

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA:
A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH SUDAN, 2005-2014

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN DIPLOMACY
OCTOBER, 2015

DECLARATION

I, Daniel Gatundu hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed..... Date.....

Daniel Gatundu

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University supervisor.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank God for His grace that enabled me to complete my project.

To all my classmates, thank you for your company, encouragement and motivation.

Special thanks to my supervisor Professor Maria Nzomo for insightful guidance during the study. I also thank all the respondents to my interview, without whom the study

would be incomplete. In addition, I acknowledge members of staff at IDIS, for their support accorded to me throughout the programme. Finally I thank, my Dad for his

inspiration and strong support in my education.

DEDICATION

To my wife Wangui and children; Gatundu, Wangari and Wothaya.

ABSTRACT

The study examined the root causes and factors behind internal conflicts in South Sudan, in the period between 2005 and 2014. The overall objective of the study was to examine the internal conflicts and foreign policy in Africa using the case study of South Sudan, 2005-2014. More specifically the study focus was to examine the factors that lead to internal conflicts in the South Sudan, determine the relationship between internal conflicts and foreign policy of South Sudan; analyze the conflict resolution approaches in South Sudan and explore the best conflict approaches in resolving conflict in South Sudan. The study made an attempt to establish the main causes of conflicts in South Sudan and relationship between internal conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan. The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect relevant information. The population, from which the sample was drawn from respondents based at the South Sudan embassy, residents in Kenya, interstate governmental officers, IGAD, AU, Students of international studies in Kenya, academicians and South Sudan businessmen. A sample of 75 respondents was obtained. The primary data collection involved a questionnaire, discussions with a few selected senior officers in South Sudan Embassy, and Non-Governmental organization officers residing in Nairobi, Kenya.

On the secondary data the study reviewed vast literature on the subject of study from both published and unpublished documents. The study established that, Land dispute, natural resources such as oil as the most significant cause of the conflict among the local communities living in South Sudan. This was followed by cattle rustling, tribal conflict, political supremacy, militias, foreign trade and unemployment. The study also established that internal conflicts in South Sudan had negatively affected her foreign policy. The study concluded that the conflicts resolution could only be achieved through using a peaceful approach which has been identified as the best instrument in creating a peaceful environment in the Republic of South Sudan.

ABBREVIATION

AACC	-	All Africa Conference of Churches
AU	-	African Union
CPA	-	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
FPA	-	Foreign Policy Analysis
GOS	-	Government of Sudan
GOSS	-	Government of Southern Sudan
IGAD	-	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGOs	-	International Governmental Organization
MoU	-	Memorandum of Understanding
NGOs	-	Non Governmental organizations
NIF	-	National Islamic Front
RSA	-	Republic of South Africa
OAU	-	Organization of African Unity
SP	-	Southern Policy
SPLM	-	Sudan people's Liberation Movement
S.S	-	South Sudan
S.S.L.M	-	South Sudan Liberation Movement
UN	-	United Nations
UNITA	-	The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
WCC	-	World Council of Churches

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Background to the study

Conflict refers to that situation where there are at least two entities between which there is a battle, fighting, struggle, tension, clash, controversy, or opposition because of differences in opinion, ideas or interests. The cause can also be attributed to competition for resources and power. The continent of Africa has had and continues to have a fair share of conflicts. It is needless to mention any specific countries because at one time or another each one of them has experienced intra-state or inter-state conflict. The intensity, however, may vary from country to country and from time to time. If any country has been spared conflict, they directly or indirectly have not escaped the conflict repercussions of neighboring countries; either they have been involved or been implicated in fueling the conflict, or they have served as hosts to those fleeing conflict. Distance from the conflict zone may not be an issue because peace – keeping forces sent to conflict areas are drawn from across the continent. Underlying many of the conflicts are political, economic and religious factors, interrelated, intertwined, or overlapping. It is hard to name, categorize or classify them.¹

To understand conflict in South Sudan, there is need for study to examine the historical background of Sudan, when it was still one country. The Republic of Sudan was the largest country in Africa before the secession of South Sudan. It has on the western shore of the Red Sea. It is bordered by Eritrea and Ethiopia to the East, Kenya, Uganda and

¹ Makumi Mwangi, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Process and institutions of Managements*. (Nairobi, CCR publications, 2006)

Democratic republic of Congo to the South, the Central African Republic, Chad and Libya to the west and Egypt to the north. ²

It is a complex country, with a population of nearly thirty million, inhabiting an area of about one million square miles. Arabic and Dinka were the two major languages, followed by fourteen minor languages divided into some 100 dialects of which nearly half were found within the Southern Sudan. This represents one third of the country's population, residing within a quarter of its territory, while more than half was spread throughout the remaining northern, three quarters of the country.³

The Republic of Sudan gained independence on 1st January 1956 becoming the first African territory administered by Britain to be granted independence after World War two. It was also the first country in post colonial era to be faced by civil conflict.⁴ In 1955, one year before Sudan achieved independence, the first Sudanese civil war started, with aims of achieving representation and more regional autonomy. For seventeen years, the Sudanese government fought the Anyanya rebel army. Former army Lieutenant General Joseph Lagu, gathered all the guerilla bands under his South Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM). This was the first time in the history of the war that the separatist movement had a unified command structure to fulfill the objectives of secession and the formation of an independent state in South Sudan. This first civil war known as Anyanya I war ended in 1972, through Addis Ababa Agreement which was signed by General

² P.M., Holt and M.W Daly, *A History of the Sudan, 5th ed*, (England: Pearson education Limited, 2000), p.202

³ R., Theiwall, 'Linguistic profile,' In R. Theiwall (ed) *Aspect of languages in the sudan*, (Coleraine: Coleraine Press, 1978).

⁴ J.H Douglas. *The root causes of Sudan's civil wars*, (Oxford: James Currey, 2003) p.21

Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri granting limited autonomy to the South.⁵ The second civil war took started in 1983, when president of Sudan Nimeiri declared all Sudan an Islamic state under Sheria Law, including the non-Islamic majority Southern region. The Southern Sudan autonomous region was abolished on 5th June 1983, ending the Addis Ababa Agreement. In response to this, the Sudan People's liberation Army/ movement (SPLA/M) was formed under the leadership of John Grang and second Sudanese Civil War erupted. Several factions which were armed by the government of Khartoum, with the most notable being the SPLA-Nassir in 1991 led by Riek Machar. Despite that opposition in 2002, the South Sudanese reunited, and in 2003 the SPLA/M and the Khartoum government agreed on a ceasefire that led to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreed in 2005. The signing of C.P.A marked the end of 22 years conflict between the North and the South. The comprehensive peace Agreement lasted until 2011, when South Sudan declared independence. From 9th to 15th January 2011 people from South Sudan voted on whether they should break way from Sudan and declare their independence.⁶ On 30th January 2011 the results were released and 98.83% of the population had voted for independence from Sudan.⁷ On 9th July, 2011, South Sudan became an independent country under the name of Republic of South Sudan.

⁵ Addis Ababa agreement, 1972, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Addis_Ababa_Agreement,(accessed May 28, 2015)

⁶ Fick, Maggie, "Over 99% in Southern Sudan vote for secession". USA Today associated Press 30 (January 2011) Retrieved 30 January 2015.

⁷ "South Sudan referendum: 99%, vote for independence". BBC News. 30th January 2011. Accessed on 11th November 2014

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

South Sudan's history of marginalization has produced a complex web of dynamics that often provoke conflict. There are different views on the causes that relate to all conflicts and historical methods of conflict mitigation and resolution in South Sudan. Negotiations of land, grazing and water rights that need to be shared have fallen foul to the manipulation of armed malevolence for personal gain.⁸ Homewood argues that, many people particularly in the villages are in possession of small arms. Thus, rule by respect for values and by the degree of those in authority have been replaced by the force of a gun, whether it is the judge, the chief, the parents or the police or woman.⁹ Foreign policy and implementation is arguably still in its infancy. However, this study considers a timely moment to analyse the nature of foreign policy framework that is guiding efforts at managing the conflict in the post independent South Sudan, the challenges faced and prospects for the future. In this context, study seeks to examine the internal conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan. It focuses on internal conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan in the period between 2005 and 2014 with an aim to determine the relationship between internal conflicts and foreign policy. The fundamental research question being investigated is what are the major causes of internal conflicts and their relationship with foreign policy in South Sudan.

⁸ K. Homewood, E. Coast, D.M, Thompson: *Immigrants and exclusion in East African Rangelands Access; Tenure and conflict*, Africa, vol 74 No. 4, p.499.

⁹ United Nations Sudan joint Assessment Mission Report, Vol. 111. *Cluster Reports*, March 18th, 2005.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The overall objective of this study is to assess the impact of foreign policy in managing internal conflict in Africa using the case study of South Sudan, 2005-2014.

Specific objectives of this study are:

- i) Examine the role of foreign policy in managing internal conflict in Africa.
- ii) Examine the internal conflict in South Sudan
- iii) Assess the role of foreign policy in managing internal conflicts in South Sudan,
- iv) Explore the best internal conflicts resolutions approaches in resolving conflicts in the South Sudan.

1.4 Literature review

It is now widely acknowledged that at the heart of most conflicts in contemporary Africa is the issue of state power and resources. The resource factor is built in African conflicts in various ways, including access, control, management and exploitation. Many of the violent conflicts in Africa, especially the civil wars, have been found to be only the outward manifestation of deep seated issues related to resources. The literature review comprises of the literature on conflict, foreign policy and conflict resolution approaches from individual, societal and state agencies level. The literature presents and critiqued or a general overview gathered on causes of conflicts, conflicts and foreign policy relationship, and conflict resolution approaches. Most of the contribution to the literature is based on the structural violence and structural conflict built on the work of J. Galtung.

Galtung considers structural violence to exist when the actual realization of human beings are below their potential realizations.¹⁰

Such a situation arises because of anomalous social, economic, political or legal structures. Curle has also made an important contribution to the intellectual tradition of structural violence by re-conceptualizing the traditional dichotomy between war and peace. He introduces the possibility that a society may be neither at war nor at peace.¹¹ Curle regards such situation as “Un Peaceful” in those human beings is impeded from achieving their full potential because of relations that exist in society. The debate on structural violence has also been considerably enriched by human needs perspectives much of which is built on the work of John Burton.¹²

Burton provides some insights into structural violence through the human needs theory. He argues that systems, no matter how coercive, but neglect human needs must generate protest behavior and conflict. Burton contends that there are certain ontological and genetic needs which will be pursued and that socialization process. If not compatible with such human needs will lead to frustrations and anti-social personal and group behavior.¹³

Mitchell argues that, a conflict arises when two or more parties have incomplete goals.¹⁴

Mwagiru states that in a simple conflict for example between two people, the incompatibility arises because they may both have different perceptions goals and ideas

¹⁰ J. Galtung, ‘Violence, peace and peace research.’ *Journal of peace research*, Vol. 3 (1969), pp 167-191

¹¹ A. Curle, *Making peace*, (London: Tavistock, publications 1971), p.31

¹² J. Burton, *Human Needs Theory*, (London: MacMillan, 1990), p.2

¹³ J. Burton, *Conflict Resolution and Prevention*, (London: MacMillan 1990), p. 32-48

¹⁴ C.R. Mitchell, *The structure of International conflict*, (London: MacMillan, 1998), p.15-25

about how to achieve them.¹⁵ Underlying that situation is a conflict of vision and often an inability or unwillingness to see the other person-point of view. He further eludes that conflict, is about values and interests which are negotiable and not susceptible to settlement.¹⁶

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff defines conflict as a condition that exists when one group of human beings, whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, social, economic or political is engaged in conscious oppositions to one or identifiable human groups because these groups are pursuing what are or appear to be incompatible goals. However, Zartmann too asserts that a conflict refers to the outbreak of armed hostilities between parties.¹⁷

Lund argues that once some levels of significant violence have begun, it is prone to escalate due to an interactive process of attack and retaliation which leads to a self-perpetuating, cycle.¹⁸ These conflicts begin and continue escalating because intervening variables facilitate the process. These variables are current on the behavior of actors and their interests. Mitchell similarly observes that conflict behavior itself can be an important influence in affecting conflict intensity if it involves high levels of violence, damage or loss of participants.¹⁹ Such behavior would involve an increase in the levels

¹⁵ M. Mwagiru, The international management of internal conflict in Africa: *The Uganda mediation 1985* (PhD dissertation, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1994), p.15

¹⁶ J.F Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, *Contending theories of International Relations*, (New York: Harper and Row publications, 1990), p. 182

¹⁷ I. Zartman, *Ripe for resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, (New York: Oxford university Press, 1985), p.8.

