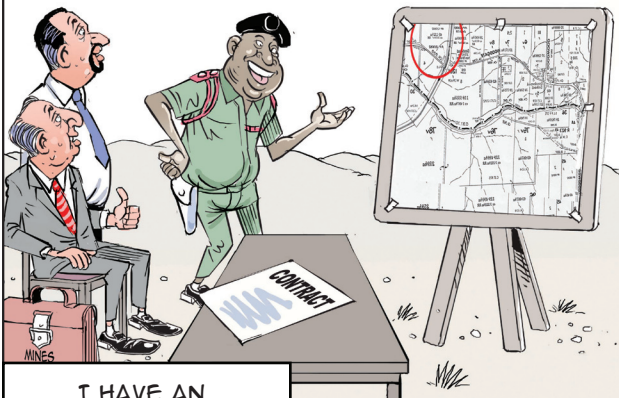


South Sudan's Debts



OIL PRODUCTION IS DROPPING... AND THE PRICE OF OIL IS FALLING TOO. THE SOUTH SUDANESE POUND IS DEPRECIATING. INFLATION IS RISING. FOREIGN DEBTS ARE INCREASING... THE OIL COMPANIES HAVE REFUSED ANY MORE LOANS AND THE GOVERNMENT CAN ONLY BORROW SECRETLY AT EXORBITANT INTEREST RATES.

SOUTH SUDAN ELITE IS SELLING OFF ITS LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES AT BARGAIN RATES TO ANYONE READY TO PAY.



MR. PRESIDENT, MY SOLDIERS HAVE NO RATIONS AND NO UNIFORMS, MY VEHICLES HAVE NO SPARE PARTS AND NO FUEL...



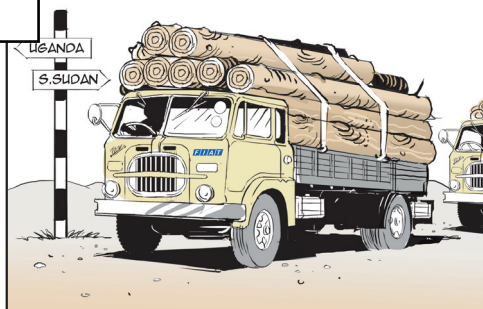
GENERAL, THE TREASURY IS EMPTY!



I HAVE AN EMERGENCY! HALF MY SOLDIERS ARE JUST NAMES ON THE PAYROLL AND MY GENERALS HAVE SOLD THE SPARE PARTS TO ALL OUR TANKS AND TRUCKS.

OK I WILL HELP BUT HOW MUCH WILL YOU PAY?

THE UGANDAN ARMY HAS A PROFITABLE LOGGING BUSINESS IN SOUTH SUDAN.



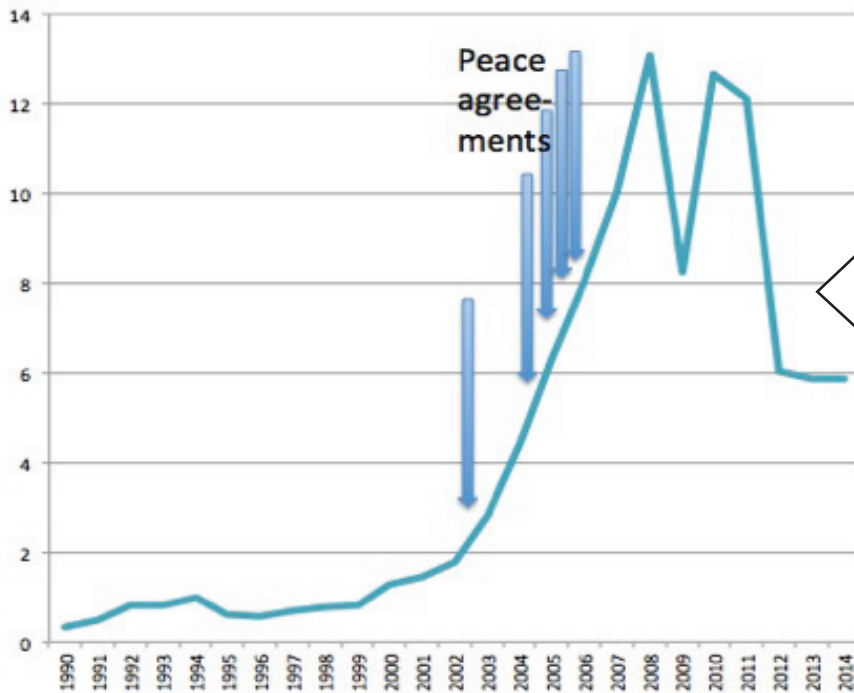
BOTH SIDES HAVE RECRUITED THOUSANDS OF CHILD SOLDIERS. THEY ARE CHEAP.



