

Sudan's Decision Making in Renegotiation of GERD in 2018-2021

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS



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INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA

2022

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SKRIPSI

Diajukan kepada Program Studi Hubungan Internasional
Fakultas Psikologi dan Ilmu Sosial Budaya
Universitas Islam Indonesia
Untuk memenuhi sebagian dari syarat guna memperoleh

Derajat Sarjana S1 Hubungan Internasional



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HALAMAN PENGESAHAN

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Dipertahankan di depan Dewan Penguji Skripsi Prodi Hubungan Internasional
Fakultas Psikologi dan Ilmu Sosial Budaya
Universitas Islam Indonesia

Untuk memenuhi sebagian dari syarat-syarat dalam memperoleh
derajat Sarjana S1 Hubungan Internasional

Pada Tanggal

18 Februari 2022

Mengesahkan

Program Studi Hubungan Internasional
Fakultas Psikologi dan Ilmu Sosial Budaya
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I hereby certify that this undergraduate thesis is the result of my own independent scholarly work, and that in all cases material from the work of others (in books, articles, essays, dissertations, and on the internet) is acknowledged, and quotations and paraphrases are clearly indicated.

No material other than that listed has been used. I have read and understood the university's regulations and procedures concerning plagiarism.

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Yogyakarta, 21 February 2022



Lutfi Wibawa

DEDICATION PAGE



The author dedicates this simple work to his beloved parents, namely Mr Tri Joko Warseno and Mrs. Rina Wati. They are parents who always give love & affection, prayers, support, motivation, advice, and always strengthen the writer in every situation. Hopefully in the future, your child will become a pious child, diligent, knowledgeable, and has benefits for the family, nation and state. Hopefully in the future the author can be a good role model. May all your kindness be rewarded by Allah SWT. Not to forget, the author would like to thank the author himself for having persisted in overcoming every problem during the lectures and the process of completing this thesis.



MOTTO PAGE

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ﴿١﴾
فَإِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا ﴿٢﴾ إِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا ﴿٣﴾
فَإِذَا فَرَغْتَ فَانصَبْ ﴿٤﴾

"Indeed, after the difficulty there is ease, so when you have finished one business, do other things seriously, and only to your Lord should you hope." (Surah Al-Insyirah: 6-8)

“Always study and focusing on the solution not the problem, leave the rest to Allah SWT”
-Lutfi Wibawa

الجمعة، الأستد، الأندو
الجمعة، الأستد، الأندو

FOREWORD



Praise and gratitude for the presence of Allah SWT, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, who has bestowed His blessings, taufiq and guidance in the form of faith, health, strength, fluency and safety given to the author during the research process. By the grace of Allah SWT, the author was able to complete the writing of the thesis as one of the requirements for obtaining a bachelor's degree (S1) in the International Relations study program at the Islamic University of Indonesia. The author realizes that during the process of writing this thesis, the author gets a lot of support and motivation from various parties. Therefore, the author would like to thank profusely to:

1. Mr. Dr. H. Fuad Nashori, S.Psi., M.Sc., M.Ag., Psychologist, as Dean Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences, Islamic University of Indonesia.
2. Mrs. Karina Utami Dewi, S.IP., M.A as a thesis supervisor also a great lecturer for the author since the first semester, thank you for the guidance, advice and critics which is make author make great thesis and thank you during being thesis supervisor Mrs Karina do it patiently and lot of knowledge for the author also help the author in the hard time. May Allah bless Mrs Karina aamiin.
3. Mr. Hangga Fathana, S.IP., B.Int.St., M.A., as a head of study, Mr is most inspirational lecturer in author life with the beautiful quotes from Mr

Hangga is “you must hard with your life or the life is hard on you” the quotes from Mr Hangga is one of the reason the author finished the thesis quickly and always study hard because the author did not want to hard with life. Thank you Mr Hangga as most inspirational lecturer. May Allah bless Mr Hangga aamiin.

4. Mrs. Rizki Dian Nursita, S.IP., M.H.I, as a examiner in thesis defence thank you for the guidance and revision which lead the thesis is more great, also thank you for the knowledge in the course Technology and IR for the greater insight in international relations study, May Allah bless Mrs Rizki aamiin.
5. Mr. Enggar Furi Herdianto, S.IP., M.A, thank you sir for your help and always answer the author question during do the thesis and it’s a honor being a tutor in Mr Enggar class the author study lot being a tutor. May Allah bless Mr Enggar aamiin.
6. Mr Geradi Yudhistira, S.sos., M.A., it’s a great to study and talk a about outside the study such as hobby, talk the future and joke. Unfortunately, the author graduate without seeing Mr Gera because overseas to continuing study in Amsterdam. May Allah bless Mr Gera aamiin.
7. Mr Willie Ashadi, S.H.I., M.A., thank you sir for being person to story and give the author lot of knowledge and give advice about being patient in the hard time. May Allah bless Mr Willie aamiin.
8. Mr Riefki Fajar Ganda Wiguna, S.Pd., M.Hum., thank you sir for the knowledge in the bridging program and give the author motivation and advice to be great student in the future. May Allah bless Mr Riefki aamiin.

9. All lecturers of the International Relations study program, Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences, Islamic University of Indonesia, who have been patient and gave the writer valuable lessons at every opportunity. Thank you for being a good example for writers during lectures and God willing, the knowledge that you and Mrs. provide will be useful in the future for writers. May Allah give you health so that you can always share knowledge for the nation, state and religion.
10. Miss Mardiatul Khasanah and Miss Mayang Kesya, thank you for the always hearing the author problem in since the first semester especially for miss mardiatul, and for miss mayang thank you for always response and help the author for the academic problem during author take the thesis. May Allah bless Miss Mardiatul and Miss Mayang aamiin.
11. Both parents, Mr.Tri Joko Warseno and Mrs.Rina Wati who have raised and educated the writer until now. Thank you for the continuous prayers and thank you for giving the author the opportunity to study.
12. Salman Alfarizy, thank you for the best place the author for tell the hard story during thesis and always give the motivational and entertain the author. May Allah bless you aamin.
13. Usman Tri Wahyudi, thank you for being a loyal friend since the first semester and always ready if the author needs help. May Allah give you health and bless you aamiin,
14. Salma Risma Hanifa, thank you for being a great friend and has a good listener during the author complaining and facing hard time since study and thesis. May Allah bless you Salma aamiin.

15. The entire committee team that the author participated in during the lecture, the author thank you for the opportunity so that the author can learn about soft skills such as leadership, team management, dynamics in groups. Thank you for all the enthusiasm and positive energy given to the author, the entire committee team that I follow is always memorable and provides a valuable experience. Thank you for your cooperation.
16. And all parties who have helped and facilitated the author in completing all matters. Thank you for all the help that is very meaningful for the author in completing the lecture process and writing the final project. May Allah SWT repay all the kindness that has been given by all parties to the author.

Wassalamu'alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh

Yogyakarta, 21 February 2022

Lutfi Wibawa

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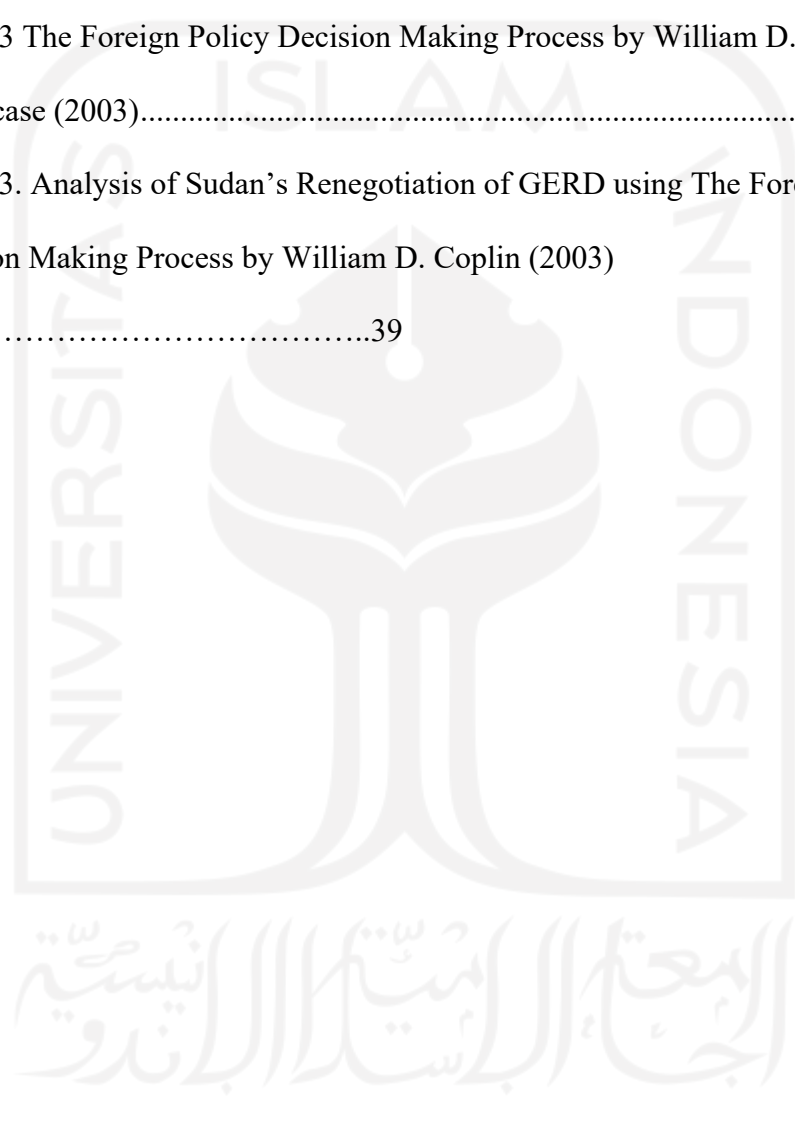
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	: Africa Union
BCM	: Billion Cubic Meter
COMESA	: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
EU	: European Union
DUP	: Sudan's Democratic Unionist Party
GNP	: Gross National Product
GERD	: Grand Ethiopia Renaissance Dam
MCM	: Million Cubic Meter
MM3	: Water consumption in million
MW	: Mega Watt
UN	: United Nations
USAID	: United States Agency of International Development