¹⁸ M.S. Lund, *Preventing Violent Conflicts: A strategy for Preventive Diplomacy*, (Washington: US Institute of Peace press, 1996) pp 133-134.

¹⁹ C. Mitchel, *The Structure of International Conflict*, Op. cit pp. 15-25

of anger, hatred, fear or desire for revenge on the part of those suffering damage. Overtime, behavior of the opposing party may appear sufficient reason for continuing and intensifying one's own conflict behavior often producing an analogous impact on the attitudes and subsequent behavior of the adversary.

Jabri notices that “war mood” takes hold when conflicts escalate.”²⁰ She argues that it is expected that once violent destruction of the enemy and his or her valued resources comes to define a relationship, then rules of the game change and behavior that is unacceptable during peacetime become legitimate during wartime. These acts include killing, torture, rape, mass expulsions, ethnic cleansing and creation of concentration camps. This position points out that conflict is not only instructive but it also leads to some form of gains to warring groups.

Azar argues that most useful unit of analysis in protracted social conflict situation is the identity of group, racial, religious, ethnic and cultural. In intrastate-conflicts, actors range from conventional armies to paramilitary units, local warlords, mercenary groups and even criminal gangs. This requires state level analysis to comprehend the groups in conflicts and their claims. The understanding gained from the analysis of actors would help identify issues to negotiate in the peace process. He also hypothesizes that the source of protracted conflict is the denial of those elements required in the development of all people and society, and whose pursuit is a compelling need. These are security, distinctive identity and effective participation in the process that determine conditions of security and identity and other such developmental requirements. According to him, the

²⁰ V. Jabri; *Discourses on Violence*, (Manchester: Manchester university Press, 1996), p. 6

real source of conflict is the denial of those human needs that are common to all and whose pursuit is an ontological drive in all.²¹

Sandole express conflict as multidimensional and identifies these dimensions as linked to decision making, societal and trans-societal aspects state as well as international levels analysis of man, state and war. He examined the role of variables located in different levels throughout the life-cycle of conflicts in which he divided into three successive periods; early stage, intermediate and the late stages of a conflict system development.²² These features must be understood when carrying out conflict mapping for appropriate responses. Further, he found that it is critical to differentiate between conflict as start up conditions and conflicts as process. The trend established that across the three stages of conflict system development of self stimulating or self perpetuating conflict processes, it is important in evaluating the relationship between different variables located at different levels, through the time. Therefore, different start up conditions can lead to the same process initiation, escalation and controlled responsiveness. This means at some point the conflict cycle and conflict itself may become the main source of its continuation and expansion.

Zartman further contends that one distinguishing factor of post cold war conflicts in Africa, is that, they are mainly within the states.²³ Many are as a result of long years of cultural, political, religious and ethnic marginalization and domination. While more

²¹ Ibid

²² D.J.D Sandole, *Capturing the complexity of conflict; dealing with violent ethnic conflict of the post cold war era*, (London and New York, Pinter, 1999), p.18

²³ Zartman, (ed) collapsed states: *The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995) p.36

interact conflicts in Africa occurred in the post cold war era than in any other major world region. The African continent is increasingly becoming marginalized in the United States and European foreign policies. As such Africa needs to develop a regional capacity to prevent, contain and resolve conflicts relying on its own capabilities.²⁴

Porto observes that resource based conflicts in Africa can be studied along the geographical bound areas of these conflicts. These would be categorized under different conflict systems. The most volatile conflict systems are the horn of Africa, and the Great Lakes region. A number of linkages are behind different conflicts in the Great Lakes Region and Horn of Africa in national, regional and international context, thus it is evident that conflicts originate from environmental resources that communities share. For instance, conflict between herders and farmers in the Awash valley in Ethiopia and in the Nile flood plain in the Equatorial provinces of Sudan have linkages to wider regional conflicts involving Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt.²⁵

Bannon and Collier observe that developing countries face substantially higher risks of violent conflict and poor governance if they are highly depended on primary commodities. They noted that, revenues from exploitation of natural resources have financed devastating conflicts in a large number of countries across regions.²⁶ They further noted that even where countries initially manage to avoid violent conflict, large events from natural resources can weaken state structures and make government less

²⁴ World military Expenditure, (Washington, D.C World priorities, 1993) p.20

²⁵ J.Gomes, Porto, *Contemporary Conflict Analysis in Perspective*,. pp 1-39 <https://www.Issaafrica.org/pub> Accessed on 7th, May 2015

²⁶ Ibid.

accountable, often leading to the emergence of secessionist rebellions and all out civil war. Natural resources are never the sole source of conflict and they do not make conflict inevitable, but the presence of abundant primary commodities, especially in low-income countries, exacerbates the risk of conflict and if conflict does break out, tends to prolong it and makes it harder to resolve.²⁷

Foreign policy

The literature review also focuses on foreign policy for understanding the relationship between conflict and foreign policy, in South Sudan, Rives and C.J Grew, defines foreign policy of a state as the substance of foreign relations.²⁸

Nicholson contended that foreign policy is based on the general conception of national requirements and diplomacy seeks by the use of reason to reconcile or conciliation and exchange of interests to prevent major conflicts from arising in sovereign states. It is the agency through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war. Thus when agreement becomes impossible, diplomacy which is the instrument of peace becomes in operative and foreign policy, the final sanction of which is war, alone becomes operative.²⁹

Rosati, defines foreign policy as the scope of involvement abroad and the collection of goals, strategies and instruments that are selected by government policy makers³⁰. Jose Calvet de Magalliaes views the concept of foreign policy as naturally opposed to the

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ J. Childs River and C., *Joseph Grew American Foreign Service*, (New York: Holt, 1948), p.p. 64-82

²⁹ N. Harold, *The congress of Vienna: A study in Allied unity, 1812-22*, (New York: Harcourt Harper Collins publishers) p.197.

³⁰ J.A. Rosati, *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*,(Harcourt; Brace College Publishers,1990), p.1

concept of internal policy, (domestic policy) and, in this sense it refers to the activity of a state in the external domain that is beyond its political boundaries.³¹

According to Farah foreign policy refers to the actions and declarations that affect the external environment of a state, strategically planned to achieve a specific goal for the state through specific means and methods.³²

Hamilton and Jordan defines the foreign policy as a strategy, government uses to guide action towards other states, and foreign policy process as a set of procedures and structures that state uses to arrive at foreign policy decisions and implementation of them.³³

1.5 Justification of the study

The motive of this study is to examine the internal conflicts and foreign policy in Africa. Through this examinations, of internal conflicts and foreign policy using the South Sudan as a case study. Provides a platform for the collection of data that has been largely, attained from developed world. The case study put to light the internal conflict and foreign policy in South Sudan.

At academic level the study aims at providing advancement of the existing knowledge on internal conflicts and the role foreign policy plays. The study also suggests how foreign

³¹ Jose Calvet Magalliaes; *The pure concept of Diplomacy*, (Green: Green wood press, 1988), pp 6-7

³² Ibrahim Farrah, *Foreign policy and conflict in Somalia 1960-1990* A (PhD) thesis submitted in international studies, Institute of Diplomacy and International studies University of Nairobi: July 2009

³³ L.H Hamilton & A.T Jordan, *A creative tension: The Foreign Policy roles of the President and Congress*, (New York Woodrow Wilson center, 2002), p. 13

policies strategies can be improved to serve as an effective mechanism that would manage internal conflicts.

At policy level the findings of the study should prove useful to policy makers and other institutions by providing them with additional insights about how to utilize foreign policy to manage internal conflicts.

1.6 Hypotheses

The research carried out leads to the formulation of the following hypotheses that the study shows as being affirmative.

1. There is no relationship between foreign policy and internal conflict management in Africa.
2. There is no relationship between foreign policy and internal conflict in South Sudan.
3. There is relationship between internal conflicts management and foreign policy in South Sudan.
4. Poor conflict resolution approaches are a major cause of conflicts in South Sudan.

1.7 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this study is based on structural violence and structural conflict theory. The structural violence and structural conflict is used as an analytical tool for examining and understanding the underlying causes of conflict in South Sudan. The

structural violence and structural conflict are all about structures that generate conflict in society. The structures are political economic, social, cultural and psychological.³⁴

Theoretical framework is guided by the work of Galtung who developed the concept of structural violence by considering violence to be the result of difference between the potential and the actual level of realization. Galtung defines the potential level of realization as that which is possible with a given level of insight and resources. In cases where insight and resources are monopolized by a group or class or are used for other purposes then the actual levels fall below the potential level and violence is present in the system. Structural or indirect violence exists in so far as insight and resources are channeled away from constructive efforts to bring the actual close to the potential. Direct violence exists where there is an actor who commits the violence, whereas in the case of structural violence, there may be not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The structural violence is built into the structures of society and shows up in equal power and consequently in equal life chances. Most fundamentally in a situation of structural violence the power to divide over the distribution of resources is unevenly distributed.³⁵

The whole concept of structural conflicts is derived from re-conceptualizing the dichotomy between peace and war. In classical discourses in political science, international relations and international law, there is a clear distinction made between “peace” and “war”. Exponents of structural violence such as Adam Curle, find this

³⁴ J. Galtung; ‘Violence, peace and peace research’ *Journal of peace research*, Op. cit

³⁵ Ibid

dichotomy between peace and war unsatisfactory. They visualize a situation which does not fit into the classical dichotomy. In their view, while societies can be in condition of peace, or war, they can also equally be in situations which are neither. This situation is characterized as “un-peaceful.”³⁶ Curle argues that in un-peaceful societies there is little, or no, physical violence in evidence, yet there is no peace. In such societies peace lacks because the relations in those societies are organized in such a way that the potential for development of some members of the society is impeded. This potential for development is impeded by factors which may be economic, social or psychological.³⁷

In examining the relationship between the conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan, the study uses structural violence and structural conflict theory as an analytical tool for understanding the relationship between conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan. Jose defines the concept of foreign policy as naturally opposed to the concept of domestic policy and in this sense it refers to the activity of a state in the external domain that is beyond its political boundaries.³⁸

1.8 Research methodology

The study used both primary and secondary data to collect relevant information, primary data is that, which was collected directly by the researcher by use of unstructured and structural interviews with the respondents. The population from which the sample was drawn was based on their information on international conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan. This included Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Institutions like IGAD, AU,

³⁶ A. Curle, *Making peace*, Op cit.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ J.A., Rosati, *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, (Harcourt: Brace College Publishers, 1990) p1.

South Sudan Embassy in Kenya and students of international studies, University of Nairobi.

Secondary data was collected without interaction between the researcher and respondent. The secondary data also formed a key aspect of the research methodology for this study. Secondary data included relevant published and unpublished documents on internal conflicts and foreign policy particularly in the South Sudan documents on internal conflicts and foreign policy similar to internal conflicts and foreign policy in other parts of Africa. These included documents such as research reports, workshops, journal articles, books and newspaper. Secondary sources were especially useful in guiding the theoretical foundations of the study and also in tracing the historical development of the key issues that inform the study. Finally, data obtained from the field was analyzed through use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative data gathered in the survey was analyzed using quantitative analytical methods, while the data collected through interviews and literature review were analyzed qualitatively.

1.9 The Scope of the Study

The study was conducted in Kenya, instead of South Sudan. Owing to the time framework given and the nature of the data required to address the research problem it was envisaged that the research would face a number of limitations: First it was not possible to gather all the background materials that informed the internal conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan that would affect the examination of the conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan.

Nonetheless, to address that challenge efforts were made to source relevant information from key stakeholders who were well versed with the genesis of the internal conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan. Secondary, it was not possible to interview all the stakeholders in the South Sudan Embassy in Kenya, IGAD, and AU. However, that problem was mitigated by interviewing the few sampled key stakeholders for instance Embassy Senior officers, IGAD, AU and Foreign Affairs Ministry. Thirdly, the issues of causes of internal conflicts and foreign policy are considered to be confidential matters by most communities. Hence, certain data could have been withheld or given with a certain bias, which may have affected the analysis of the results. However, to address that challenge, an assurance was given to the informants that the information would only be used for academic purposes.

1.10 Chapter outline

This section gives an outline of the research study.

Chapter one provides an introduction to the research study, the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the research objectives, literature review, and justification of the study, hypotheses, theoretical frame work, research methodology, scope and limitations of the study.

Chapter two provides an overview of internal conflicts and foreign policy in Africa: It discusses the historical background of internal conflicts in Africa, major causes of internal conflicts and foreign policy.

Chapter three forms the data chapter of the study and analyses the major cause of the internal conflicts, foreign policy in South Sudan and conflict resolution approaches.

Chapter four provides a critical analysis of the findings.