BUT SOUTH SUDAN STILL PAYS FOR ITS WAR... BY SPENDING ALL ITS MONEY ON THE ARMY AND SELLING OFF ITS NATURAL RESOURCES AT BARGAIN PRICES. A COUNTRY THAT WAS BORN FOUR YEARS AGO, DEBT FREE AND RICH, IS NOW DEEPLY IN DEBT AND IMPOVERISHED.

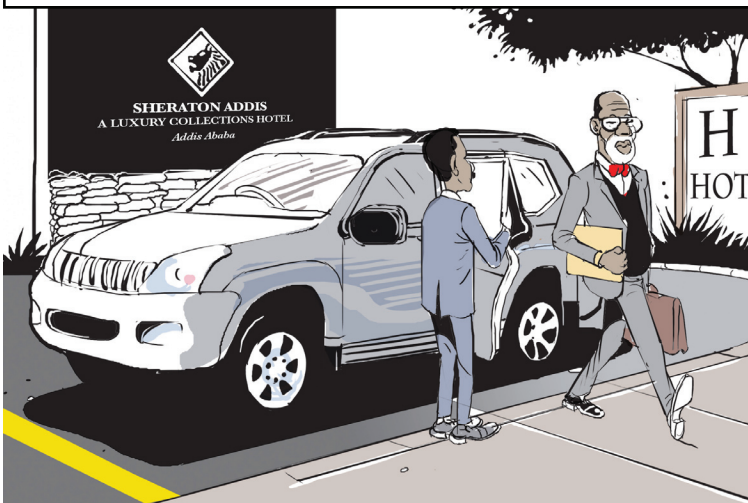
THE PRICE OF PEACE Talks

SUDANESE GOVERNMENT SPENDING (US\$ BILLIONS) AND PEACE AGREEMENTS.



HISTORY SHOWS THAT THE SUDANESE AND SOUTH SUDANESE ONLY REACH PEACE AGREEMENTS WHEN THE BUDGET IS INCREASING. EVERY POLITICAL LEADER GOES TO THE PEACE TABLE EXPECTING TO DEPART WITH MORE THAN THE AMOUNT HE ARRIVED WITH. THE PROBLEM FACING THE MEDIATORS WAS THAT SOUTH SUDAN'S BUDGET IS SHRINKING RAPIDLY.

PEACE TALKS CONVENED IN LUXURY HOTELS IN ADDIS ABABA, ALL EXPENSES PAID. DELEGATES ALSO GOT ALLOWANCES OF HUNDREDS SOMETIMES THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS PER DAY.



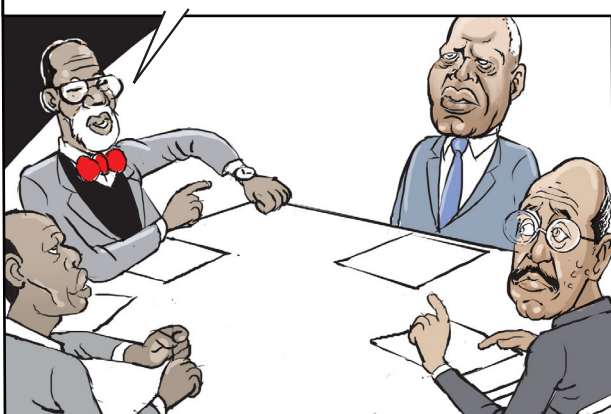
WE NEED A MINIMUM OF 75% OF POSITIONS IN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ARMY COMMAND