ABSTRAK

Masalah kekeringan di Sudan menjadi latar belakang terjadinya renegotiasi antara Sudan, Mesir dan Ethiopia sehingga dalam melakukan renegotiasi ini menjadi wadah dialog kebijakan, berbagi informasi, dan Kerjasama. Sudan dan Mesir menganggap bias adanya bendungan GERD ini karena mereka mengira bahwasannya jika tanpa negosiasi yang jelas bisa merugikan Sudan dan Mesir serta bendungan tersebut dibangun tepat diatas sungai nil yang dimana sungai tersebut adalah salah satu sumber utama bagi Sudan dan Mesir. Sudan dimana negaranya sedang mengalami kekeringan hebat melakukan renegotiasi dikarenakan adanya masalah *domestik, ekonomi dan militer* dimana ketiga aspek tersebut menuju Sudan untuk melakukan *aksi politik luar negeri*. Sesuai dengan rumusan masalah “Bagaimana Sudan memutuskan renegotiasi dalam hal pembagian air kubik? Sehingga dengan dilakukannya renegotiasi ulang dalam tanda kutip pembagian debit air yang lebih adil maka Sudan berinisiatif untuk melakukan diplomasi dengan Ethiopia dan Mesir serta negara timur tengah, Afrika Selatan, Afrika Barat hingga Amerika untuk menekan renegotiasi ini.

Kata Kunci: GERD, negosiasi ulang, *domestik, ekonomi dan militer*

ABSTRACT

The problem of drought in Sudan is the background for the renegotiations between Sudan, Egypt and Ethiopia so that in carrying out these renegotiations it becomes a forum for policy dialogue, information sharing, and cooperation. Sudan and Egypt considered the GERD dam bias because they thought that without clear negotiations it could harm Sudan and Egypt and the dam was built right on the Nile river which is one of the main sources for Sudan and Egypt. Sudan, where the country is experiencing a severe drought, is renegotiating due to domestic, economic and military problems where the three aspects are headed for Sudan to take foreign policy action. In accordance with the formulation of the problem “How does Sudan decide on the renegotiation in terms of the distribution of cubic water? So that by doing renegotiation in quotes for a more equitable distribution of water discharge, Sudan took the initiative to carry out diplomacy with Ethiopia and Egypt as well as Middle Eastern countries, South Africa, West Africa to America to suppress this renegotiation.

Key Word: GERD, renegotiation, *domestic, economic and military*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Recently, Sudan, which became one of the countries that became a feud about the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) 2019 was undergoing seizure by the three countries, namely Sudan, Egypt, and Ethiopia. Based on the agreement was signed between the United Kingdom as a colony and countries in the Nile River valley, Egypt itself got 55,5 billion cubic cm of water from one of the longest rivers in the world. Meanwhile, Sudan received a share of 18.5 billion cubics, At the same time Ethiopia did not get even one cubic caused Ethiopia not to join and sign the agreement between the United Kingdom, Egypt, and Sudan. That is why Ethiopia did not get even one cubic foot of water (Kompas, 2020).

Sudan needs water 650 cubics per day for one person, but right now, Sudan population 1,2 million and predict increasing 2,25 million in 2025 if calculated 650 cubic x 1,2 million people the result is 780 million it is still not enough to fulfil the people of Sudan need water with the help of GERD it solves the problem of Sudan needs water. The GERD project has a highly political concern, and the dam construction began in 2011. Ethiopia views the power generation project from the dam's output as essential for their economic growth, Furthermore, Egypt and Sudan, the location of the country is downstream, doubt the US \$ 4 billion GERD dam will decrease the access to cubic of water for their country (BBC News Indonesia, 2020). However, for this research, the writer focuses more on the Sudan perspective because we can see that Egypt has a problem with the water resources and a lot of

population rather than Sudan. However, Sudan, which is often getting drought and fails to farm the agriculture, has a big problem with Sudan. Therefore, the author can say Sudan and Egypt have problems in the same boat. (Tawfik, 2015).

In the issue of GERD, whose water comes from the Nile River, this raises the problem of who needs it more, However, if examined more deeply, it is seen from the capabilities of the three countries that the most experiencing difficulties are Sudan himself because the government and society have collapsed, plus the water in Sudan is particularly vulnerable to the risk of extreme drought and flooding from the desert (Elnour, 2019). Furthermore, along with the Sudanese independence era in 1956, Sudan was beginning to have the potential to become a source of livelihood with the aim of Africa and the Middle East because of vast fertile land and acceptance for rainfed or irrigated agricultural production. However, Sudan often failed to produce crops, and population in Sudan itself in the last few decades. It is estimated that above 80% of the Sudanese are experiencing food shortages and 38% of folk will suffer from critical malnourishment. Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam would be the largest power plant in Africa. It is estimated to take 5-15 years to fill with water (Mulat & Moges, 2014).

In August 2017, this dam reached 60% of development, located upstream of the Blue Nile River, and is expected to generate 6,000 megawatts of electricity. However, it is predicted that becoming the largest hydroelectric power plant in Africa has caused a heated polemic from Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan. These three countries really need water supply to support their agricultural sector (Asiedu, 2018).

Egypt, which has agricultural resources and has 100 million people who need water, certainly needs the GERD dam. However, Ethiopia is determined to get GERD for the economic boom of Ethiopia, but unfortunately, in the 1959 agreement between Egypt and Sudan was not followed by Ethiopia. On the Sudanese side accused by Egypt of supporting Ethiopia, therefore Egypt proposes an exemption from Sudan from the GERD development negotiations, and Sudan will benefit from the dam (Asiedu, 2018)

Whereas a journal the Middle East and North Africa, explains that the challenge of rising global temperatures will affect all sectors in Sudan, especially agriculture, aquaculture, natural ecological systems and biodiversity, water and energy resources, which ultimately increases the vulnerability of farmers who rely heavily on water and other sectors (Siddig et al., 2018). Therefore, from the perspective of the country itself, Sudan needs water the most from GERD to facing the many obstacles in their country, with the drought and the transitional government making Sudan unstable on all sides to survive. If cannot survive then can be called a failed country. If the GERD is not completed with the proper solution the GERD dam will be an environmental security problem because it involves the scarcity of natural resources such as water and it needs to do renegotiation (Dyer, 2001).

This research aims to explain and examine more how the GERD dam problem affects Sudan decision making and had to cooperate with Ethiopia to negotiate with Egypt to the fairer distribution of cubic water, based on the data and arguments of the author above it, shows how severe the environmental problem in Sudan itself is if there is no water and of course the population in Sudan is many.

Who are confused in the face of drought, once there is water, it will flood from the wastewater of the Nile River and It will damage the plants to eat and the starvation in Sudan always goes on the drought continuously that is why the Sudan people need more water than other because people in Sudan is hard to find clean water to use and consumption, moreover agriculture, farmers in Sudan needs the water to survive hard condition in Sudan? Also, the GERD is beneficial to Sudan really needs it more than Ethiopia. Ethiopia saw the GERD for business, but Sudan needed GERD to survive and help the Sudanese people (J.M, 2018).

Yasser Abbas, as Sudan's ministry of irrigation, started to present a detailed proposal to give African Union experts a more prominent role to renegotiate at which point Ethiopia also agreed to Sudan's proposal to maximize the role of the African Union where the vision was the same as Sudan, but Egypt objected. Furthermore, negotiations with the countries of Sudan and Ethiopia only. Sudan Minister of Irrigation said that Sudan wants to use a new method of renegotiation to reach an agreement. Sudan cannot negotiate endlessly and ensure the safety of the country from drought and give security from filling dams, considering the Rosaries reservoir lake is only fifteen kilometres from GERD and if the GERD filling the cubic water it makes Roseries cannot hold the water and Sudan can flooding. Because their countries cannot hold the drought and get flood from the GERD if Ethiopia fill the second dam and also Sudan seek equitability water sharing not only Sudan get more water cubic but also what the way Sudan prevent flood from GERD (Al-Masry Al-Youm 2020).