Chapter five provides conclusions of the study, recommendations and suggestions on areas for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter; chapter one, presented the background of the study, statement of the research problem, objectives of the study, literature review, justification of the study, hypothesis, theoretical framework, research methodology and chapter outline. This chapter presents an overview of internal conflicts and foreign policy and conflict resolution approaches. The chapter is divided into the following sub-section; the historical background of internal conflicts in Africa, foreign policy in Africa and conflict resolution approaches in Africa.

2.1 Internal conflicts in Africa: A historical background

The geneses and dimension of conflicts in contemporary Africa is complex, challenges tearing temporary Africa apart include the tendency of manipulation of ethnic identities for private interests, discrimination based on ethnic affiliation, unequal distribution of wealth and ethno-political conflict. People are divided along the lines of religion, culture and ethnicity.³⁹

Doughter and Pfaltzgraff view conflict as a condition that exists when one group of human beings whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, social, economic or political is engaged in conscious opposition to one or identifiable human groups because

³⁹J.F. Doughtry and Pfaltzgraff, *Contending Theories of International Relations*, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1990), pp.7-10.

these groups are pursuing what are or appear to be incompatible goals.⁴⁰ In Africa conflict is viewed as endemic in African society which is always present and has been an integral part of human life. Therefore conflict will always be there as long as human beings are in existence. According to Mitchell, a conflict arises when two people or more parties have incompatible goals.⁴¹

2.2. Conflicts in Africa

Africa comprises of 54 states. All these states have experienced conflicts in one way or the other way. Generally African continent has been characterized by conflicts. Conflict occurs between two people, when they have incompatible goals because they may have different perceptions, objectives, goals and ideas about how to achieve them.⁴²

In Africa, starting from West Africa, South Africa, Central Africa and Horn of Africa, different factors have been identified as responsible for the emergency and development of social conflict. These factors are political, economic, cultural, religious, institutional and colonial factors. These factors support Galtung work, as he developed the concept of structural violence by considering violence to be the result of the difference between the potential and the actual.⁴³ These factors are structural because essentially, they are an outcome of incompatible interests based on competition for resources, structural theory emphasizes the competing interest or groups as prime motivations of conflicts. It identifies the primary sources of conflict in the social, economic and political

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ C.R. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict*, (London: MacMillan, 1998) pp.15-25

⁴² M. Mwangiru, *Conflict, Theory Processes and Institutions of Management*, (Nairobi: Watermark Printers Kenya Ltd, 1999), p.3.

⁴³ J. Galtung, 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, Op. cit

organization within a society and in the nature and strengths of ties within and between communities⁴⁴. In using the structural theory approach to conflicts in Africa, the study aims to present a wide range of factors which are the cause of the conflicts in Africa.

2.2.1 Borders

In contemporary Africa borders are among the sources of conflicts. The demarcations of African borders were done by the colonialists. During the border demarcation the colonialist did not consult the indigenous communities. Instead they did it for their own interest⁴⁵. In Sudan borders were defined by British colonial administration. They defined border line between North Sudan and South Sudan. In Kenya borders were demarcated by British colonialist. In the pre-colonial period, land in Kenya was held communally. Land was purely held as a means of maintaining life, and clan rights overland were limited. There was free movement of pastoral communities from one area to another area because land was not demarcated into division, districts or provinces.⁴⁶ However, inter-clan and sometimes intertribal conflicts over land were common among those communities mostly due to competition over grazing land and water points.

2.2.2 Natural Resources

Scarcity of resources in Africa has been source of conflicts. People fight each other for the resources they need to survive. Resource poor societies are confronted by the capture of resource rents by the elite and are unable to adapt to the scarcity of resources.

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ A.M. Justice Akiwumi; *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya*, (Nairobi, The Government Printers, 31st July, 1999), pp.60-61

According to neo-Malthusian argument, voiced at a time when environmental concerns were high on the international agenda, the degradation and depletion of renewable resources in the context of population growth motivates the capture of resources by powerful groups. Cases include grazing areas in Sudan associated with displacement of local populations to marginal lands. These distributional conflicts take place when societies in environments with scarce or depleted resources are unable to innovate and mobilize sufficient capital in order to generate sufficient wealth. Grievances by the powerless against resource allocation and the inability of the government to address such problems can undermine the legitimacy of authorities and social structures, resulting in open conflict⁴⁷.

Scarcity of natural resources leads to marginalization. In Kenya, cattle rustling among the pastoral communities can be attributed to the socio-economic marginalization. For example lack of necessary infrastructure to counter such attacks, perpetuates the situation; insecurity due to minimal police presences, inadequate security agents deployment, proliferation of small arms and light weapons and selective disarmament.⁴⁸

Without proper structures put in place to guarantee the community's security, cumulatively the result is the vulnerability of its people and exposure to attacks from neighbouring communities worsened by the scramble for available mineral resources especially water and pasture land. They are also exposed to attacks during and after the drought by those aspiring to restock their herds. These people have persistently violently

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Report on Cattle Rustling, *Factors Contributing to Cattle Rustling, Boundary and Inter Ethnic Violence in Kenya*, (Nairobi; Foundation for Dialogue, January 2004), pp.8-10

attacked each other because they lack alternative sources of income to supplement their pastoralist practices. In Sudan, conflicts between settled farmers and Arab nomads moving South in search of water and pastures has been a long standing problem. Over the years, there have been traditional conflicts over livestock. In Uganda, pastoral communities have been a problem to Kenyan communities. Kenya has been experiencing frequent attacks from the Karamojong community of Uganda. For instance; in 2005, the Karamojong cattle rustlers stole a large herd of animals from Turkana and West Pokot County. People were killed and injured as the raiders took off heads of cattle, donkeys and goats.⁴⁹

The intermittent Rwanda and Burundi civil wars were also rooted in scarcity of one of the most valuable resources in the two countries that is land. In these countries, where the population density in some areas is as high 110 persons per km², access to land is a key determinant of wealth and prosperity. In such a situation land tenure can become one part of a complicated combination for structural factors contributing to violence. In Rwanda, for instance the national unity and reconciliation council have emphasized time and again land disputes, 'is the greatest factor that is hindering sustainable peace.'⁵⁰

In Sub-Saharan Africa, resource scarcity is a source of conflict. For example, the perennial intra and inter-clan clashes among the Kenyan Somalia communities in the North Eastern are actually 'resource wars' to the extent that they are about pasture and water, which are very scarce in the arid and semi-arid North Eastern region. In the dry

⁴⁹ K. Masibo, 'Cattle Rustlers form Uganda,' Daily Nation, (Nairobi), 17th January, 2005, p.7.

⁵⁰ Ibid

season, different clans of the predominantly pastoral Somali community often fight over pasture, and water for their cattle and camels⁵¹.

The most common conflicts of scarcity are related to the control of land and water rights. In both cases, the crucial elements are how competing interests for those resources are managed. The water scarcity for example the rising consumption and the asymmetrical hydro-political relations between countries fuelled the assumption that water shortage would inevitably lead to violently conflict. A much cited example was conflict among the riparian countries along the Nile and Euphrates. Tigris, and Egypt is wholly dependent on the waters of the Nile for its economic development and for this reason Egypt has declared a secure supply of water from the areas beyond its border to be a vital national security interest. In the past there have been repeated conflicts between Egypt and the upstream Nile riparian over the allocation of the waters of the Nile and these conflicts have even led to threats of war times during the drought periods.⁵²

The water sources actually serve as borders but the extents to which states share these resources remain a source of concern and in some cases, it has sucked in political leadership at the highest level. The disputes over the Migingo Island on Lake Victoria had invited comments from both the Uganda and Kenyan Presidents.⁵³

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² K. Sabala., *The Role and Experience of IGAD in Managing Climate Change and Transboundary water Conflicts in IGAD region* (Nairobi; IGAD, 2009) p14.

⁵³ Ibid.

Abundant resource has been source of conflicts in Africa. Countries like Democratic republic of Congo (DRC), Nigeria and part of Sudan areas like Darfur, have experienced resource conflicts. When wealth depends on state or territorial control, competing groups resort to non-cooperation or violence to control revenues. A wealth of resources could result in less democracy, poor economic growth and greedy behavior by competing elites. All these factors are generally associated with a greater likelihood of conflict. The wealth of natural resources deeply influences the political economy of a country and its type of governance. Economically, an abundance of natural resources is generally associated with poor economic performance and greater socio-economic inequalities. In African countries with abundant resources tend to have predatory government serving sectional interests and so face a great risk of conflict⁵⁴.

2.2.3 Weak Governing Structures

The weak governing institutions with minimal capacity such as Trans boundary water resource management have caused regional conflicts, for example the case of the Nile River Basin. Debary observes that to date there is no comprehensive agreement on the use of the Nile River among the 10 riparian states; the few agreements that exist so far were entered between the two downstream riparian states Sudan and Egypt, in 1929 and 1959 to the total exclusion of other riparian states. This peculiar feature of the Nile has become an obstacle to effective cooperation such as development of joint projects and investments.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Debary Tadesse, *Conflict and Cooperation on Transboundary Water Resource*, (Addis Ababa: R.I.S.S 2009) P.3.

Exploitation of resources to finance conflicts has been conspicuous in the history of wars in Africa from cattle raiding, merchant, capital and imperialist wars to contemporary conflicts, natural resources have financed the violent activities of many different types' belligerents. With the end of the cold war and the resulting sharp drop in foreign assistance to many governments and rebel groups, belligerents have become more dependent upon mobilizing trade-able commodities, such as minerals timber or drugs to sustain their military and political activities. As local resources gain an importance for belligerents, so the focus of military activities becomes centered on areas of economic significance. This has a critical effect on the location of conflicts, prompting rebel groups in particular to establish permanent strongholds wherever resources and transport routes are located, moving away from their traditional strategy of high mobility and location along international borders. War economies, including commercial activities, tend to shift from an economy of proximity, to an economy of networks. These diffuse and extensive networks involve mostly private groups, including international organized crime groups, transnational corporations and Diaspora, as well as the leadership of foreign countries, especially regional or former colonial powers and consumers in importing countries⁵⁶.

Abundant resources provide armed groups with a source of each, or collateral for credit lines, to purchase military equipment and support from the private sector. Beyond financing a conflict, the exploitation and commercialization of natural resources also help armed groups to develop an extensive and diversified support network, which integrates all people having an economic stake in the exploitation of resources⁵⁷. Such networks

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Ibid

include private companies, middlemen involved in exploitation of resource, trade and foreign political leaders, for example, UNITA's diamonds not only allowed the rebel movement to buy arms, but also to gain diplomatic and logistical support from regional political leaders whose 'friendship' for Savimbi partly rested on business interests; for example, Compaor'e in Burkina Faso, Eyadema in Togo. Networks can also extend to national authorities in exporting and importing countries. In the case of Cambodia, the network of support of the Khmer Rouge rebels included the leadership of the Cambodian government, its adversary in the war but the authorizer for its timber exports to Thailand. Similarly, lax controls on export licensing allowed UNITA to sell diamonds through government controlled channels with handsome profits for officials and middlemen facilitating this laundering. In this type of relation, opposing parties may have an interest in prolonging a profitable military statement in order to preserve economic interests that could be threatened by a total victory and subsequent peace.⁵⁸

2.2.4 Ethnicity in Africa

Ethnicity in contemporary Africa is a source of the conflicts. The term 'ethnicity' is derived from the Greek work ethnos meaning race, or group of people with common racial features and common cultural peculiarities. Ethnicity refers to a subjective perception of common origins, historical memories, ties and aspirations.⁵⁹ Smith considers an ethnic community as a named human population with a myth of common ancestry, shared memories and cultural elements, a link worth a historic territory or

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹ Ibid

homeland, a measure of solidarity.⁶⁰ This is because ethnic conflicts in the context of conflict, is an incompatibility of goals in relation to political, economic, social, cultural or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities.⁶¹ Such incompatibilities may arise as ethnic groups seek to serve their political economic and social interests. Conflict arises when competition with other groups trying to achieve the same objectives disagree. The origin of ethnicity in Africa can be traced to the colonial period on the surface; the Darfur crisis in Sudan wears an ethnic face. However, at the root of the so called Afro-Arab conflict is the struggle for the scarce pasture and water, the two main rebel groups, the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the justice and equality movement representing mainly black African farmers has claimed that the Arab-dominated government in Khartoum has taken sides in favour of the Arab pastoralists against African farmers over access to the few wells, the only source of waters in region.⁶²

Apartheid in the former South Africa has been other than a wicked system of racial prejudice perpetrated against people of colour; all in the name of preserving racial purity. The Afrikaners regarded themselves as members of a superior and pure race and as such, vehemently resented any form of racial crossbreeding. Apartheid as a system may have started out as an innocuous ethnic ploy and progressively developed into an institutionalized evil system of exclusionism, oppression and, indeed a source of mental torture for the non-whites⁶³.