US TOO, BUT WE ALSO NEED COMPENSATION FOR ALL THIS TIME WE HAVE BEEN OUT OF OFFICE AND NOT DRAWING OUR SALARIES

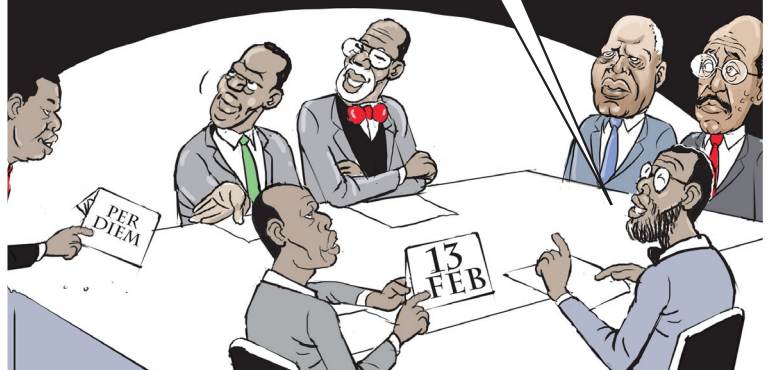
THEN WE AGREE... WE JUST NEED 150% OF POSITIONS TO SHARE. AND MORE AID FUNDS FOR COMPENSATION.



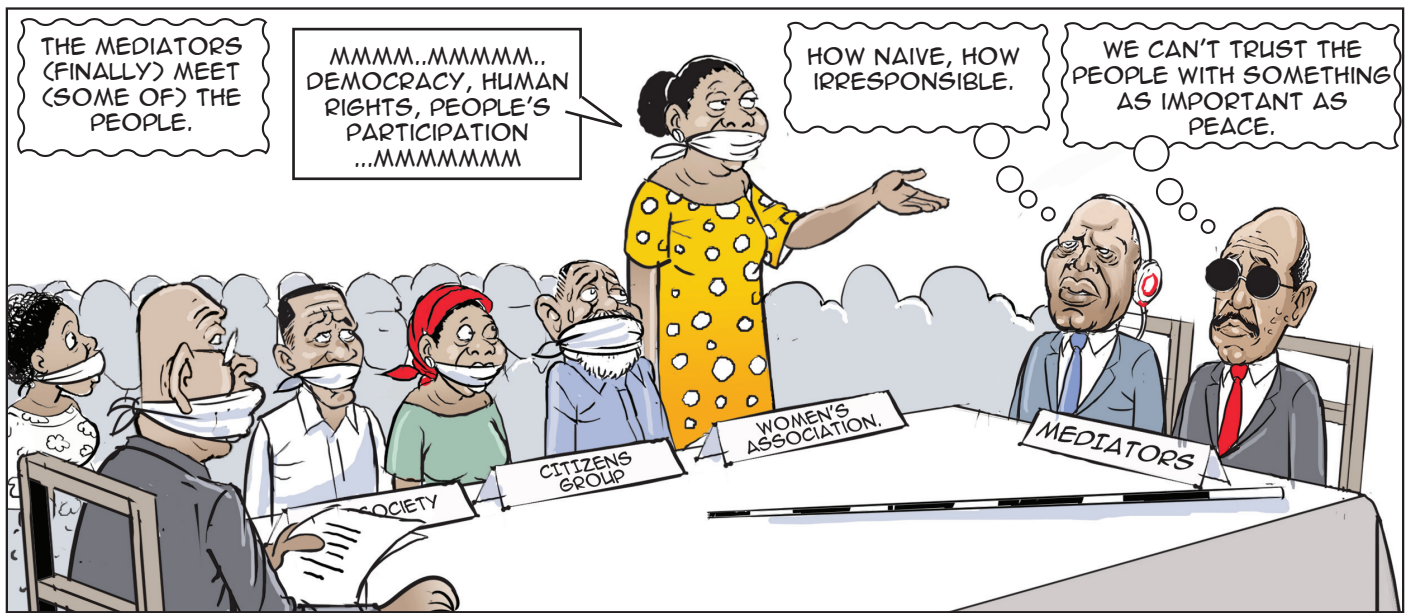
IT'S COCKTAIL HOUR, MR. MINISTER, AND WE HAVE WORKED ALMOST A FULL AFTERNOON. I PROPOSE WE ADJOURN UNTIL TOMORROW.