1.2 Research Question

How did Sudan decide on the renegotiation in terms of cubic water sharing?

1.3 Research Purpose

1. To explain the dynamic of cooperation in terms of GERD between Sudan, Ethiopia, and Egypt.
2. To discover the reason how Sudan proposed renegotiation based on the determinant factor in Sudan.

1.4 Research Significance

From the research that has been done by academics and the journals that the author read, most of them discuss the drought in Sudan and the Nile River agreement between Egypt and Sudan also the impact of GERD generally. So that the impact of GERD is still very biased for the Sudanese country moreover the authors fill the gap between Sudan and Ethiopia cooperated which led to Sudan decision making with Ethiopia. The author's research entitled "Sudan's Decision Making in Cooperating with Ethiopia through GERD in 2018-2021. This is unique in this study because until now there, are a lot of researchers not explained explicitly about Sudan decision making cooperating with Ethiopia especially using the decision-making concept process by William D Coplin the reason the author chose Coplin as the conceptual framework because it is unique and need to analyze about it.

1.5 Research Scope

This research will focus on the Sudanese government to response to drought. Sudan is selected to be the main subject of this research is because the initiative to renegotiate started by Sudan from 2018 until 2021. Furthermore, invite African Union and United Nations to be mediators in renegotiation to convince Egypt about the GERD cubic water system and distribution. The author takes this period because it is critical of the government's response to the GERD drought in Sudan.

It also takes place over a period considering the Sudan government and Ethiopia get the GERD dam conflict to be involved. In this period, time Sudan is trying to renegotiate with Ethiopia for the dam opening before cooperating with Sudan (BBC, 2020).

1.6 Literature Review

This literature review leads the discussion of the renegotiation between Sudan, Ethiopia, and Egypt. Below are several previous studies that explain the view of this problem:

According to Yihdego and Khalil said, the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) caused conflict for three countries, Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia. However, the polemic that occurred was that Egypt disliked this dam project because it thought this dam would reduce the water supply from the Nile River was hampered by the existence of this dam and also this dam would greatly benefit the Sudanese country, which would get 100 million cubic meters

and facilitate irrigation. About 500,000 ha, and makes the country of Egypt disadvantaged. On the other hand, the drought phenomenon in Sudan itself has been very long, and hope much international assistance to overcome it. Moreover, in Sudan, there are frequent crop failures and floods because there are no dams that hold rainwater and Sudan needs to do renegotiation (Yihdego & Khalil, 2017).

According to Mohamed & Elmahdy, in his article said that the construction of the reservoir Sudan and Ethiopia will make a loss of 50% of their storage capacity due to this dam. Even the Aswan High Dam (AHD) has lost about 4% in the last 40 years. What about more loss? The problem is whether this GERD is safe during its construction because when there is extreme rainfall (> 2500 mm) for several days continuous will cause the river flow to increase to the surface of the water and rise to an altitude of > 700 m (asl) or 175 m (height of GERD) from the sediment that transported from Atbara river, will cause a hazard and areas close to GERD will experience flooding events as a result of the development of this GERD (Mohamed & Elmahdy, 2017).

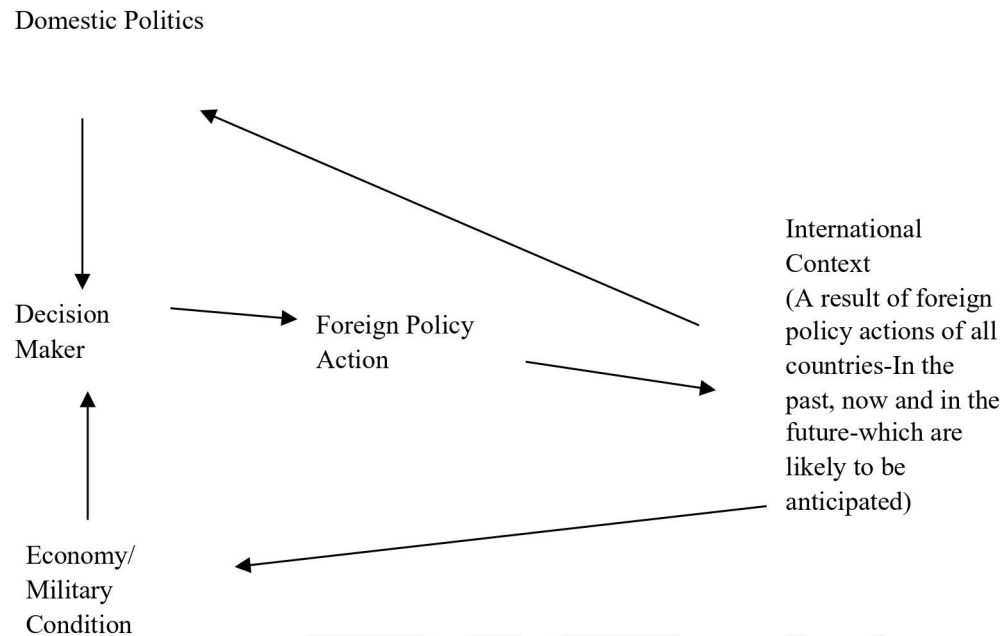
According to Elnour, the development of GERD will have a potential impact on Sudan because if this development is successful of course, the Sudanese country will find it easier to obtain water and reduce drought, but the crucial impact it faces is when the construction period is due to the greatest threat to security, it remains in the security of GERD. Sudan will be an essential point in its construction. After all, it has to be very careful in its construction because something terrible could happen such as a dam that could collapse due to various factors ranging from heavy rains, landslides and earthquakes (Elnour, 2019).

Based on the writing above, the topic of research on the existence of GERD dam makes Sudan try to negotiate with Ethiopia to make Sudan's drought problem be solved because with the successful development of GERD Sudan has cubic water and easy to obtain water to solve the drought problem. Sudan, on the other hand, negotiated with Ethiopia to convince Egypt to give cubic water to Ethiopia, considering that Ethiopia did not get one cubic meter of cubic water. Sudan successfully obtains water by GERD, but what must Sudan do to obtain that? Why did the Sudan government decide to renegotiate the terms of cubic water with Ethiopia and Egypt in GERD? What would Ethiopia get if it cooperated with Sudan? There is still a lack of research discussing the Sudan government's decision-making with Ethiopia. Therefore, this research will analyze a case study about Sudan's decision-making in cooperating with Ethiopia through GERD.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

According to Coplin, to understand why a country acts according to an area of interest, it is also necessary to understand why and motivate leaders to make decisions. However, it is a mistake to think that foreign policymakers operate in isolation. Instead, a particular foreign policy can be seen as a result of three categories of considerations that affect foreign policy decision-making countries. The first is domestic politics in the politics of decision-making countries. The second is the country's economic and military capabilities. The third is the international context, where countries find their identities, especially concerning their relationships with other countries in the system.

**Figure 3 The Foreign Policy Decision Making Process by William D. Coplin
(2003)**



Source: (Coplin p 30 2003)

The author chooses the conceptual framework the foreign policy decision-making process from Coplin because this is closer and occurs in the country of Sudan where they in domestic policy that drought is terribly in their country caused crop failure and clean water supply. The crop failure affects the economy because Sudan main commodities are from natural resources and Military conditions unstable make chaos in Sudan. so that the existence of GERD is beneficial but instead of helping, this was hindered by Egypt receiving too much water supply from the GERD, Sudan took the initiative to renegotiate with Egypt and carry out a foreign policy with Egypt and Ethiopia. Sudan needs the power to persuade Egypt