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Ibid

The establishment of colonial rule in the final years of the 19th Century saw the country divided into administrative districts and provinces that on the whole coincided with grouping. In Kenya, the Kikuyu were placed in Central Province, Luo were placed in Nyanza Province with the Kisii and Kuria communities. The Kalenjin and Maasai communities were placed in the Rift Valley Province with each group having its own district. This gave each community a feeling that they were different. Real or imagined unfair distribution of public resources and the feeling that the groups were different intensified.⁶⁴

2.2.5 Colonial legacy

Colonial legacy has been a source of conflict in Africa. Nthamburi, argues that it is a fact that colonialism legally continues to impact the present nation states. Some of African states had in pre-colonial times indigenous political systems that were functional. Colonialism distributed this innovation and many states were forced to conform to Western models of nation-state.⁶⁵ He further argued that they were not prepared to work through very crucial historical, social and political issues that arose in the process of rapid social changes. The colonial enterprise often played one ethnic community off against the other, divide and rule and separate development states were created which were quite artificial and where boundaries of different states were cut across 'notions' in total disregard of their culture, language and territorial identity.⁶⁶ For instance, the Maasai in Tanzania and in Kenya, Pokots in Kenya and in Uganda, Somalia in Kenya and

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵Z. Nthamburi, 'The Paradigm of Ethnicity, Its Influence and Reference in Public Life Today.' In Tarimo and P. Manwelo, (ed) *Ethnicity and the future of African States*, (Nairobi; Publishers Publications Africa, 2009) pp.72-74.

⁶⁶Ibid.

Somalia. This argument is further supported by Mwangi who states that the African ethnic context were enshrined at the 1884-5 Berlin conference, where Africa was carved up by the imperial powers without paying attention to ethnic, cultural and geographical or other factor.⁶⁷

This review is manifested in African conflict as the imperial power paid little attention to the diversity in Africa when carving out the borders. The, immediate riparian countries to Orange River basin are Lesotho, Botswana and South Africa. The Orange River forms the border between the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and Namibia. There are some disputes concerning the actual course of the border between the two countries. In 1890 the boundary was defined on the basis of the high-water level along the Northern banks of the river and this meant that Namibia was without direct access to the rivers water. Prior to independence, Namibia was promised that the boundary would be shifted to the middle of the river, but the promise was broken and since then there have been disputes over the border.⁶⁸

Conflict between Namibia and Botswana over the course of the border in Lake Kiambezi has been experienced. There was also a more serious, continuing border conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon that in 1993 led to fighting between the armed forces of the two sides. The conflict involved the whole of the border between the two countries as well as the Bakassie Peninsula to the South.

⁶⁷ M. Mwangi, *Conflict in Africa, Theory, Process and Institution of Management*, Op. cit .p.11.

⁶⁸ Ibid

The Lake Chad basin was also part of the conflict, since the shrinkage of the Lake has blurred the course of the borders local groups formally Nigerian citizens, followed the receding waters and founded villages on Cameroonian territory. The Nigerian administration attempted to fill the vacuum and this triggered official protest from Cameroon. For some years now the two sides, with international support have been working to settle the conflict. Nigeria mixed commission was established for the purpose. Although colonial powers established borders that corresponded little to African political, cultural and economic life, after independence, the first generation of African independence leaders accepted colonial borders and shunned the strenuous and politically volatile task of redrawing them. However, the charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) placed great emphasis on the performance of existing borders and the principle of territorial integrity.⁶⁹

2.2.6 Hostilities in African Communities

The hostilities in contemporary Africa, has been a cause of conflict especially in natural resource areas, where by sharing of resources becomes very difficult. In Sudan hostilities has been experienced for a longtime. The hostilities in Sudan predominantly pit the northerners against the Southerners, mainly because of perception and structural issues. The South perceived the North as dominating everything and they feel marginalized by them, politically, economically, and socially. Hostilities has been also experienced in Lake Victoria basin, which is shared by five riparian countries, namely; Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. The Lake and its resources are useful in supplying water

⁶⁹ Ibid

to households, industry and as well as for fisheries, transportation to acquire building materials, to generate power, and to dispose of household, agricultural and industrial wastes. The Lake basin is fertile and densely populated and it is farmed intensively. Million of people in the riparian countries earn their livelihood from fishing and fish processing. The conflicts encountered here are mainly between export-oriented and traditional fisheries. There is also a full-blown conflict between Kenyan fishermen and Ugandan authorities who quite often stop Kenyan fishing boats and arrest fishermen for allegedly fishing in Uganda territorial waters⁷⁰.

Lake Victoria also continues to be faced with escalation-prone, conflict between different users not the least of which is an international conflict between Kenya and Uganda. In addition, the Lake is also part of larger Nile conflict constellation.⁷¹ The conflicts are as the result of competition among the different users and this supports Mitchell views that, a conflict arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals.⁷²

2.2.7 The Post-independent African Governments

When African countries gained independent, they kept on using colonial administrative boundaries to divide people of different ethnic backgrounds. This was particularly the case under the leadership of Kenyans President Daniel Arap Moi and Mwai Kibaki. President Moi created so many districts in Kenya. He created kuria district in an attempt to make the kuria people feel different from the Luo with whom they had shared South

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹W. Scheumann and S. Weubert, *Transboundary water Management in Africa*, (German; D.I.E, 2005) pp. 52-53.

⁷²C.R. Mitchell. *The Structure of International Conflict*, (London; MacMillan Press, 1998) pp.1`5-25

Nyanza district for a longtime. Teso district was carved from Busia district in an attempt to divide the Teso community from the Luhya. The Bukusu, a sub-group of the Luhya ethnic community occupies their own district, Bungoma. The Bukusu regard them as different from the rest of Luhya, a feeling that has been strengthened by the fact that they have a separate district from the rest of the Luhya community⁷³.

The Moi government ethnicized the provincial administration and the security apparatus and used them to start the ethnic classes against other communities in the Rift Valley Province in order to fulfill the regimes prophecy that multiparty competition would create ethnic strife. The 1992 ethnic violence was used by the government to punish ethnic groups that were perceived to support the opposition in the run-up to the first multi-party elections and to force non Kalenjins to vacate land in Rift Valley Province. It was therefore evident that such violence was backed by the urge to systematically exclude non-Kalenjins from formal livelihood resources such as land, work, wages, public, welfare schemes, and political participation and even from the nation as a collective social and cultural construct.⁷⁴ Though ethnic violence did not start in 1991, with reintroduction of multi-party politics in Kenya, it was during that period that widespread ethnic conflict caused thousands of people to be displaced from their homes. That period also saw the emergence of ethnic patterns fashioned along political party lines. To ensure that their people toed the ethnic line the politicians told their communities that they were being finished, marginalized and discriminated against. They were advised to protect themselves from outsiders. The Kalenjin through propaganda were made to believe that

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴O. John., *Render Current of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*, (Netherlands; Lieder, 2002), P.75.

incase power shifted to a non Kalenjin, they would be isolated, persecuted, marginalized and victimized for imaginary crimes. The leaders therefore propagated for Majimboism in public political rallies and expulsion of non-indigenous ethnic communities from the Rift Valley.⁷⁵

During conflicts in Kenya the ethnics of government tend to be compromised under the justification of violence especially when an incumbent government is involved as was the case during the Rift Valley clashes. In this case, provincial administration and security agents initiated violence against individuals from non-Kalenjin communities, for example in Rift Valley there were reports of trained security personnel being involved in most of the raids using government resources at their disposal particularly guns and ammunition to support their kins.⁷⁶ Prior to the clashes it was reported that both the police and provincial administrations were warned of the impending clashes in various places, but no actions were taken to pre-empt any violence that was looming. The police and provincial administrations behavior showed negligence and insensitivity.⁷⁷

The politicians then capitalized weak legal structures to initiate violence. Their main concern being the capturing of political power through intimidation, which included bribery, buying and inducing fear and hatred to the voters with little respect for the principles of democracy for example the Rift Valley clashes disrupted the 1992 voters registration in communities that whole-heartedly supported the opposition. As a result

⁷⁵Z. Nthamburi, 'The Paradigm of Ethnicity, Its Influence and Reference in Public Life Today.' In Tarimo and P. Manwelo, (ed) *Ethnicity and the future of African States*, Op. cit

⁷⁶Centre for the Conflict Resolution-Kenya, *The Main Causes Effects and Possible Solutions to Conflicts in Samburu District*, April and May, 2001, pp.18-19.

⁷⁷ Ibid

thousands of people eligible voters were unable to exercise their democratic right of choosing their leaders due to the displacements and destruction caused by the violence⁷⁸.

The legal structures of security are compromised during violence and this leads to the breakdown of law and order in the society especially in times of social conflicts, electoral and political violence. This kind of violence decreases the government's legitimacy in the eyes of the population and causes subsequent distrust of the state, the law enforcing agencies and the institutions of powers communities were forced form vigilance groups to protect and solve their everyday problems. The youth were therefore encouraged to disobey the law, take up arms and protect their communities, in case, the obligation of the state to ensure the protection and enjoyment of the fundamental rights by every individual, institution and groups is passed on to the youths. Communities are forced to live in a state of preparedness anticipating any adverse eventualities expecting no assistance from the government in times of trouble⁷⁹.

2.2.8 African Approaches to Development

The current approaches to development in contemporary Africa could be also a source of conflict. Nthamburi argues that countries have been divided on the basis of ethnicity, religion or ideology.⁸⁰ He further argues that current approaches to development have produced an inequality which is a recipe for ethnic conflict. When unequal opportunities for scarce services are experienced, perception of social inequalities widens hence, this

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ Ibid

⁸⁰ Z. Nthamburi; "The paradigm of Ethnicity; its influence and Relevance in public life today." In A. Tarimo and P. Manwell, eds, *Ethnicity conflict and the future of African states*, (Nairobi; Paulines publications Africa, 2009), p.73

results in intolerance and political instability. It has been observed that many ethnic conflicts can be traced to the way in which unequal opportunities are made available to groups who perceive to be discriminated against indeed; ethnic chauvinism is traced to inequalities in accessing jobs, holding assets or even the manner in which social services are distributed. In Kenya this has been witnessed during the Moi regime. The levels of social inequalities were too high, militant protests were common which sometimes culminated in violent demonstrations.⁸¹

Structural violence is linked to ethnic conflict fashioned by the conflict of interests and human needs, Burton states, that the whole basis of law and order in a society is called when people's basic needs are frustrated⁸². Such needs are universal motivations which are considered to be an integral part of the human being. In addition, to the needs of food and shelter, there are also needs related to growth such as needs for personal identity and recognition.⁸³ Structural violence is closely tied to the inadequate satisfaction of basic needs because its essence is the idea that people are unable to fully develop their full potential. The weak institutions structures in Kenya have failed to serve the needs of everyone especially during the Moi regime. However, Sites states that the structural anomalies in many African states have implied that the needs of some ethnic groups are

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² J. Burton, *Violence Explained: The source of conflict, Violence and Crime and their prevention* (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 1997), pp.32- 40.