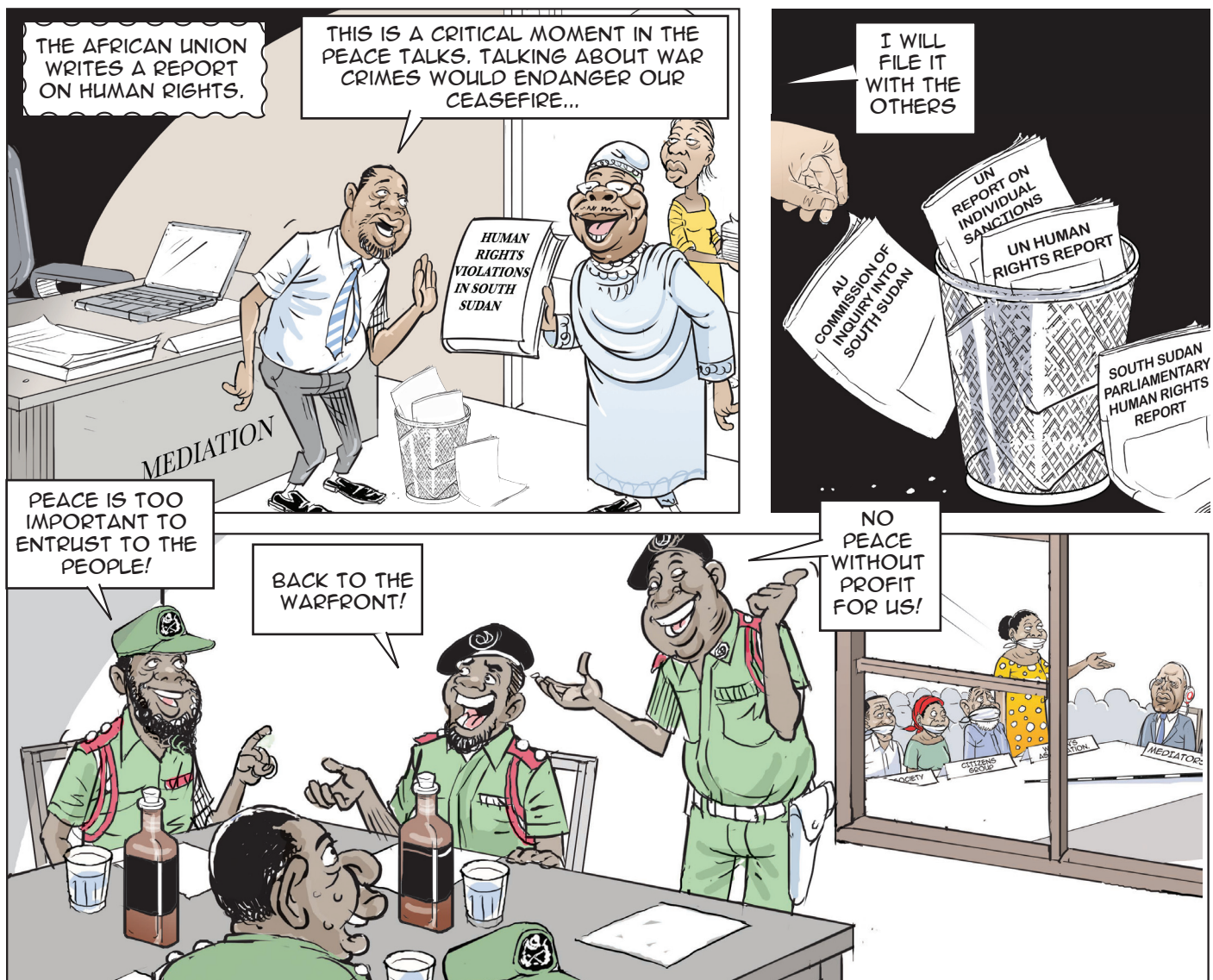
OBJECTION! TOMORROW IS VALENTINE'S DAY. WE NEED PLEASANT COMPANY TO DISTRACT US FROM OUR ONEROUS DUTIES. I PROPOSE WE ADJOURN UNTIL THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW.



NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

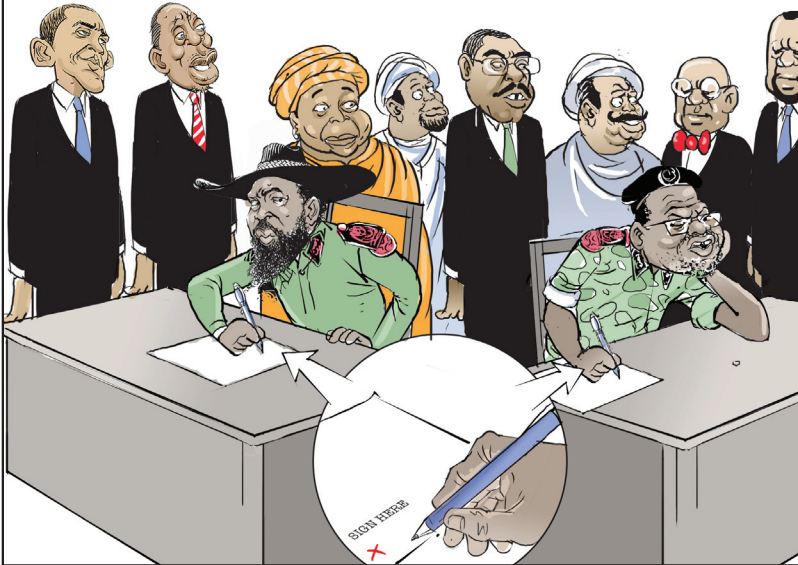


THE MEDIATORS REMAIN STUCK IN A MODEL OF PEACEMAKING THAT INCLUDES ONLY THE LEADERS OF THE WARRING PARTIES. BETWEEN DECEMBER 2013 AND AUGUST 2015 THERE ARE EIGHT SUMMIT MEETINGS, USUALLY IN ADDIS ABABA, AND NEAR-CONTINUOUS PEACE TALKS. BUT THE MEDIATORS NEVER ONCE GO TO MEET THE SOUTH SUDANESE PEOPLE. CIVIL SOCIETY VIEWS AREN'T TAKEN SERIOUSLY.



A PEACE DEAL IS SIGNED

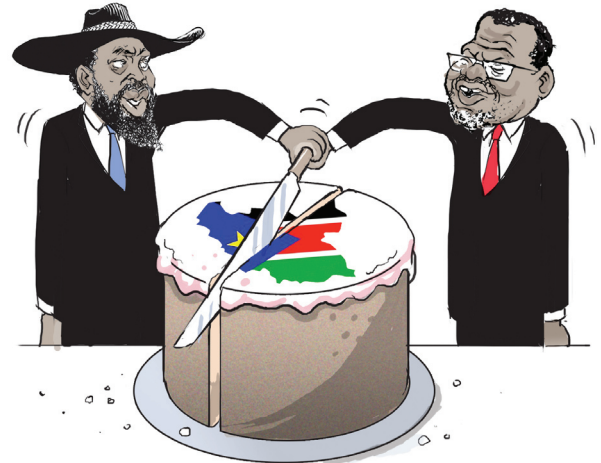
THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL THREATENS SANCTIONS ON SOUTH SUDAN'S LEADERS IF THEY DON'T SIGN A DEAL BEFORE THE END OF AUGUST 2015. THE MEDIATORS DRAW UP A 'COMPROMISE PEACE AGREEMENT' AND BOTH LEADERS SIGN, RELUCTANTLY.



SOUTH SUDAN IS



OURS ALL OURS.