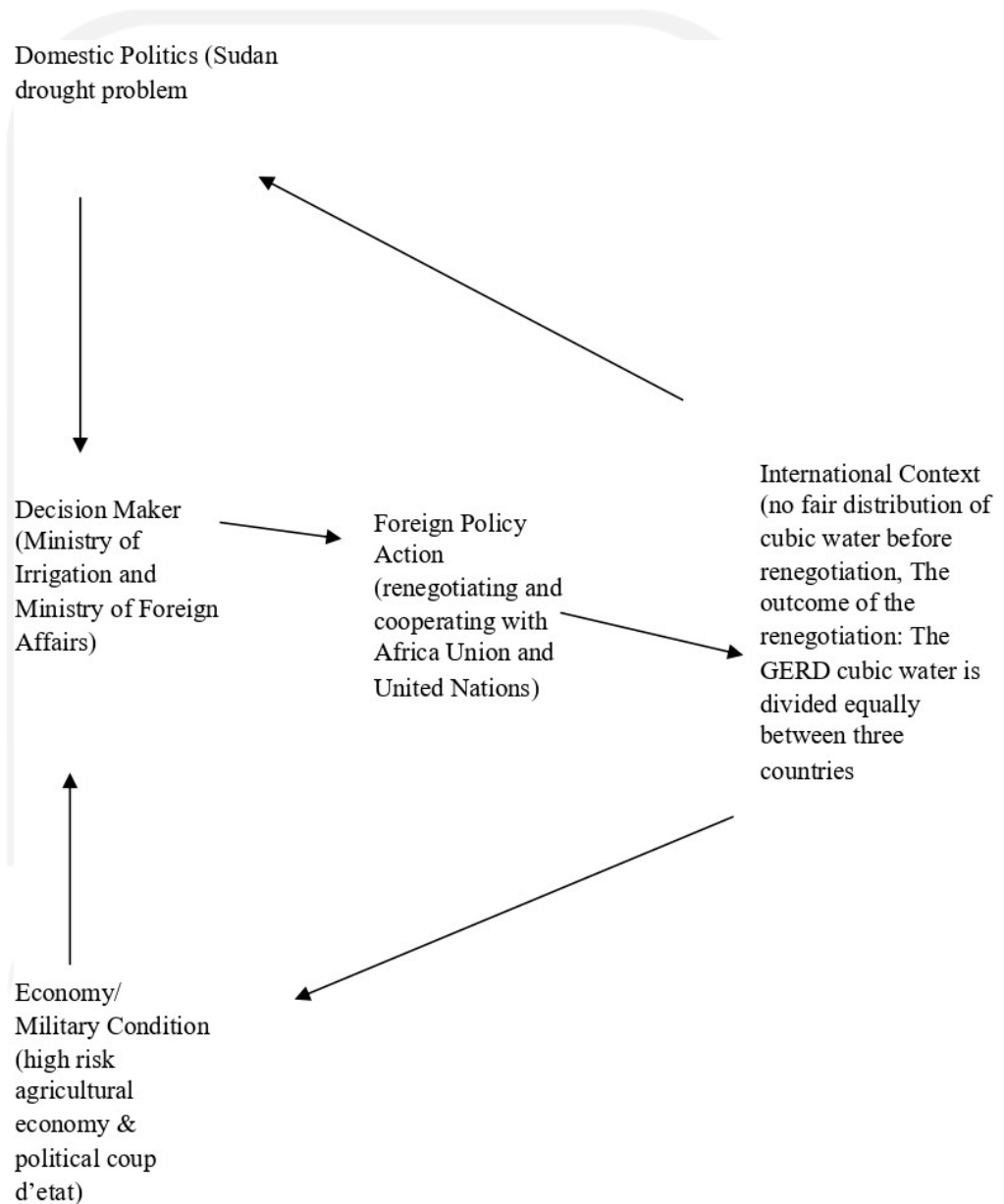
to provide water discharge somewhat with Sudan and Ethiopia. Sudan carries out foreign policy in cooperation with Ethiopia on this issue so that it becomes an international context (Coplin p 30 2003).

Using the foreign policy decision-making process will make it easier for the author to answer the research question and the figure of the process decision making as mentioned by the author above is part of the Sudan government to make decision making in foreign policy. Also, the initiative of Sudan to cooperate with Ethiopia to convince Egypt.

1.7.1 Research Rationale

The research Rationale for the hypothesis based on the research question is “Why did the Sudan government decide to renegotiate the terms of cubic water with Ethiopia and Egypt in GERD?” Sudan feels that the water debit received is inadequate, on the other hand, Ethiopia also does not get any water discharge at all, so the two countries cooperate in convincing Egypt to reduce the water debit received by Egypt, which is 55 billion cubics of water also Sudan convince Ethiopia to do renegotiation. Furthermore, it will explained with the diagram below:

**Figure 3 The Foreign Policy Decision Making Process by William D. Coplin
(2003) With Actual Case**



Based on, the diagram above the hypothesis of this research is described in the figure below using Coplin's foreign policy decision-making concept. The theory from Coplin with the foreign policy decision-making process is certainly very helpful for the author to reveal how Sudan which started from a domestic problem, became an international context and made decisions with Ethiopia to achieve ordinary achievements and win-win solutions.

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 The Types of Research Methodology

In this study, the author will use qualitative research methods, because this qualitative method is one of the proper methods to meet the research objectives. In this research, we will discuss Sudan decision-making and do renegotiation with Egypt and Ethiopia, so that research will contain a descriptive analysis. In addition, this research is also supporting by the data present by the author from books, journals, and news (Goundar, 2012).

1.8.2 The Subject and Object of the Research

The research subject Sudan decision-making process with Egypt and Ethiopia. Meanwhile, GERD is a object for Sudan to answer the drought problem in Sudan, so does the government see GERD as a solution to the drought in Sudan and also whether it has succeeded in achieving its main objectives or not at all.

1.8.3 Data Collection Methods

Research conducted using qualitative methods, and the author will fully use secondary data. Secondary data here is research that has been previously researched by authors either directly or indirectly by reviewing secondary sources such as books, journal articles, news, and official websites. (Johnston, n.d.).

1.8.4 Research Process

The research process begins with conducting a literature review which is to determine and ensure that this research has never been conducted by previous researchers. The literature review is also carry out to collect information data that is considered essential and relevant to be include and process in thesis research and also as evidence to differentiate it from research that has been done previously by other researchers.

1.8.5 Thesis Outline

Chapter I discusses the contents of the standard rules of scientific writing which, consist of background, research question, research purpose, research significance, research scope, literature review, the conceptual framework, research rationale, and research methodology about the Sudan Renegotiation through GERD in 2018 - 2021.

Chapter II discusses who is the decision-maker and the emergence of the renegotiation from Sudan, with the condition of domestic politics terribly drought and make the irrigation system is not well then crop failure then affect economy

crisis in Sudan. Moreover, the crises make the coup d'état from Sudan civilian and unstable military conditions because of the political transition after the coup d'état.

Chapter III discusses the foreign policy action from Sudan initiated to invite the US, Africa Union, and UN to do renegotiation because the domestic, economic and military condition in Sudan leads to the international context which, is to make a new renegotiation with Ethiopia and Egypt and the reason to Sudan to convince Ethiopia to start a new agreement or renegotiation and lead this issue to an international context which is the result of the renegotiation between Sudan, Ethiopia, and Egypt which the solution is the GERD cubic water is shared equitability and store in their countries dam. Also, Ethiopia creates a new dam in their countries to fulfil the water needs in their countries.

Chapter IV concludes the entire research and contains constructive suggestions or recommendations.

CHAPTER II

DECISION MAKER, DOMESTIC POLITICS AND ECONOMIC MILITARY CONDITION OF SUDAN IN RENEGOTIATION OF GERD

In this chapter, the author will divide the subchapter into three subchapters, the first subchapter will explain the decision-maker in the case of renegotiation and what the ministry is doing decision-maker in the GERD case, the second subchapter explain domestic politics after the GERD agreement in 2015 which make Sudan doing renegotiation, the last subchapter explains about the economy and military condition in Sudan which Sudan need to renegotiate again with Ethiopia and Egypt.

2.1 Sudan as the Decision Maker in GERD Renegotiation

According to Coplin, decision-makers are actors who use the human model as a rational problem-solver to view and analyze the intellectual processes associated with foreign policymaking, in which the human model is primarily determined through several assumptions. Coplin said that there are five factors that create opportunities for rational decision-making. The five factors are: (1) he are aware that they are making decisions and does not act on necessity; (2) he is aware of the underlying goals; (3) these goals do not conflict with hierarchical interests; (4) he explores all alternatives that arise from applying his goals to the desired situation; (5) he is aware of the need to accumulate as much information as possible which is not only information about the field, but also information about the ambitions of decision-makers in that pitch (Coplin p 39 2003).

In the case of GERD renegotiation, Sudan deployed two Ministers who have the capability and responsibility in making decisions, namely the Minister of Irrigation Yasser Abbas and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mariam Al Sadig Al Mahdi, these two Ministers are very active in responding to these GERD issues, where the two Ministers are the ones who want renegotiation, with the Minister of irrigation who carried out and invited Ethiopia to renegotiate began when Ethiopia on 25 February 2021 wanted to immediately fill the second dam either by agreement or not (Al Jazeera 2021). It would be risky The Minister of irrigation of Sudan responded to this, Sudan's Irrigation Minister Yasser Abbas said that Khartoum would bear heavy losses if Ethiopia insists on doing a second filling in the GERD without reaching an agreement plus if it does a second filling, then Sudan will experience heavy flooding (Economist Intelligence 2021).

Judging from Coplin's five factors about the human model that can make decisions, it is very appropriate from the five factors mentioned by Coplin the author sees the suitability of the five assumptions of the Minister of Irrigation and the Minister of Foreign Affairs where they are aware of renegotiating and are aware of motivating goals such as The Minister of Irrigation fears flooding from the filling of the second dam and Sudan's drought in the dry season, These goals do not conflict with the interests of the Sudanese state.