⁸³ J. Burton, *conflict Resolution and Prevention*, (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp36-48

served at the expense of others. As long as a state serves specific interests rather than the common good the needs of many citizens will remain unsatisfied.⁸⁴

2.2.9 African Constitution

The constitution is another underlying source of conflicts in Africa. The constitutional structure envisages a diffusion of authority among different centers of decision making, specifically, the executive, the judiciary, and the legislative. However, the mere existence of a constitution does not imply that such a constitution adheres to the benefits of constitutionalism; many African states pose political, economic and social structures that prevent a large number of their citizens from achieving their full potential. Reflective constitutions are central features that promote structural violence in many African states. There has been a clear link between the erosion of the constitutional structure and the presence of structural violence in many African states. For example in Kenya, the old constitution has been the source of conflicts. The constitution gave the president enormous powers in relation to other organs of government. Therefore there has been a clear link between the erosion of the constitution structure and the presence of structural violence in Kenya. Nwabueze, observes that constitutionalism implies that government is necessary but that a limitation should be placed on its powers.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ P. Sites, "*Legitimacy and Human needs*," In J. Burton and f. Dukes, conflict: Reading in Management and Resolutions, (London; Macmillan, 1990),pp 117-141

⁸⁵B.O. N Wabueze, *Constitutionalism in the Emergent states*, (London: C, Hurst and Co. 1973, pp 1-21)

2.2.10 Environmental Conflict

Environment and demographic stresses have often encouraged conflicts in Africa. A growing population combined with unsuitable ecological practices has resulted in a significant depletion of available resource which in turn has led to impoverishment, migrations and clashes over access to remaining resources. Environmental factors have played role in the decrease of available fertile agricultural land and depletion of the fish stocks, over fishing and water pollution deforestation, and desertification.⁸⁶

Over fishing and water pollution in Lake Victoria, which by surface area is the third, largest fresh water lake in the world and an extremely important source of fish for East Africa countries, Uganda and Kenya have experienced significant reduction in fish stock levels. This reduction can be attributed in part to over fishing and toxic chemicals flowing in from the seven Kenyan rivers that feed Lake Victoria. The rivers carry pollutants such as smoke particles from the burning of forests and fields in the hinter land, into lake. These pollutants have resulted in a massive influence of nitrogen, phosphorous and sulphur which has boosted the reproduction of oxygen usurping sea weed in the lake leading to a death zone for fish. The weed has grown to an approximately 40 meters thick.⁸⁷

Deforestation has also contributed to environmental problems. Between 1970 and 1990, Kenya lost hectares of forests. One of the primary effects of the deforestation has been a reduction in soil quality. By exposing the soil to wind and rain, deforestations have led to

⁸⁶ D.Schwartz and Ashbindu Sign, *Environmental Conditions Resources and Conflicts, on Introductory Overview and Data Collection*, (Nairobi; UNEP, 1999), pp.27-29

⁸⁷ Ibid

a reduction in crop land availability and crop land production. Silting caused by soil erosion has also resulted in the near disappearance of Lake Jipe and Lake Bogoria, and has systematically reduced the water table of Lake Turkana Kenya's second largest lake. Desertification, in appropriate cultivation practices over cultivation, use of toxic chemicals and pollution have all contributed to Kenya's alarming desertification⁸⁸.

Depleted fish stocks and increasingly scarce fertile land have resulted in two social effects; economic decline and migrations. Economic decline; while Kenya has faced droughts for many decades the effects of these droughts in combination with the pressure of a scarcity in viable agricultural land and renewable fish stocks contributed to economic hardship for Kenyan. Food imports and food are still needed in Kenya. The Kikuyu, who received special privileges during colonial rule, have been migration out of fertile highlands in search of new land since the 1960's. The migration has intensified in the last two decades. Many kikuyu people have migrated to the Rift valley, where the Kalenjin people and other pastoralists reside.⁸⁹ Therefore, clashes between various groups began in 1991, intensified in 1992 and have continued to date. The most prominent clashes have occurred between the Kalenjin "warriors" as well as members of pastoralist tribes such as the Maasai and the kikuyu people. Tribe members of the Luos, Luhya, Kissi, Kamba, Meru and Teso, have also been targets of the Kalenjin "Warriors and the Maasai, migrations have also contributed to these clashes." Economic decline has also fuelled these conflicts by making competition over already scarce resources more intense.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Ibid

⁹⁰ Ibid

2.2.11. Climate Change

Climate change is another contributor to conflict in water resources areas. Climate change is a direct consequence of global warming resulting from depletion of the ozone layer by greenhouses gases. Green houses gases effects on ozone are worsened by degradation of forest cover that act as carbon sinks for these gases. The negative impacts of climate change are being manifested in various ways such as prolonged droughts erratic fires, devastating floods and melting ice, as a result of climate change for instance in Kenya today there are many water related conflicts among the communities and loss of wildlife is on the increase due to lack of pasture resulting from the prevailing drought.⁹¹

In Ethiopia, water resources management is becoming a challenge through climate change. The effects has been reflected on the Gross Domestic product (GDP), the indicators vary from the increase in temperature and rainfall distribution, the drying up of rivers that lead to the decrease in resources which at least enhanced poverty, competition over scarce resources, migration and inevitable conflicts⁹². Environmental changes in the lake region have also given rise to a good number of conflicts at different levels, some of which have been taken a violent course. For instance, there have been conflicts around Lake Chad basin between upstream and downstream communities along tributary areas concerning dam projects. Similarly, there have also been heated conflicts between nomadic pastoralist and settled farmers. These groups are in competition for the region's

⁹¹ S. Mutua, *Kenya's Experience in Managing Climate and Water Resource Conflict*, (Nairobi; UMEP, 2009) p.6

⁹² F. Negash, *Role of Government in preventing climate change induced water resource conflict*, (Ethiopia: BDS & W.U.C.D, 2009), p.10

growing scarce natural resources, land for grazing and water. There have at times also been conflicts between the lake's riparian states. In the late 1970s for instance there were clashes between Nigeria and Chad.⁹³

2.3. Foreign Policy in Africa

In general the word foreign means external or dealings with matters concerning other countries. Whereas the word policy, is a course of action adopted and pursued by a government, party ruler or statement, according to J.A Rosati foreign policy, refers to the scope of involvement abroad and the collection of goals, strategies and instruments that are selected by government policy makers.⁹⁴ J.C Magalliaes, defines the concept of foreign policy as naturally opposed to the concept of internal policy and in this sense it refers to the activity of state in the external domain that is beyond its political boundaries⁹⁵. Nicholson contends that foreign policy is based on the general conception of national requirements⁹⁶.

The foreign policy of a state is the substance of foreign relations.⁹⁷ Hamilton and Jordan, defines foreign policy as strategies government uses to guide her actions towards other

⁹³ Ibid

⁹⁴ J.A., Rosati, *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, (Harcourt: Brace College Publishers, 1990) p1.

⁹⁵ J.C. de Magalliaes *The Pure Concept of Diplomacy*, (New York. Green wood press, 1988) pp 6 - 7

⁹⁶ H. Nicholson, *The Congress of Vienna. A study in Allied Unity, 1812-22*, (New York: Harcourt Harper Collis publishers, 1990) p. 197

⁹⁷ J. Childs Rives & C., Joseph Grew, *American foreign Service*, (New York: Holt, 1948), pp 64-82

states. Further they argue that foreign policy is a process of a set of procedures that state uses to reach at a foreign policy decisions and implementation of them⁹⁸.

In African states, the characteristic of foreign policy is almost similar. There can be no doubt that that the attainment of speedy economic development, democratization and peace is fundamental to the survival of African countries which finds themselves in a state of abject poverty and backwardness. That is why the government gives priority to matters that are key to their survival and wellbeing. African foreign relations, and national security policy and strategy can only have relevance if it contributes to the right against poverty and promotes speedy economic development, democracy and peace.⁹⁹

Countries in the Horn of Africa have long standing links with each other in such areas as language, culture, history, natural resources and so on. Changes in one country affect each other directly, and what happens to them has an impact on each. There are rivers that connect each other and have a direct bearing on each development. This is particularly true of Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and also Kenya. Some of these countries are land locked while others have ports and provide services to each other. Thus each country needs to consider their strong ties with their neighbours and chart out the appropriate policy towards each other.

⁹⁸H.L Hamilton, and T. Jordan, *A creative Tension, The foreign policy Roles of the President and Congress*, Op. cit p. 3

⁹⁹ Ibd

2.4 Conflict Resolution Approaches in Africa

The philosophical basis of resolution rejects power as the basis of relationships, especially in situation of conflict. Resolution of conflict is therefore non-power based, and non-coercive. It aims at a post conflict relationship which is not based on power and which endures because the parties find it legitimate.¹⁰⁰ Resolution is based on the belief that at the bottom of every conflict are certain needs which are not negotiable.¹⁰¹

Africa provides examples of some of the world's longest lasting conflicts. It also provides examples of enduring recoveries from conflict. The problem of conflicts in contemporary Africa is lack of proper conflict resolution approaches. Inefficient and ineffective conflict resolutions to conflict have become one of the biggest challenges for African diplomacy. Conflict resolution in Africa will not be effective unless it is based on Africa's own experience and capacity to solve conflict.¹⁰² In the past conflict resolution approaches to conflict have often failed to understand the context within which conflict has operated or to address the causes, while it is possible to distinguish between the primary causes of conflict, secondary and tertiary that enables or sustain conflict, or barriers that hinder resolution. Conflict resolution and peace maintenance remain among the most vital and most elusive goals of international diplomacy.

African Regional Organization such as AU, ECOWAS, SADC and IGAD has not been effective and credible in addressing conflict in Africa. A series of failed conflict

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ J. Burton (ed), *Conflict Human Needs Theory*, (London: Macmillan, 1990) pp.30-48

¹⁰² A. Mazrui, *Toward Apax African A: A study of ideology and ambition* (Chicago: university of Chicago Press 1967), p.12

resolution over the past decade has seriously damaged regional organization credibility in the continent.

Field argues that, “Indeed, the acid test for international and regional organization is invariably their efficacy in the area of peace and security management. Thus the continuing proliferation of wars, conflicts and all manner of sectarian violence and communal strife is eloquent testimony to the failure of international organization to deal effectively with the peace and security nexus.”¹⁰³

2.4.1 Cooperation Approaches

Cooperation approaches is one part of conflict resolution approaches in solving conflicts. Africa needs to adapt the concept of environmental cooperation, as it is part of a long-time solution to conflict. It offers sustainable solutions for the future. It contributes to the improvement of living conditions such as for instance the supply of natural resources and fosters the building of confidence and trust among adverse societies.

Alexander argues that cooperation on environment lead to internationalization of shared norms, creation of a regional identity and interests. The regional identity is related to the way people see, understand geographical spaces and communities. Cooperation originates a connection between different people, areas, regions and countries ¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ S. Field, *Peace in Africa: Toward A collaborative Security Regime*, (Johannesburg, Institute for Global Dialogue, 2004), p, 16

¹⁰⁴ C. Alexander, *Environmental peace building, Environmental Cooperation of crisis prevention and peace building conditions for success and constraints*, (Berlin, Adelphi Press, 2006), p.11.

Geoffrey, argues that environmental cooperation ignores political boundaries and enables cross-border linkages that may serve as precursors to state-to-state engagement.¹⁰⁵

2.4.2 Policy and Institutional Approaches

Africa conflict success needs a commitment to use government and institutions as a means of managing conflicts. Africa needs policy and institutional dimensions of integrated resources management approaches. Natural resources conflict areas needs adoption of policy and institutional integrated approaches to manage conflicts. In Tanzania the natural resources conflicts has been managed by Non Governmental Organization (NGO). Whose vision and mission were developed in a participative process through a series of workshops. It focuses on facilitating good local governance across several sectors that included resources, education and health. In South Africa the integrated legal approaches has been classic example in resolving resources conflicts. South Africa natural resources management involved various stakeholders including players from different government sectors, local, principal government traditional leaders, international resources bodies, sector representative bodies, NGOs, community based organization (CBO) and interests groups. All these groups seek to influence the way in which natural resources are managed.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ C. Chikozho, *Policy and institution dimensions of integrated basin management*, (Pretoria: international Water Management Institute, 2005).

¹⁰⁶ C. Alexander, *Environmental peace building, Environmental Cooperation of crisis prevention and peace building conditions for success and constraints*, (Berlin Adelphi Press, 2006) p.11

2.4.3 Natural Resource Governance and Management

Responsible natural resource management requires participatory processes that include local populations in a transparent manner goal of building or restoring democracy, but should also be seen as a requirement for rational decision making on resource extraction, access and distribution. Setting up accountability councils would be one way of ensuring that checks and balances are secured. Boyce asserts, “in places at high risk of an outbreak or renewal of violent conflict, a key task is to ensure that the benefits and costs of natural resource exploitation are distributed so they ease social tensions rather than exacerbate them.”¹⁰⁷

2.4.4. Economic Diversification

African countries need to manage their resources in a manner that does not fuel instability. This is achieved by clear and well-defined state control over resource income and exploitation of resources. This couples with a commitment to diversify the economy.¹⁰⁸

2.5 Conclusions

The analysis of the overview of internal conflicts and foreign policy in Africa has been tackled in the chapter and a summary of the analysis is that, the genealogy and dimension of conflicts in Africa are complex and varied. In Africa different factors have been seen as the responsible for the energy and development of internal conflicts. These are border

¹⁰⁷ James Boyce, ‘Development assistance in Ballentine and Nitzschike, *profiting from peace* , (Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007) p. 21.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

conflicts, natural resources, weak government structures, ethnicity, colonial legacy, and hostilities by communities, post independent African governments, approaches to development, environmental conflict and climate change. On foreign policy, the overview focuses on relations among African countries and conflict resolution approaches in Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND FOREIGN POLICY IN SOUTH SUDAN, 2005-2014

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter, chapter two made a presentation of the historical background of the conflicts and foreign policy in Africa, underlying and root causes of conflicts in Africa and Africa foreign policy. This was tackled through the analysis of the various theories of conflicts such as structural violence, and structural conflicts theory. This chapter three is the case study of the project. It presents both primary and secondary data obtained with regards to South Sudan from the years 2005-2014. However, the chapter gives information on the years before the case study as the background information. The chapter examines effects of conflicts and foreign policy and conflict resolution approaches.