THE PEACE AGREEMENT IS A SHARE-OUT OF TOP JOBS. THE PEOPLE MUST WAIT FOR DEMOCRACY, JUSTICE, DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

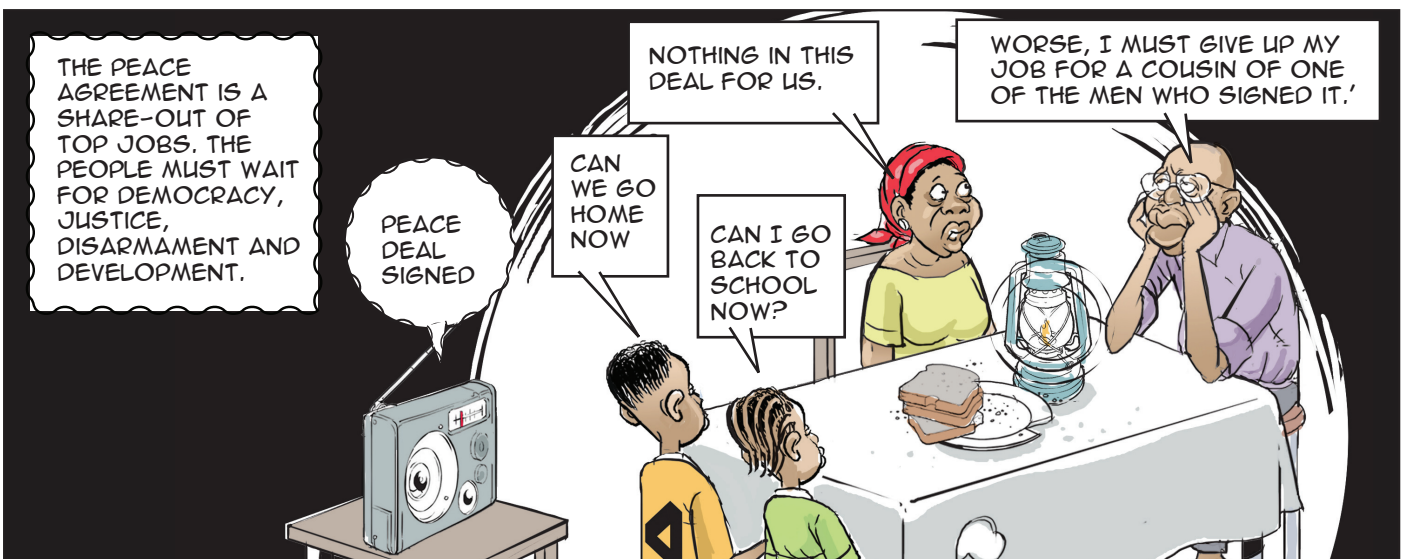
PEACE DEAL SIGNED

NOTHING IN THIS DEAL FOR US.

CAN WE GO HOME NOW

CAN I GO BACK TO SCHOOL NOW?