First, the actor is aware that they are making decisions (Coplin p 39 2003). This is reinforced by the filling of the second dam in the GERD by Ethiopia on February 25, 2021, to fill the water dam (Amin 2021). The report of the National Council for Combating Desertification (NCCD) said that Sudan is at high risk of drought which makes Sudan can fail crops continuously. In this case, The Minister

of Irrigation is aware of that issue from the news and sees the report from (NCCD) make the Minister of Irrigation take the action, and one of the ministers delegated by the president to problem-solving of GERD issue. The President does not take the role because the transitional government was still politically unstable because of the coup of previous President Omar Al Bashir (Analytica 2021).

Second, the actor is aware of the underlying goals (Coplin p 39 2003). In this case, the actor from Sudan are aware of the underlying goals, namely drought and preventing flooding. Ministry of Irrigation Yasser Abbas said that “the drought and flood in Sudan affect the economic sector and this issue is important to do renegotiation because the people of Sudan the main economic production is agriculture if did not renegotiation this economic sector are in hard time” (Amin 2021). This shows that drought and flood in Sudan were the decision-makers underlying goals.

Thirdly, the goals are not against the hierarchical (Coplin p 39 2003), where the goals of decision-makers in Sudan are to fulfil hierarchical goals, there are two where are psychology and safety needs to fulfil the decision-makers to not against the hierarchical (Iskandar 2018). in this case, it is about the need for water as the hierarchical goal. This is not against the hierarchical goals because the water in Sudan is really vital for daily needs like bath, and drinking. The goals are relevant with the psychology and safety needs which psychology is people can drink, eat and have a home and for the safety needs is the people are not afraid of the disaster, terrorism with those needs to fulfil in fact people in Sudan are hard to drink and eat because in Sudan facing drought and infinitesimal water and this affects to psychological needs and safety needs.

Four, the actor explore all alternatives to achieve their goals (Coplin p 39 2003). In this case, Sudan explores all alternatives to achieve its goal of renegotiating with Ethiopia. The first alternative is the Minister of Irrigation asking the Minister of Foreign Affairs abroad to ask for international assistance to reach renegotiation. The second alternative is the Minister of foreign asked AU to be the main facilitator in renegotiation to solve the deadlock renegotiation between Egypt and Ethiopia of GERD negotiation before (Al-Masry Al-Youm 2020), and third alternative Minister of foreign affairs asked the US and UN to help the deadlock and to push Ethiopia to do renegotiation (Egypt Independent 2021).

Lastly, the actor must collect much information not only about the field but also the ambitions of the actor themselves (Coplin p 39 2003). From this case, the decision-makers Minister of Irrigation and Minister of Foreign Affairs collected information about drought and flood danger if the filling of the GERD suddenly was carried out without an agreement by Ethiopia. For the drought problem, the Minister of Irrigation received a report from the NCCD which reported that Sudan desperately needed water from the GERD to deal with drought and crop failure. The ambition of the Minister of Irrigation is to invite international organizations to assist in the renegotiation, the Minister of Irrigation cooperates with the Minister of Foreign Affairs for diplomacy with international organizations and gaining political power from other countries (National Council for Combating Desertification 2018).

2.2 Domestic Politics Sudan after GERD Agreement 2015

Domestic politics is dominated by many things in his book, but the author sees indispensable criteria in this research. There are two very relevant domestic

politics from Coplin in his book, and the, first is the interests that influence, usually, economic ones that motivate but also can be non-economic such as geographical or Environment issues (Coplin p 87 2003)

Second is, the influencing mass contains public opinion in newspapers, radio, television, usually because people are experiencing difficulties so that they make an opinion against their government and of course influence decision-makers in the country to provide a solution and this public opinion will be censored like hate speech against a country or hate their own country giving negative comments will undoubtedly be censored by countries that do not adhere to a democratic system, However, for countries that are democratic or open, there will be more opinions through the mass media (Coplin p 87 2003).

Third, is a partisan influencer, this influencer has a role to deliver the people in the country complain to the government, Partisan influencers can be viewed as the two-directional formation and influencing the channels between stakeholders' official decisions and members of the public. In addition to more focusing on the issue of policy formation in the country. These influencers are also trying to influence foreign policy (Coplin p 87 2003).

From Coplin's statement of domestic politics, the author sees relevance with domestic politics in Sudan, which leads to the international context. Coplin said that domestic politics occurs because of interests that influence not only economic but also environmental problems that affect the domestic politics (Coplin p 87 2003). The report National Council for Combatting Desertification show that since the 2015 GERD agreement, Sudan has tried to overcome drought in his country and significantly save cubic water for agriculture with the 18.5 million cubic waters,

despite that the field is different which is those cubic water from GERD still does not cover 60-70% arid and semi-arid areas in Sudan. It causes a minimum of water resources to fulfil daily needs, and the arid and semi-arid areas make Sudan is very susceptible to flood because the heavy rain makes Sudan flood quickly because there is no vegetation and arid areas that not absorb rainwater properly (National Council for Combating Desertification 2018).

Moreover, many Sudanese people complain about flooding in 2020 in the YouTube channel, namely Al Jazeera, because the country is barren and arid, which makes it easy to flood because the arid land cannot absorb water optimally (Al Jazeera English 2020). The issue of Ethiopia wanting to fill the second dam will certainly make Sudan drown because Sudan has experienced flooding, especially with the addition of the dam filling where excessive water discharge in the GERD enters Sudan, with the drought problem and the mass of people complain about the drought in Sudan affect the domestic political problem made decision-makers to carry out renegotiations. Furthermore, failing crops in Sudan make the farmer not benefit because of poor irrigation and rainwater that flood and damage the crop, so it makes fail crop in Sudan. Hence, the people of Sudan complain about it making the masses influence (Dabanga 2019).

From the data, the author found the non-economic domestic problem in Sudan is environmental, caused by the fact that 60-70% of arid and semi-arid areas in Sudan are not covered by water. The lack of resources to fulfil daily needs such as sanitation, hygiene and health are in poor condition in Sudan. In addition, the arid and semi-arid conditions make Sudan prone to flood, which makes the people struggle to fulfil their daily needs like water and food. This is relevant with Coplin's

said, that the interest that influences decision-makers is not only an economic issue but also a non-economic such as Environment issue (Coplin p 87 2003).

Coplin also stated how public opinion is influencing the decision-maker (Coplin p 87 2003, 87). Based on the data, the people of Sudan complained to the government because the country is too arid and makes the land quickly flood, which makes it challenging to harvest. The rainwater can cause a flood, with the water filling from Ethiopia will make Sudan drown, therefore this public opinion influences Sudan's government decision to renegotiate. Also, with the mass public opinion it heard by the party in Sudan which is Sudan' Democratic Unionist Party (DUP).

In addition, its relevance as Coplin said with the partisan influencer has a role to deliver the people complain to the government and influence the decision-maker also influence the foreign policy (Coplin p 87 2003). Partisan influencer, Sudan's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) said Sudan is more focusing and be more concerned about the latest development of the controversial Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. In a statement, DUP noted that Sudan right now facing great drought and floods. It makes the people in Sudan complain about the problem because it makes agriculture is hard to live and cannot be harvested, moreover the flood causes people in Sudan to die. The DUP does not stay silent and deliver the people complain to the government and influence the decision-maker which advises the decision-maker that Sudan will be seriously affected if any harm happened to the dam after its operation one of them is drought. The drought problem, makes people in Sudan cannot harvest agriculture because of lack of water, and also with the easily flood in Sudan is a serious threat. Moreover, the flood from Sudan itself

is more dangerous in Sudan with Ethiopia filling the second dam making Sudan drown. Also, DUP proposes the transitional government consult all parties and experts to push Ethiopia's renegotiation (MENA 2020).

2.3 Economy and Military Condition after GERD Agreement 2015

In the economic section and military conditions, in the economic section, developing countries have two essentials' characteristics, (1) low Gross Net Production (GNP) per capita and specialization is the production of raw materials and agricultural products, (2) an economy that depends on other countries. In terms of manufactured products, capital, and markets, on the contrary, developed countries have high GNP and become economic centres of other countries (Coplin p 126 2003).

On the military side, the military is a tool to maintain stability and maintain state sovereignty if, the state experiences internal conflict and threatens the regime, using the military is very important to defend the regime, but if it has too much military power it will become a threat to the regime. Citizens or their regime (Coplin p 129 2003).