3.1 Historical Background

Sudan and South Sudan were one single nation prior to the secession of South Sudan in 2011. Since the independence of Sudan from British colonial rule in 1956, the region has been negatively affected by two civil wars. In 1955, one year before Sudan gained independence the first Sudanese civil war started with aims of achieving representation and more regional autonomy.¹⁰⁹ For seventeen years, the Sudanese government fought the Anyanya rebel army. In 1971 former army Lt. Gen. Joseph Lagu gathered all the guerilla bands under his South Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM). This was the first

¹⁰⁹ H.J. Douglas, *The root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, Op. cit. p.21

time in the history of the war that the separatist movement had a unified command structure to fulfill the objectives of secession and the formation of an independent state in South Sudan. It was also the first organization it could claim to speak for and negotiate on behalf of the entire South mediation between the world council of churches (WCC) and the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) eventually led to the signing of the Addis Ababa agreement in 1972 which established the Southern Sudan as an autonomous region.¹¹⁰ With signing of Addis Ababa agreement decades of relative peace were experienced by Southern Sudan and with support of international community and faith based organizations some developments were achieved. However, the Northern policies toward the South promoted marginalization and Islamization. In 1983, president of Sudan Gaafar Nimeiri declared all Sudan an Islamic state under Sharia Law including the non-Islamic majority Southern region. The Southern Sudan autonomous region was abolished on 5 June 1983, ending the Addis Ababa agreement.¹¹¹ In response to this a group of soldiers led by Colonel John Garang de Mabior rebelled against the Sudan army. This historic rebellion gave birth to the formation of the Sudan People's Liberation army Movement (SPLA/M) under leadership of John Garang. Again second Sudanese civil war was experienced. Several factions split from the SPLA often along ethnic lines and some were funded and armed by Khartoum, with the most notable being the SPLA-Nassir in 1991 led by Rick Machar.¹¹² As a result of the infighting more Southerners died at

¹¹⁰ Addis Ababa Agreement, 1972. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Addis_Ababa_Agreement, (accessed April 28th, 2015)

¹¹¹ Ibid

¹¹² There were reports that the government supported militia torture and beating, person's suspected of supporting the rebellion in Darfur, (US Department of State, county report on human rights practices in 2003 February 25, 2004)

each other's hands than were killed by northerners during the war.¹¹³ In the Box massacre in 1991, an estimated 2000 civilians were killed by SPLA – Nassir and armed Nuer civilians and another estimated 25000 died from the resulting famine in the following years.¹¹⁴ Despite that opposition in 2002 the South Sudanese reunited. In 2003 the SPLA/M and the Khartoum government agreed on a ceasefire that led to the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement in 2005. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was mediated by the intergovernmental authority on development (IGAD) as well as IGAD partners and a consortium of donor countries. The agreement was signed in Nairobi and autonomous government of Southern Sudan was formed. The CPA marked the end of 22 years conflict between the North and the South.

3.2 Independent South Sudan

On 9th July 2011 South Sudan became an independent country under the name of Republic of South Sudan. On 14th July 2011 South Sudan became the 193rd member state of the United Nations.¹¹⁵ On 28th July 2011, South Sudan joined the African Union as its 54th member state.¹¹⁶ The republic of South Sudan territory comprises of all lands and air space that constituted the three former Southern provinces of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatorial and upper Nile in their boundaries. The Republic of South Sudan is bordered by Sudan in the north, Ethiopia in the east Kenya and Uganda in the South the democratic republic

¹¹³ Time.com, 'Deadly Clashes on South Sudan's Path to Freedom' 12th February, 2011. Retrieved 21 December 2015

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Reuters 'South Sudan admitted to U.N as 193rd Member'. 14th July 2011

¹¹⁶ Voice of America News. 'South Sudan Becomes African Union's 54th Member.' 28th July 2011. Retrieved 28th July 2015

of Congo (DRC) in the Southwest and the Central African Republic in the west¹¹⁷. South Sudan is governed on the basis of decentralized democratic system and is an all-embracing homeland for its people. South Sudan is a multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi – ethnic and multi-racial society.¹¹⁸

According to “the 5th Sudan population and Housing census 2008, South Sudan had a population of 8.3 million “, of which 6.9 million found in rural area while 1.4 million in urban areas. 83% of the population lives in rural areas and dependent on subsistence agriculture. South Sudan is still a young nation. 51% of half of the population is under the age of eighteen years while 72% is under the age of thirty.¹¹⁹ The South Sudan’s formal economy is dominated by the oil and public sector. Majority of South Sudanese are engaged in agriculture and livestock activities.

3.3 Overview of Conflict in South Sudan

It is very important to understand the South Sudan’s complexity of its conflicts in order to examine the relationship between internal conflicts and foreign policy in the region. South Sudan before independence and after independence has been characterized by conflicts. Different views on the causes that related to all conflicts in South Sudan have been given out by different scholars. Douglas argues that, historical approaches of conflicts mitigation and conflict resolution by respected leaders where negotiation of land, grazing and water rights need to be shared have been turned into a manipulation of

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸ P.M. Holt, and M.W. Daly, *A History of the Sudan 5th ed*, (England: Pearson education limited, 2000) p. 202

¹¹⁹ Southern Sudan Centre for Census, *Statistics and Evaluation* (SSCCSE) (Juba: Gos printers, 2008)

armed malevolence for personal gain.¹²⁰ In rural areas, guns are found everywhere, and this has made rule by respect for values and by the decree of those in authority to be replaced by the rule of force of a gun. Given the years of conflict many people particularly in rural areas, feel they are isolated from the normal services provided by the government in general and their security and rule of law institutions in particular.¹²¹ The situation is also exacerbated by ambiguity over the separations of powers between the law enforcement organs and the fact that most civilians are armed. There is a serious concern as pertaining to the presence and uncontrolled use of fire arms by civilians. The issue of protracted war has brought a culture of violence and proliferation of small arms, which in turn is perpetuating more violence.¹²² Like any systematic change removing firearms from one community while allowing the neighbouring ones to keep theirs may not reduce violence but keeps it revolving around the area. Thus, such plans need careful negotiation and implementation, with appropriate measures to overcome any real or perceived imbalance of security in the communities until the disarmament becomes accepted all round.¹²³

3.4 The Republic of South Sudan Foreign Policy

As this chapter examined conflicts in South Sudan, there is need also to examine the South Sudan foreign policy for better understanding or relationship between conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan. In general, the word foreign means external or dealing with matters concerning other countries. Whereas the world policy is a course of action

¹²⁰ J. Douglas , *The root causes of Sudan's civil wars*, (Bloomington: Indiana university press, 2003) p. 142

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² D. Francis, *War of visions. Conflict of identities in Sudan*, (Washington , D.C Brookings Institution, 1995) p. 21

¹²³ Ibid

adopted and pursued by a government party, ruler or statement. According to Rosati, foreign policy refers to the scope of involvement abroad and the collection of goals, strategies and instruments that are selected by government policy makers.¹²⁴ Joseph Calvet de Magalliaes, defines the concept of foreign policy as naturally opposed to the concept of internal policy (domestic policy) and, in this sense it refers to the activity of a state in the external domain that is beyond its political boundaries.¹²⁵

Foreign policy

The South Sudan became independent on 9 July, 2011 under the name of Republic of South Sudan. On the same month, South Sudan became a member state of United Nations. Further on 28 July, 2011 South Sudan joined the African Union (AU) as its 54th member's state. South Sudan after gaining independence came up with a foreign policy draft. This foreign policy of the Republic of South Sudan stated that the foreign policy shall serve the national interest and shall be conducted independently and transparently with the view of achieving the following:

(a) Promotion of international cooperation especially within the United Nations family, African Union and other international and regional organizations for the purpose of consolidating universal peace and security, respect for the international law, treaty obligations and fostering a just world economic order. Achievement of African economic integration within the ongoing regional plans, fora as well as promoting African unity and cooperation as foreseen in those plans.

¹²⁴ A.J Rosati, *The Politics of United States Foreign policy*, (Harcourt: Brace college publishers, 1990) p.1

¹²⁵ Joseph Calvet de Magalliaes, *The Pure concept of Diplomacy*, (New York: Green wood Press, 1988) pp 6-7

(b) Enhancement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in regional and international fora.

(c) Promotion of dialogue among civilizations and establishment of international order based on justice and common human destiny.

(d) Respect for international laws and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of the peaceful settlement of international disputes by negotiation mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication.

(e) Enhancement of economic cooperation among countries of the region.

(f) Non interference in the affairs of other states, promotion of good neighborliness and mutual cooperation with all neighbours and maintaining amicable and balanced relations with other countries.

(g) And combating international and transnational organized crime, piracy and terrorism.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Transitional constitutional of South Sudan Article 43, p13-14

3.5 The Field Study

The study held face to face interviews with key informants from South Sudanese communities living in Nairobi City County. The key informants were senior officers in Republic of South Sudan embassy, South Sudanese students, South Sudanese businessmen, Intestate International Organization, IGAD and AU.

The study used probability sampling technique which was random sampling, as it selects a sample without bias from the population and ensures that each member of the target population has an equal and independent chance of being included in the sample. A total number of 75 respondents were selected from the South Sudanese living in Nairobi County and were subjected to structured questionnaires, purpose being to collect a lot of information over a short period of time.

Table 3.0: Sample Size

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
South Sudan Embassy	28	37
South Sudanese students	21	28
South Sudanese Businessmen	14	19
IGAD staff	8	11
AU staff	4	5
Total	75	100

Source: Author 2015

The above table illustrates the study sample size in the area of study. The total respondents were 75, 28 respondents were from South Sudan embassy, 21 were South Sudanese students most of them were drawn from university of Nairobi, 14 South Sudanese businessmen, 8 from the IGAD and 4 from AU staff. Finally the data obtained from the study area was highly examined, carefully compared and analyzed. The findings analysis and interpretation of data were recorded in the following sub-headings:

The Internal conflicts

The first objective of this study was to determine the internal conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan. All the key informants were asked to list the internal conflicts in the South Sudan. They all identified border, militia, tribal conflict, oil, foreign trade, cattle rustling, NCP/SPLM, unemployment and CPA as being causes of internal conflicts in the country. Similarly, this supports Sandole's views on conflict. He expresses conflict as multi-dimensional where he linked this dimensions to decision-making, societal and trans-societal aspects.¹²⁷

The survey respondents established the level of which the average members of the South Sudanese living in Nairobi viewed the issues as the cause of internal conflicts among them.

¹²⁷ D. J. D., Sandole, *Capturing the Complexity of Conflict; Dealing with Violent Ethnic Conflict of the Post Cold War era*, (London; ; Printer, 1999) p.18.

Table 3.1 Causes of conflict

Conflict	Frequency	percentage
Borders conflict	20	27
Oil conflict	15	20
Cattle rustling	12	16
Political supremacy	9	12
Tribal conflict	9	12
Militias	6	7
Foreign trade	2	3
Unemployment	2	3
Total	75	100

Source: author 2015

The above table illustrates the different percentages of the causes of internal conflicts in South Sudan. Border conflict has the highest percentage followed by oil, cattle rustling, tribal and political power, militia, foreign trade and unemployment are the least. The respondents interviewed, agreed that the most significant cause of the internal conflict in South Sudan were; Border conflict (27%), oil conflict (20%), cattle rustling (16%), tribal conflict (12%), cattle rustling (16%), tribal conflict (12%), political supremacy (12%), militia (7%), foreign trade and unemployment, each (3%). The table 3.1 signifies that border conflict, oil and cattle rustling were the major causes of the internal conflicts in South Sudan. This goes in line with Galtung's views of the structural violence theory.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ J. Galtung, "Violence, peace and peace research", Op. cit

3.5.1 Border Conflicts

The border between Sudan and South Sudan had been defined by the British colonial administration since 1956; following the country independence the border has undergone many changes under the government of Khartoum in attempt to annex some parts of South Sudan rich in natural resources.

Table 3.2: Border as a cause of conflict

Border conflict	Frequency	Percentage
S.S. Embassy	25	34
S.S. Students	20	27
S.S. Businessmen	15	20
IGAD officers	10	13
AU officers	4	5
Others	1	1
Total	75	100

Source: Author 2015

The table 3.2 indicates that the border issues have promoted conflict in the South Sudan. South Sudan embassy officers 34% strongly agreed that border disputes were a major cause of conflict in South Sudan. 27% of S.S. students agreed that border issues caused conflict in South, 20% of S.S business men agreed border dispute was a cause of conflict, IGAD officers 13% felt that border issues have been a cause of conflict, while 5% AU officers and 1% others agreed that border dispute was one part of cause of conflict in South Sudan.