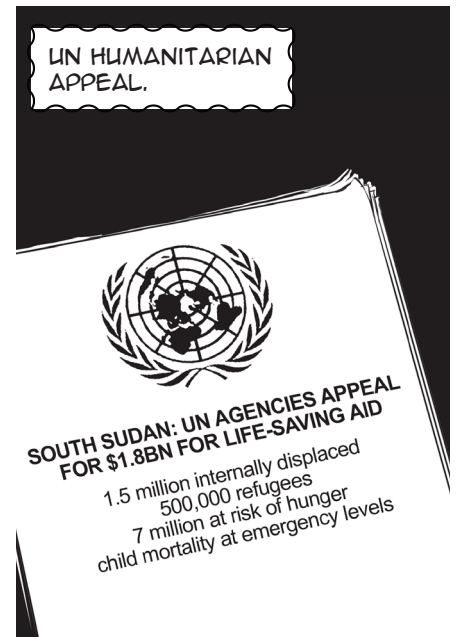
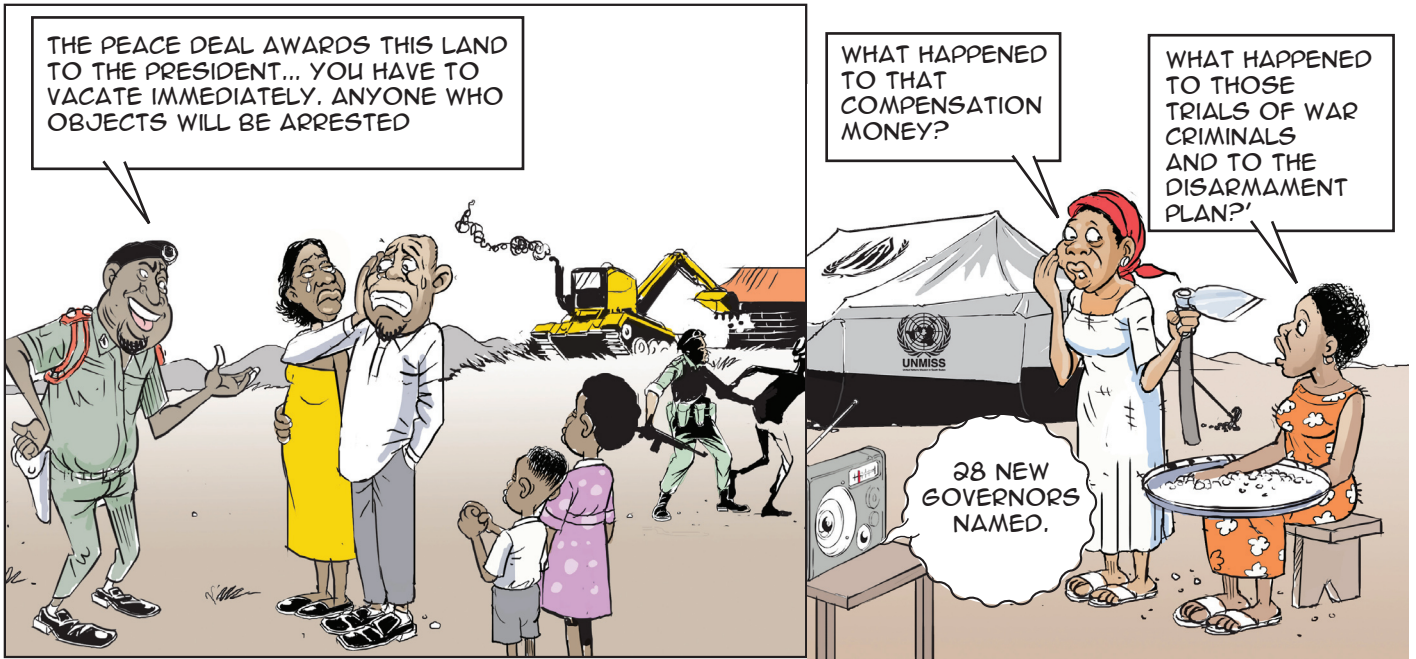
WORSE, I MUST GIVE UP MY JOB FOR A COUSIN OF ONE OF THE MEN WHO SIGNED IT.'



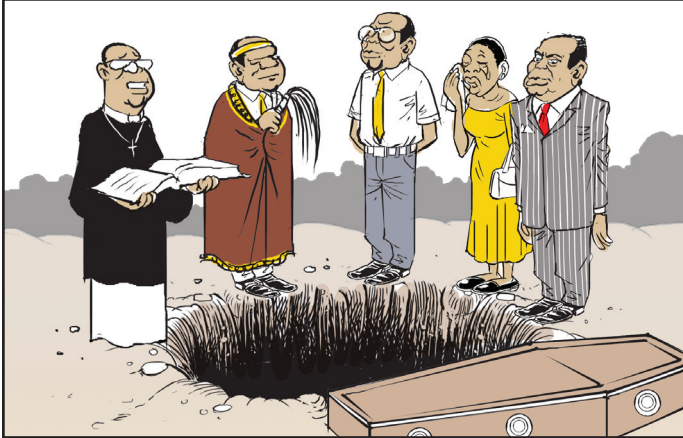
AND THE FIGHTING CONTINUES...



THE PRICE OF 'PEACE'



SPIRITUAL CATAclysm



SOUTH SUDANESE ARE DEEPLY RESPECTFUL OF THE DEAD, AND ARE ALWAYS DETERMINED TO ENSURE THAT THEIR LOVED ONES ARE BURIED WITH PROPER CEREMONY, AND THEIR SPIRITS ARE PROPITIATED.