2.3.1 Economy Condition

From the macrotrends, GNP data showed that Sudan was the highest peak of economy in 2012 and started decreasing in 2015, surprisingly that in 2018 when the coup d'état started until the last GNP known in 2020 Sudan GNP, the growth rate was extremely downward and leads to economic crisis (Macrotrends 2021). That downward GNP makes Sudan economy rank is 159 of 167 in the world it, impacts badly the four pillars, which are personal freedom, governance,

infrastructure & market access, and economic quality (Legatum Prosperity Index 2021). Furthermore, that rank from macro trends makes Sudan economic sector depend on middle east countries like Egypt, an international organization like the Arab league which Sudan had a close relationship with the Arab countries, and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) for doing trade and goods (Global Edge 2022).

After the 2015 GERD agreement, the Sudanese economy experienced a downward in the production of raw and agricultural materials such as cotton as its primary commodities due to drought and lack of irrigation water so that Sudan experienced difficulties in reviving its economy plus the coup against the dictatorial leader in 2019 to overthrow the regime of Omar al-Bashir at that time. Sudan exploded in an economic crisis in 2018 where the government implemented economic reforms to reduce the national debt worth billions, as well as inflation rates, primary commodity prices, cash, fuel, food, of course, the economic crisis caused civil unrest, and the government limited people to purchase daily needs (IOM 2020).

After the coup, Sudan experienced many things, namely the failure of crops due to the drought in Sudan, which was very difficult to overcome because the country was very often flooded also the difficulty of access to water and the lack of irrigation to the agricultural sector made it difficult for the Sudanese population to garden and developed the agricultural sector, and many farmers complained to the government, 80% of the crop failed in 2019. Because the crop failure was due to the irrigation system that did not generate water, and the lack of water Fields (Dabanga 2019). It is because of this long-term economic instability that Sudan is

vulnerable and investment is limited in infrastructure, which is already bad as the previous leadership focused only on the military makes services to the people are limited and not concerned by government (IOM 2020).

Seeing from two characteristics, as Coplin said (1) low Gross Net Production (GNP) per capita and specialization is the production of raw materials and agricultural products, (2) an economy that depends on other countries (Coplin p 126 2003). The data that the author found which, for the first point GNP Sudan were 159 of 167 in the world and Sudan is one of the countries that produce the raw materials and agricultural products such as cotton, oily seeds, and farm animals. Second, Sudan also depends on the economic relations with the Arab league countries, Egypt and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) for doing trade and goods.

2.3.2 Military Condition

If the state experiences internal conflict and threatens the regime, using the military is very important to defend the regime, However, if it has too much military power, it will become a threat to the regime's citizens or their regime (Coplin p 129 2003). As Coplin said that very relevant in the military condition in Sudan which, Sudanese military during the Omar Al Bashir regime, of course, the military power was so immense that it threatened the Sudanese citizens who were hard with economic reforms and food restrictions, of course, inviting the anger of civilians and becoming an act of coup d'état by civilians, and ending with the government of a transitional military council to fill the post-coup political vacuum.

The transnational military council in Sudan, make Sudan political power is unstable even though is need to fill the chair of politic and the transnational military

council has objective that Sudan will be democratic not dictatorship like in Omar al Bashir era, despite that Sudan had a close relationship with Egypt military relations, which can push Ethiopia to talk about GERD and the Arab League which can do renegotiation with Ethiopia (Mashamoun 2020), even the political unstable in Sudan at least getting more cubic water from GERD will solve the drought problem in Sudan. Experiencing a food and economic crisis, Sudan needs help from other countries such as the Arab League, to help Sudan from malnutrition on December 21, 2021, at least decrease the hunger in Sudan (Arab News 2021). The condition of the Sudanese military after the coup was that they formed a transitional military council which was helpful in for calling for further severance with the previous regime at the request of civilians and this with the main priority of peace and the economy so that the condition of the state of Sudan is a transition from a dictatorship to more democracy (IOM 2020).

This chapter has discussed three aspects of decision-making. First, the reason of Minister of irrigation Yasser Abbas and Minister of Foreign affairs Mariam Al Sadig Al Mahdi delegate being decision-makers for the renegotiation. Second, the domestic politics in Sudan discuss the non-economic interest, which is the environmental issues as the main interest and public opinion from Sudanese people who complained about drought and flood in Sudan leads to the emergence of renegotiation. Third, the economy and military condition Sudan is dependent on the Arab League, (COMESA), which also has a close relationship with Egypt. Military condition is unstable and creates a transnational military council to fill political chair after coup de etat. The next chapter will discuss Sudan's foreign

policy action, which leads to the international context and the result of renegotiation.



CHAPTER III

FOREIGN POLICY ACTION AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT IN THE RENEGOTIATION OF GERD

3.1. Foreign Policy Action of Sudan in Renegotiation

Coplin stated that the actions of a country's foreign policy could be seen from geographical, economic, and military factors (Coplin p 184-185 2003). The factors can be seen below:

1. Geography is vital in an international context which includes military, trade, alliance, members in united nations.
2. Economic interdependence is the support to decide on foreign policy action.
3. Relationship politics with the alliance and common interest is an integral part of the international context country.

Seeing the previous agreement, that Egypt got 55 cubic waters, Sudan got 18.5, and Ethiopia did not get any. This is very unfair for Ethiopia because it does not get it at all even though GERD was built for Ethiopia. Moreover, Ethiopia fill the second dam to flow through its own country (Kompas 2020). It makes Sudan's decision-maker start a foreign policy action which Yasser Abbas ask Al Mahdi as Minister of foreign affairs start to lobby other countries and organizations to push

Ethiopia's renegotiation to solve the cubic water problem (Economist Intelligence 2021).

On the other hand, Sudan's proposal for mediation with the quadripartite will be held under the support of Felix Tshisekedi, president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo as chairman of the African Union. Sudan did not stay silent and invited the African Union, Sudan gathered political forces such as the US, the United Nations, the World Bank, and the European Union to overcome the GERD deadlock. On the other hand, Ethiopia refused to mediate with America because America has signed cooperation with Egypt and the World Bank and worried that America would support Egypt and the distribution of water debit will fully be regulated by America (Economist Intelligence 2021).

Sudan sees failure in renegotiation because Ethiopia does not want to negotiate with America, which Sudan is confused about because it will face a potential threat of not operating the Roseires dam in Sudan if Ethiopia fills the dam a second time, there will be flooding from the Roseires dam. Sudanese Foreign Minister Mariam Al Sadig Al Mahdi took diplomatic steps to build political power and geography support on a tour of West Africa such as Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, and Ghana not only that he also diplomacy with other African countries including Uganda and South Sudan it aims to improve relations with African countries, not only African countries, Middle Eastern countries were also visited including Egypt, United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia along with the ambassadors of Morocco, Mauritania, and Turkey regarding the Sudan issue with the GERD dam. Apart from aiming to strengthen ties with African and Middle Eastern countries. Al Mahdi

mustered political power to pressure Ethiopia on the Unilateral filling of the second dam.

However, these various mediations persuaded Ethiopia, on April 10, 2021, Ethiopia gave a proposal to Egypt and Sudan to operate GERD and provide data exchange before filling out GERD in the upcoming rainy season. Unfortunately, Egypt and Sudan rejected the proposal as both countries seek a legally valid agreement to operate the dam and share the water. Minister of Irrigation Minister Yasser Abbas said that "it is very crucial the exchange of information is an essential procedure but with the offer from Ethiopia it becomes a little suspicious in dealing with what has been agreed previously and the fear that if the proposal is approved, Ethiopia can fully control GERD cubic water" (Reuters 2021).

The desire of Ethiopia, which did not want America in mediation, and Sudan finally persuaded the African Union to become the primary mediator, AU involvement in the GERD dispute is triggered by the bold move of the South African President Cyril Ramaphosa, which involved AU as the leading facilitator and also the result of Sudan diplomacy. The AU also assigned four African technical experts to solve the problem. On 21 July 2020, the AU experts presented a report with the three negotiating countries in which the AU urged the negotiating parties to immediately accelerate the finalization of a binding agreement on the filling and operation of the GERD, but on the other hand, negotiations led by the AU is still far from perfect and has limited capabilities in finding hydrologists, experts in international water law so that these experts are still tough to find in Africa, so the AU needs a robust legal framework in ratifying the treaty. Between Sudan, Ethiopia, and Egypt (ISSAfrica.org 2020).