3.5.2 Oil

Oil conflict has been experienced in S. Sudan. The oil resources conflict is related to the control of its right and managing it.

Table 3.3 Oil resources as a cause of conflict

Border conflict	Frequency	Percentage
S.S. Embassy	20	27
S.S. Students	10	13
S.S. Businessmen	30	40
IGAD officers	8	11
AU officers	6	8
Others	1	1
Total	75	100

Source: Author 2015

Table 3.3 indicates that oil has contributed 40% to the internal conflict in South Sudan. 27% of S.S. Embassy officer felt that oil has been cause of conflict in S. Sudan, 13% of S.S. Students felt that oil has been cause of conflicts in S. Sudan, 11% of IGAD officers view the oil as a cause of conflict in South Sudan. 8% of AU officers felt that oil has contributed to conflict while other (1%) consider oil as a less contributor of the conflict in South Sudan.

3.5.3 Cattle Rustling

The strong and active tradition of heavy dependence on cattle as the source of livelihood has been encouraging conflicts in South Sudan.

Table 3.4 Cattle rustling as a cause of Conflict

Cattle rustling	Frequency	Percentage
S.S. Embassy	20	27
S.S. Students	36	48
S.S. Businessmen	10	13
IGAD officers	4	5
AU officers	3	4
Others	2	3
Total	75	100

Source: Author 2015

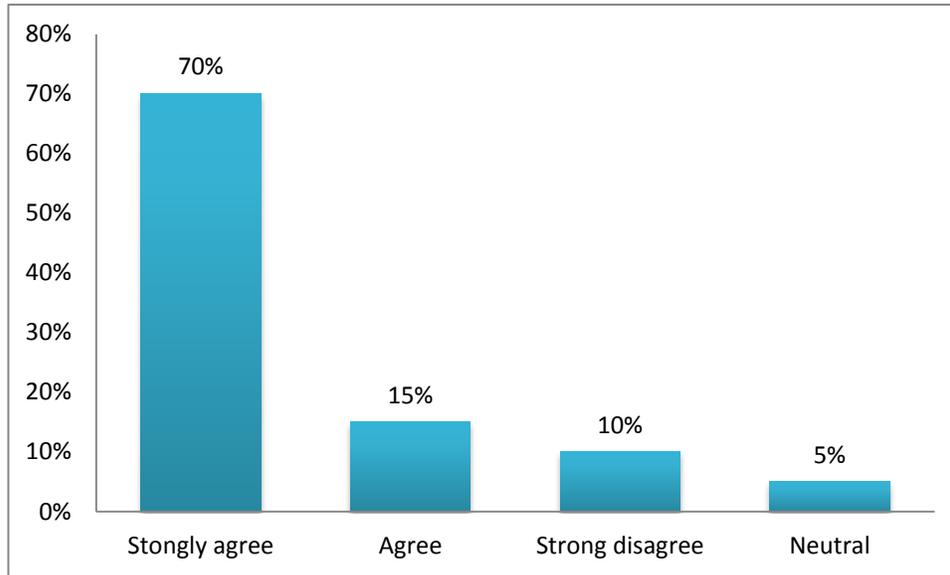
The survey respondents indicated that 48% of respondents established that cattle rustling has been cause of conflict in South Sudan, 27% respondents claimed that cattle rustling has caused conflicts, 13% identified cattle rustling as a cause of conflict, 5% sand cattle rustling has cause conflict in several times, 4% claimed cattle rustling has been cause of conflict while 3% of respondents, said cattle rustling had twice caused conflict in South Sudan.

3.5.4 Tribal Conflict

The study established that tribal conflicts have existed in South Sudan. The study also established that South Sudan is multi ethnic country. Ethnic conflicts between settled

farmers and Arab nomads moving South in search of water and pasture has been along standing problem. Over the years, there has been traditional conflict over resources.

Figure 3.1 Tribal Conflicts



Source: Author 2015

Figure 3.1 indicates that during survey, majority of South Sudanese strongly agreed that tribal hatred among the tribes living in South Sudan has been contributing conflicts between them. The study established that 70% of South Sudanese strongly agreed that tribal hatred has been a cause of conflicts in South Sudan 15% agreed that tribal hatred has caused conflicts, 10% respondents strongly disagreed that tribal hatred was not a cause of conflict, while 5% were neutral.

3.5.5 Political Supremacy

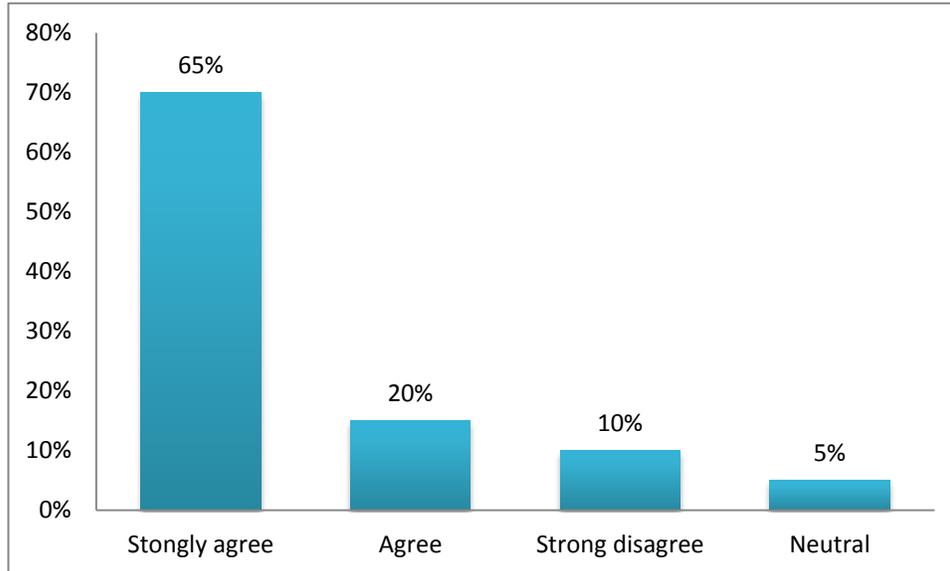
The study established that political supremacy in SPLM has also been source of conflict among the South Sudan Political leaders. Fighting between president Salvo kiir and former vice president Rick Machar intensified the conflict as both rival for power aimed at successful control of local resources and development of commercially driven global networks of support. The political economy and geographical distribution of resources have thus, significantly been influencing the livelihood and cause of wars.¹²⁹

This influence is played out through local resource exploitation schemes involving territorial control and access to labour and capital as well as through global commercial networks. To some extent many contemporary wars resemble the merchants' capital wars of early colonial times, privately financed to serve economic objectives. These wars are aggravated by the scale of the unregulated global economy, the initiatives of local authorities, and the availability of modern weaponry.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

¹³⁰ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

Figure 3.2 Political Supremacy as a cause of Conflict



Source: Author 2015

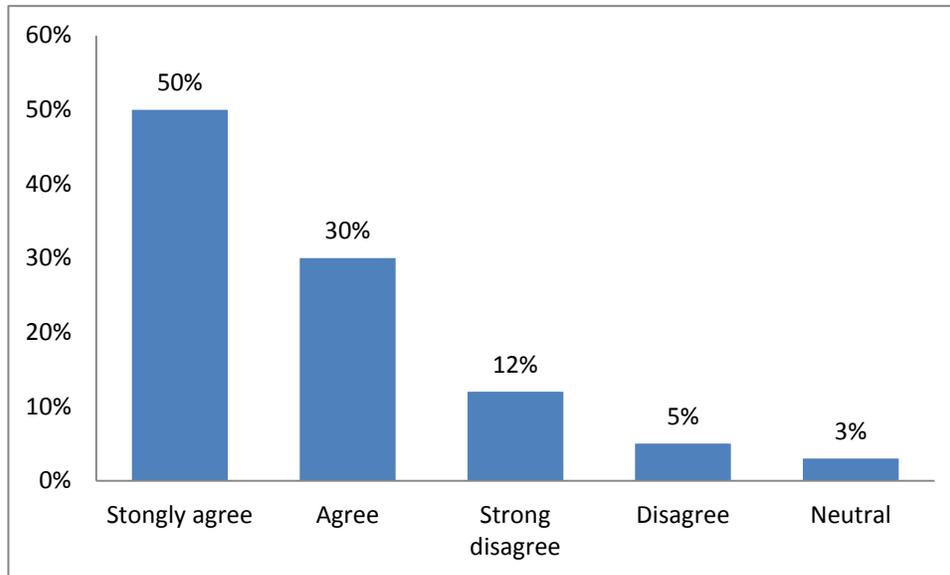
Figure 3.2 indicates that during the survey over half of the respondent agreed that political supremacy in the South Sudan has contributed to conflicts. 65% respondents strongly agreed that political supremacy has contributed to conflicts in South Sudan. 20% agreed that political supremacy has caused conflicts while 10% strongly disagreed that political supremacy has contributed to conflict. 5% respondents were neutral.

3.5.6 Militias

South Sudan is currently at war with armed groups among them, Yau Yau and North SPLM. The fighters accuse the government of plotting to stay in power indefinitely, unfairly representation and support of different tribal groups while neglecting development in rural areas. On 14th December, 2013 President Salva Kiir alleged that a largely Nuer faction of the Sudan people's liberation Army (SPLA) loyal to former Vice

President Rick Machar attempted a coup d'état and that the attempt was put down the next day. However, fighting between the two factions has continued. In addition, Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) from Uganda which also operates within South Sudan along the border has also contributed to internal conflict in South Sudan.¹³¹

Figure 3.3 Militia as cause of conflict



Source: Author 2015

The above figure 3.3 indicates that 50% of respondent strong agree that militias has been a cause of conflict in South Sudan, 30% of respondents agree that militia was a cause of conflict, 12% of the respondents strongly disagree that militias was a cause of conflict, 5% disagreed, while 3% was neutral.

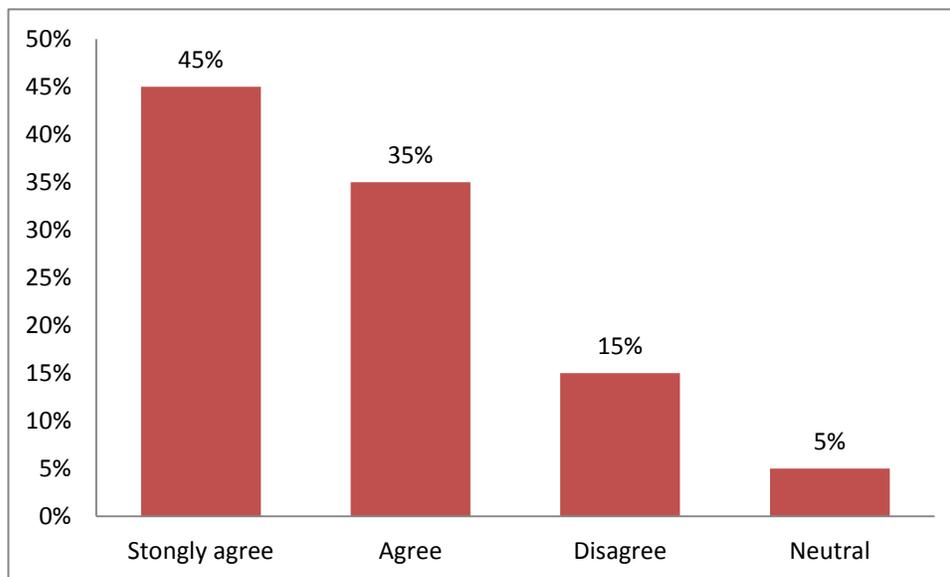
3.5.7 Foreign Interference

The presence of strategic resources in country may fuel conflict by inviting and attracting foreign both state and non state. In South Sudan these external forces have found it easy

¹³¹Interview with survey respondent on 4th, May 2015

to prey on resource because of relative anarchy. In furtherance of interest in exploiting strategic resources, external powers like China and India engage in activities that promote, abet sustain and even instigate conflicts in the resource-rich region. The study established that business rivalry in South Sudan especially in those rich areas in oil has been fuelling conflicts by making lucrative deals with the rebel movements.¹³²