Sudan asked for help from the economic partner Arab League to help resolve the problems in the GERD. Unfortunately, the mediation with the Arab League has been rejected by Ethiopia for no reason. Sudan then asked the close relationship with Egypt ambassador Maged Abdel Fattah to lobby the UN council and ask for mediation with Ethiopia. Although previously Ethiopia rejected calls from Sudan to involve other mediators from outside the African Union. On the other hand, Sudan said that this agreement needed to carry out and the African Union needed outside assistance to overcome the deadlock in negotiations so Sudan and Egypt agreed to ask for help from outside Africa (“Sudan Wants UN Security Council to Discuss Ethiopia’s Nile Dam” n.d.). Seeing the minimal capabilities of the AU, the Sudanese Foreign Minister finally carried out diplomacy with America to help carry out the GERD mediation, where America had played an important role in mediation. Sudan also proposed a quartet proposal to get more excellent political support and America agreed to the proposal from Sudan. (Egypt Independent 2021). With Sudan making the quartet's proposal favored by international players such as the US, EU, The United Nations, it will allow them to use the three disputing parties and also as assistance in the limited capability of the AU, even though the United States is willing to mediate because the United Nations sees and asked that only the United States handle it and the United Nations would oversee the re-negotiation, although at first America was very optimistic that the GERD problem could resolve through the African Union alone. US State Department regional spokesman Samuel Warburg said that the United States believes the African Union is the most appropriate agency to deal with the GERD crisis, however, the United States continues to encourage Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan to conclude negotiations

without the US or UN security council countries to intervene. insisting on a solution as well as America is ready to provide assistance to restore the course of the negotiations, Warburg said "we do not want the GERD negotiations to proceed without results and there must be a common ground on the framework of negotiations led by the African Union". He added that no country should participate in a special framework for the GERD negotiations, this is certainly in accordance with the wishes of Ethiopia, which does not want interference from the United States, the United Nations, and others. Even though US is ready to help if there is any deadlock of the reach the agreement, and with the Ethiopia does not want to interference by the country outside Africa, US anytime ready to be supervisor in the GERD agreement (Al-Masry Al-Youm 2021)

At least Ethiopia accepts the presence of the US because with the change of presidency era, Ethiopia is more believe with the new president, even though with the presence of US Ethiopia want to US to be supervisor and give advice, the main affiliator is still Africa Union. Even so, Ethiopia accepted the mediation because it saw the Biden government, which was much fairer than the Trump administration, which was too supportive of Egypt, unlike Trump, who is close to Egypt and proposes to destroy the GERD. Of course, this is very bad and makes Ethiopia hate Trump (ISSAfrica.org 2021).

Ethiopia saw Biden more able to help his country with the help of funds that were previously held by Trump, on the other hand, Ethiopia accepted America as a mediator due to the existence of The change of president from America, was previously under Trump presidency and now changed to Biden, of course, Biden is far more neutral in this mediation and also ordered the United States Central

Command General Kenneth McKenzie to seriousness and concern in the development of this GERD process (Maher 2021).

The data explained is relevant to Coplin's statement. First, geography is essential in an international context which includes military, trade, alliance, a member of the United Nations (Coplin p 184-185 2003). In this first statement, Sudan has a military and trade with Egypt, Arab countries, and form an alliance with COMESA and Arab League, also being a member of the United Nations. With those alliances and relations made Sudan have geography support with the UN, Egypt, Arab country, African country and COMESA, with the deadlock of GERD Sudan get help from Arab countries, Egypt and also get help from the UN to solve the deadlock GERD renegotiation.

Second, as Coplin stated, economic interdependence is the support to decide on foreign policy action (Coplin p 184-185 2003). Sudan ranks in 159 of 167 countries as a fragile economic condition country and relies on Egypt and Arab countries. Also, COMESA for economic trade, with the economic interdependence is created support with the countries whom dependent. Egypt fully supports Sudan do renegotiation with Ethiopia for the equitability of cubic water because Ethiopia is hard to do renegotiation, Arab countries are also helping Sudan to do renegotiation with the UN help and convincing UN to start renegotiation.

Third, as Coplin stated, relationship politics with the alliance and common interest is an integral part of the international context country (Coplin p 184-185 2003). Sudan has a close relationship with Egypt in the military and economics. Also, Egypt has the same common interest as Sudan to solve the drought. With the close relationship with the Arab league, Sudan got access to convincing the UN to

start renegotiation even though the UN handover to the US to do renegotiation. In addition, Sudan is also gaining political power with west Africa and COMESA, which makes it capable of renegotiating with the AU as the primary mediator with the close relationship with Congo. Sudan gets help from Congo to lead the AU and the chairman is from Congo from South Africa.

3.2 International Context of GERD in 2021

Coplin stated the international context is a result of foreign policy actions of all countries- in the past, now, and in the future which is to be anticipated (Coplin p 184-185 2003). The AU-led process on the renegotiation of GERD in 2021, started by the first meeting of the head of state and government in each country, on April 21th, 2021. The meeting was chaired by President Ramaphosa of South Africa, as the chairperson of the African Union. This bureau urged the three parties to reach an acceptable solution to technical and legal issues (Security Council 2021).

The renegotiation consists of an agreement between three countries. The first is Sudan proposes that if the average Flow at the GERD over the preceding hydrological years which Sudan needs around 38 BCM- 40 BCM to cover arid and semi-arid areas in Sudan this do to mitigation prolonged period of dry years. Second, Sudan does not need more cubic water, but the water flows is must be agreed upon by Ethiopia. The future development of the project and to water-sharing agreements, also the dispute resolution mechanism. While the outstanding technical issue is the water stored in the Roseries dam, this dam is water flowing directly to the irrigation in Sudan, which is to maintain to prevent dry years both during filling and long-term operation to GERD refilling (Security Council 2021).

Sudan also did not press Ethiopia to give Sudan more cubic water in renegotiation, and Sudan still got 18.4 cubic water in the Nile agreement 1959. In addition, Sudan also proposed that Ethiopia not move the GERD water to less than 200 Mm³/day. However, Sudan also has the right to move 250 MCM/day. This proposed by Sudan to not their countries are getting flood because of a lot of water flow from GERD (Security Council 2021).

Ethiopia stated that GERD would benefit Sudan because of the uplift energy of powers stations at Rosaries, Sennar, and Merowe dams in Sudan. On the other hand, not only give electricity to Sudan but also give Sudan to prevents extreme climate change, which includes flooding and drought. Sudan and Egypt also can regulate water flow that can manage water for irrigation. Ethiopia sees that GERD is more to the electricity for their people who need 4225 MW and when GERD is complete, it can be 5150 MW, and for the cubic water Ethiopia need 18,4 BCM for their people because Ethiopia is not arid than Sudan, so it does not need more water than Sudan. Ethiopia in renegotiation also asks that GERD is part of Ethiopia, not part of Sudan and Egypt, Ethiopia has the right to build and utilize the GERD for their country (Security Council 2021).

Egypt, on 11 June 2021, cooperates with Ethiopia to make precise filling and operation of GERD. Egypt means that the filling should, under certain circumstances of the Blue Nile and Ethiopia must give water to Egypt from wet years until dry years. Similarly, the operating must rule by the three countries with Sudan, Egypt, and Ethiopia (UN Security Council Egypt 2021). For cubic water-sharing, Egypt agreed to decrease the cubic water from GERD, which lost around

50 BCM in the high Aswan dam. Also, Egypt had lost around 6,5 – 15 BCM in the filling water of GERD at the first (UN Security Council Egypt 2021).

Egypt also makes an agreement with Ethiopia that has three mitigations for Egypt the mitigation is: The first is Single year drought: if in one year's Nile River hydrology flow few than 37 BCM, the GERD must give more water to Egypt, based on the historical record of the Nile River flows (1900- 2019), this condition. Second, Prolonged drought: if prolonged drought continuously a few than four years and the Nile River does not flow around 39 BCM, GERD must give water to Egypt reservoir in four years as long as prolonged drought, based on the historical record of the Nile River flows, this condition (a four-year moving average of 39BCM) has a probability of phenomenon only 5%. Third, the Prolonged period of dry years, if in 5 year period the Nile river few than 40 BCM, GERD should give a certain percentage into Egypt reservoir in at least five years period, based on the historical record of the Nile River flows (UN Security Council Egypt 2021).

In renegotiation US also kept promises to Ethiopia in the Trump era presidency, the US not give aid to Ethiopia and hold the funding, now in Biden presidency era the US gave funding to Ethiopia is \$8.6 million from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID 2021). With the funding from the US is making quickly Ethiopia pressed to renegotiation with Egypt and Sudan. Furthermore, Ethiopia did not many alibis to Egypt, Sudan also the US because at first Ethiopia hated the US withholding funding also support Egypt at much and also wanted to destroy GERD in the Trump era.

The data explained above is relevant to the Coplin statement. Coplin stated the international context is a result of foreign policy actions of all countries- in the past, now, and in the future which is to be anticipated (Coplin p 184-185 2003). The data above that renegotiation in 2021 the outcome is seen by the evidence in the past, now and in the future. Sudan has had problems in the past, which in the same boat with Egypt the drought problem and need water to solve it, and Ethiopia need GERD to solve the electricity in their country.

In the present, the outcome of the renegotiation is to give a win-win solution for all countries which is Sudan get water addition water around 200 mm³/day also has the right to control GERD to move the cubic water to their countries around 250 MCM/day for their countries to cover arid and semi-arid area. Egypt in the present maybe has loss at first in cubic water and also decreasing the cubic water in the previous agreement which Egypt agree loss around 50 BCM at first, despite that Egypt agrees for the future term that agreed by Ethiopia, Ethiopia gets right to use the GERD, and the development of GERD successfully for their country which is for electricity needs also give the GERD water to Roseries dam in Sudan and High Aswan dam in Egypt. On the other hand, Ethiopia gets aid funding by USAID the funding aid before is denied by the US in the Trump era it makes Ethiopia the first to hate the US also did not want to renegotiation if there is the US and at the last US in Biden era give funding to Ethiopia as the US promised before.

For the future which is anticipated is the mitigation water from Egypt for water needs for single-year drought, prolonged drought, and the Prolonged period of dry years. Sudan can maintain vegetation from water flows around 38-40 BCM from GERD however, the mitigation is the same as Egypt. The difference is that

Egypt gives more detail and requirement for Ethiopia in each mitigation despite that Sudan just need 38- 40 BCM for a prolonged period of dry years. Ethiopia also has the right to continue developing GERD, and Ethiopia can build more electricity stations for their countries.



CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

4.1 Conclusion

The drought problem in Sudan is has been long, and the government is concerned about the drought and take action from the people of Sudan complained about failed crops and floods which leads economic crisis. The drought problem makes the people of Sudan are suffering from agriculture, hygiene also daily needs such as drinking, bath, cooking. However, in 2011, Ethiopia started to make the largest dam in Africa, namely the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) the dam is built to achieve electricity in Ethiopia, despite that Sudan and Egypt see GERD is built in their areas and also use Nile River water to electricity Ethiopia countries.

The GERD gives political tension to three countries. Sudan and Egypt see Ethiopia as unrespect entirely for them because Ethiopia built GERD was not with permission or negotiation with Sudan and Egypt. In 2015 the negotiation started when the GERD is in 70% of development and the result was not beneficial for Sudan and Ethiopia because in 2015 negotiation Egypt hold the needed more cubic waters, and did not want to share with Ethiopia, in another hand, Sudan agreed with the 18.4 billion cubic water in the negotiation, also Sudan sees GERD water is not too need by Sudan because in 2015 Sudan country is well maintain and in the high

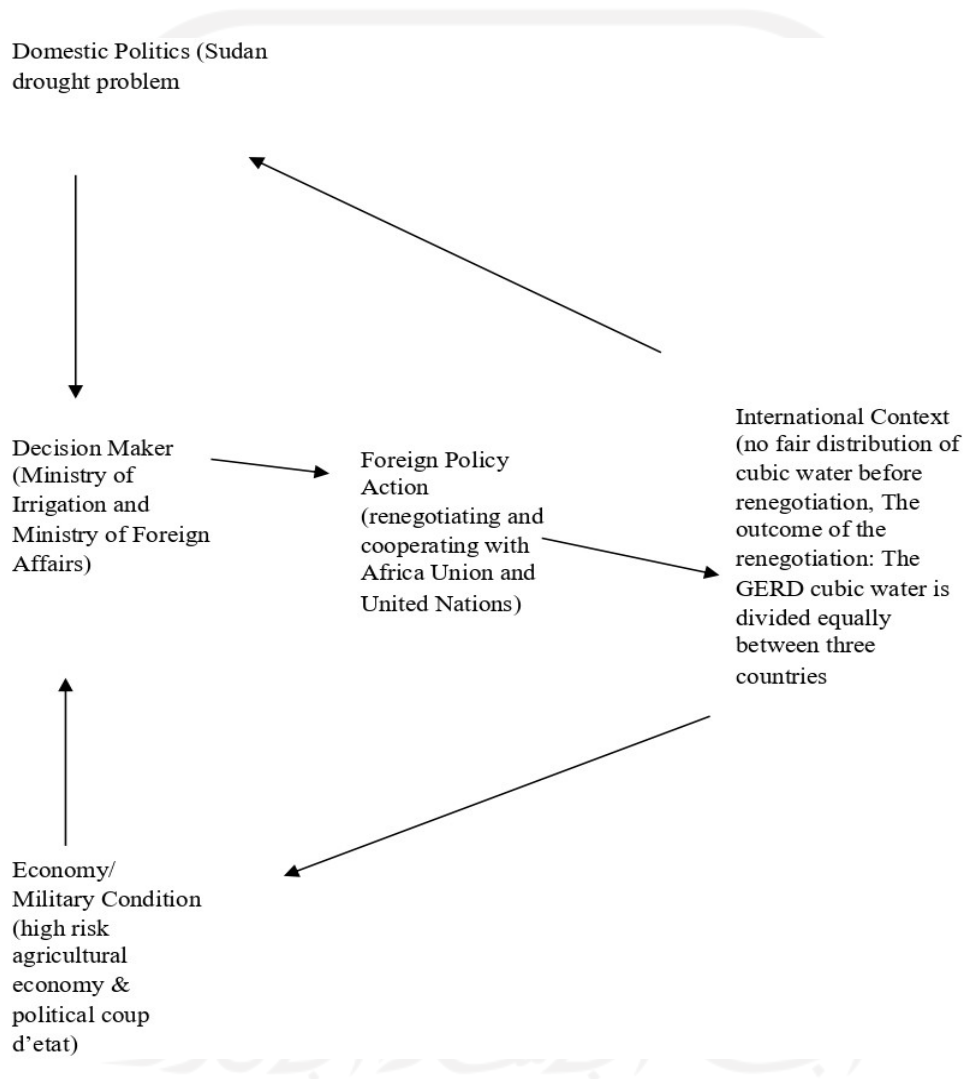
time economic growth also maintained water very well for irrigation and agriculture.

In 2019 Sudan sparked the conflict, which made President Omar Al Bashir is coup d'état by their people. With the post-revolution, the domestic, economic, and military conditions in Sudan are in a hard time also the agriculture in Sudan is failing crop. Sudan starts a crisis economy and needs the Arab league, COMESA, and Egypt to help Sudan's needs. In addition, with the first filling GERD by Ethiopia, it makes Sudan gets flooded and people are suffered from the flood because the crop is drowning, then Sudan sees GERD can help their countries. Furthermore, Sudan is in the dry years, which it needs more water to fulfil the arid and semi-arid areas is that not covered. That is why after the conflict coup d'état of Omar Al Bashir Sudan see GERD as something essential to help the countries at least solve the drought because Sudan if the drought problem let alone, it can make Sudan be a fail state and Sudan is not want to be it, and also with the flood problem in their countries make people confuse because the countries are well drought even if there is rainwater it can make their countries easily to flood because of the soil is easily absorb the water and lack of vegetation. Moreover, the second filling dam is a great threat to Sudan countries because if the second filling does not reach the legal agreement and not the right cubic water it can make Sudan is drowned because of cubic water that flows in Sudan.

After all the chaos from domestic until economy and military, Sudan starts to think to do renegotiation with Egypt and Ethiopia about GERD water-sharing cubic. In this research, the author explains Sudan's Decision Making in Renegotiation of GERD in 2018-2021 using Coplin's decision-making process

theory to answer the research question “Why did the Sudan government decide to renegotiate the terms of cubic water with Ethiopia and Egypt in GERD?”.

Figure 3. Analysis of Sudan’s Renegotiation of GERD using The Foreign Policy Decision Making Process by William D. Coplin (2003)



This research has discussed and analyzed Sudan's Decision Making in the Renegotiation of GERD in 2018-2021 to solve the drought (Coplin p 30 2003). With the decision-making theory by Coplin, it can be seen that Sudan is doing decision-making because of domestic politics, Economy, and military conditions,

which leads to foreign policy action. The renegotiation can be effective. After all, Sudan does diplomacy with the Arab League, UN, Egypt to renegotiation because Sudan starts to renegotiate the terms of cubic water with Egypt and Ethiopia because Sudan in dry years also the countries is in the post of revolution, which makes Sudan need water to solve the drought.

In the renegotiation, all country is a win-win solution with Ethiopia giving Sudan additional water every day and getting much water when prolonged drought for mitigation and same with Egypt. With the agreement between Sudan, Egypt, and Ethiopia, Egypt make an agreement with Sudan to the Ethiopia which in mitigation of dry year season, prolonged dry year until the prolonged period of dry years is Ethiopia must give Egypt water in each three mitigation of dry years and must accept it, meanwhile, Sudan in the three mitigation just need 38 cubic water. On the other hand, Ethiopia can develop the GERD for electricity and can utilize the GERD for their countries from the present until the future.

4.2 Recommendation

Based on the results of research on “Sudan's Decision Making in the Renegotiation of GERD in 2018-2021”, this thesis has answered the question of “Why did the Sudan government decide to renegotiate the terms of cubic water with Ethiopia and Egypt in GERD” seeing the indication in the previous chapter with the complexity of the conflict in Sudan, the author has one recommendation to continue the research on, including:

1. There needs to be further research on GERD negotiations during 2015-2018 and actions taken by countries involved such as Sudan, Ethiopia, and Egypt,

which is 2015 all countries are agreed in the term of the agreement despite that why they are silent like nothing happened. That is why the author needs an explanation about post negotiation GERD 2015.



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