Figure 3.4: Foreign Interference as a cause of conflict



Source: Author 2015

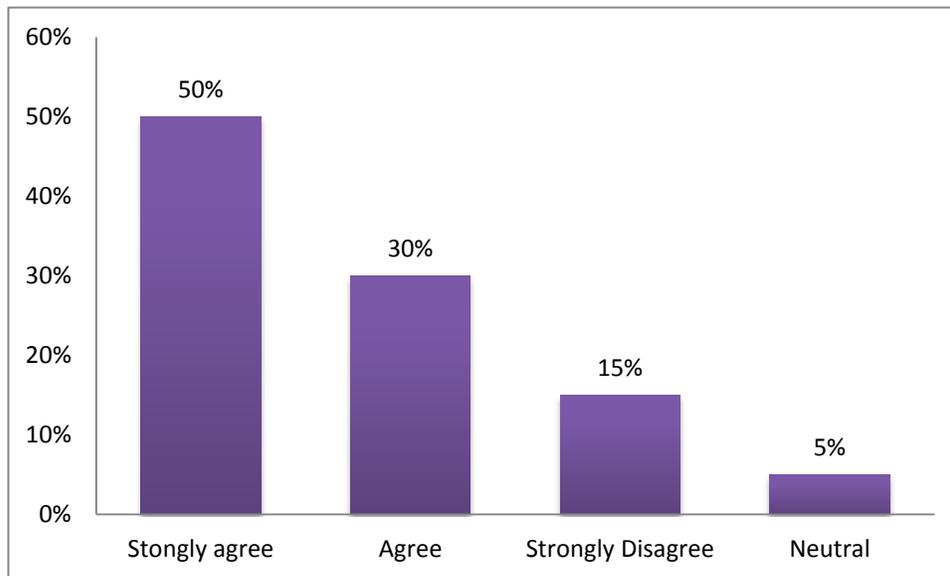
The above figure 3.4 established that, 45% of respondents strongly agreed that foreign interference has been a cause of conflict in South Sudan, many times, 35% agreed that foreign interference has caused conflict several times in South Sudan 15% disagreed that foreign interference has been a cause of conflicts in South Sudan while 5% of the survey remained neutral.

¹³²Interview with survey respondent on 4th May, 2015

3.5.8 Unemployment

The study established that South Sudan has been experiencing shortages of economic opportunities particularly in rural areas. High numbers of youthful men are unemployed. Employment in traditional agriculture and animal husbandry are limited. Most of young men are involved in cattle raids which have become a cause of conflict in South Sudan¹³³.

Figure 3.5 Unemployment as a cause of Conflict



Source: Author 2015

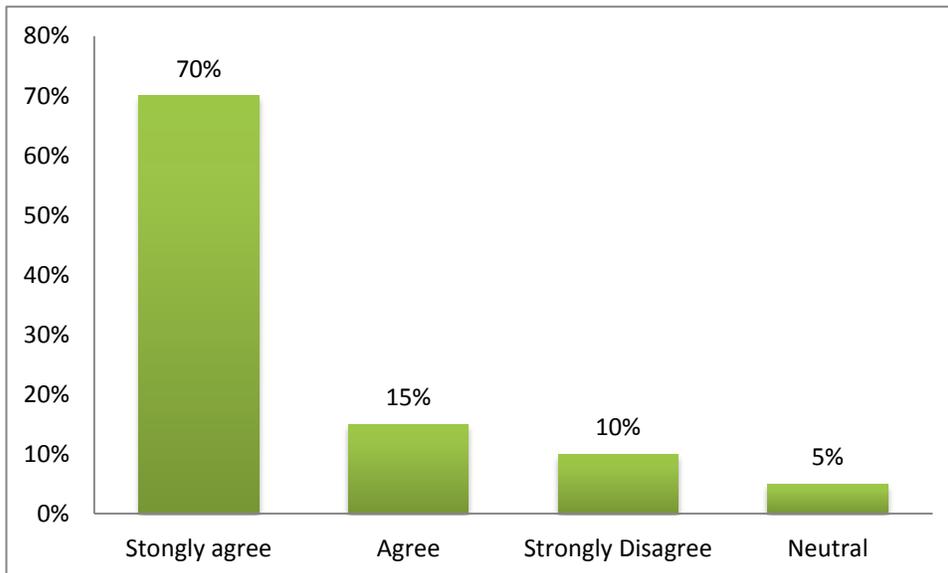
The above figure 3.5 indicates that unemployment in South Sudan has been a cause of conflict. 50% of respondents strongly agreed that unemployment was a part of cause of conflict. 30% of interviewed respondents agreed that unemployment has contributed to conflict, 15% of respondents strongly disagreed that unemployment was a cause of conflict in South Sudan, and the rest of 15% were neutral.

¹³³ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

3.5.9 Foreign Policy

The study examined the relationship between the internal conflicts and foreign policy of Republic of South Sudan. It emerged that the foreign policy, which is, the scope of involvement abroad and the collection of goals, strategies and instruments that are selected by government policy makers in Republic of South Sudan has negatively been affected by the internal conflicts in South Sudan.

Figure 3.6 Foreign Policy and Internal Conflicts



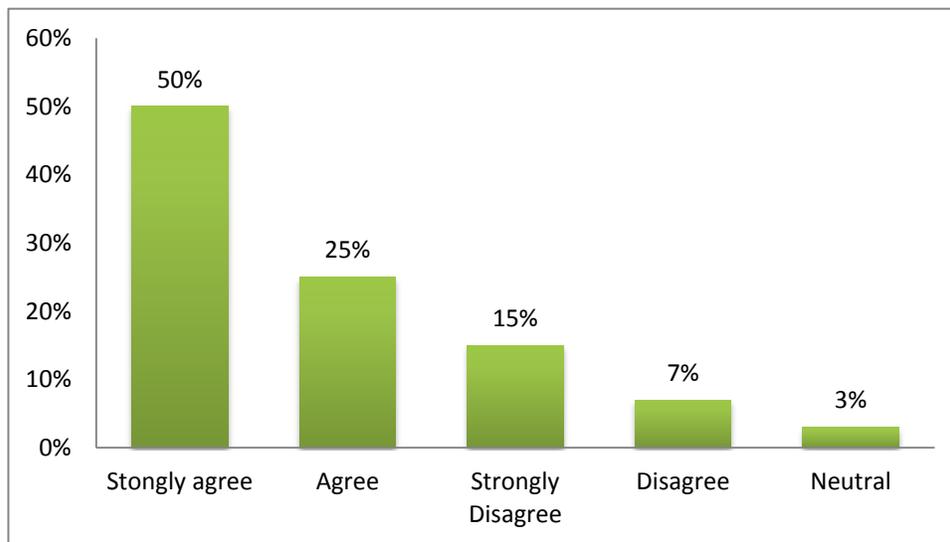
Source: Author 2015

The above figure 3.6 represents the percentage of effects internal conflicts on the foreign policy. In the field study, 70% of the interviewed respondents strongly agreed that internal conflicts has affected foreign relations in South Sudan, 15% of respondents agreed internal conflicts has affected foreign relations, 10% of respondents strongly disagreed that internal conflicts has not affected foreign relations while 5% remained neutral.

3.5.10 Conflict Resolution

Conflict refers to that situation where there are at least two entities between which there is a battle, fighting, struggle, tension, clash, controversy or opposition because of differences in opinion ideas or interests. The case could also be attributed to competition for resources and power whereas conflict resolution and approaches are viewed as the means of using various methods or techniques in getting a resolution or solving a problem.¹³⁴

Figure 3.7 Poor conflict resolution approaches



Source: Author 2015

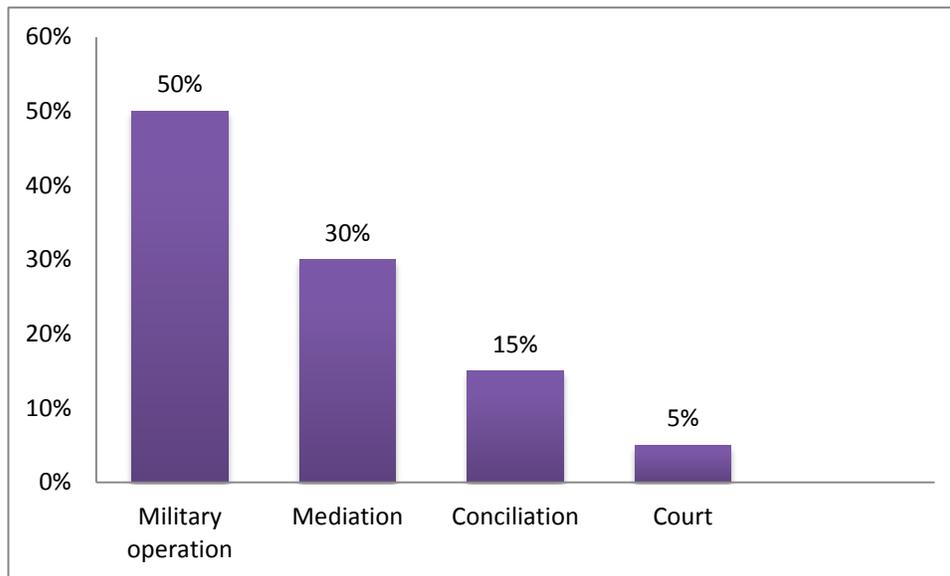
¹³⁴ Z. Nthamburi, 'The Paradigm of Ethnicity, Its Influence and Reference in Public Life Today.' In Tarimo and P. Manwelo, (ed) *Ethnicity and the future of African States*, Op. cit

The above figure 3.7 indicates that conflict resolution approaches in South Sudan has been poorly conducted. 50% of respondents interviewed strongly agreed that conflict resolution approaches are poor, 25% agreed that conflict resolution approaches are poor, 15% of respondents interviewed strongly disagreed that the conflict resolution approaches are poor. 7% of respondents disagreed while 3% of respondents were neutral.

3.5.11 Types of Conflict Resolution Approaches

The study investigated the type and the tactics of approaches used to resolve the conflict in South Sudan and the following conflict resolution approaches were revealed: Accord, military operations, negotiation, mediation, agreements, dialogue, conciliation and court process¹³⁵.

Figure 3.8 Types of Conflict Resolution Approaches



Source: Author 2015

¹³⁵ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

The above figure 3.8 indicates the type of conflict resolution approaches that has been used in South Sudan conflict. The respondents interviewed claimed that; military operations 50%, mediation 30%, conciliation 15%, and 5% courts have been used in mitigating conflicts in South Sudan.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter discussed the causes of conflict in South Sudan: namely Border conflicts, oil resource conflicts, cattle rustling, political supremacy, militias, foreign interference, unemployment, foreign policy and conflict resolution approaches.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter three provided the case study of South Sudan's internal conflicts and foreign policy. The chapter examined internal conflicts in South Sudan putting into consideration of the historical background of South Sudan; causes of the conflicts, foreign relations and the conflict resolution approaches used to resolve the conflict. Chapter four critically analyzes the internal conflict and foreign policy in South Sudan. In so doing, the chapter assesses the role of foreign policy in mitigating internal conflicts in South Sudan. The analysis takes into account internal conflicts, relationship between the conflict and the foreign policy as well as conflict resolution in the study as the back bone of the explanation.

4.1 Emerging Issues

The study examined the causes of internal conflicts, foreign policy in relations to internal conflicts and conflict resolution approaches used to resolve conflict in the South Sudan. In understanding various factors that contributed to internal conflict in South Sudan, the study establishes that there are eight factors that have contributed to internal conflicts in South Sudan. The first factor is border, the second factor oil resources, the third factor is cattle rustling, fourth tribal conflict, fifth factor is political supremacy, the sixth factor is militias, the seven factors is foreign trade and the last one is unemployment. Further, the study establishes relationship between foreign policy and conflict resolution approaches.

The overall objectives of the study was to examine the factor that lead to internal conflicts, foreign policy relation to internal conflict and conflict resolution approaches using the case study of South Sudan, 2005-2014. According to Getui, conflict refers to that situation where there are at least two entities between which there is a battle, fighting, struggle, tension, clash, controversy, or opposition because of differences in opinion ideas or interests.¹³⁶ Conflict resolution approaches are defined as the means of using various methods or techniques, in getting a resolution or solving a problem. Davidson defines conflict approaches as legitimized methods of giving the best conflict resolution. He argues that this leads to a reduction of conflict, sustainability, and availability of equitable benefits from the use of natural resources. This in turn brings about protection of unique natural resources and ecosystem leading to improvement in livelihood opportunities, food security and the potential for country's economic development and investment.¹³⁷

From the overall objectives of the study there are four sub-objectives that form the base of the study. The first object of the study was to examine the role of foreign policy in mitigating conflict in Africa, the second one was to examine the internal conflicts in South Sudan and foreign policy in South Sudan, the third one was to assess the role of foreign policy in mitigating internal conflicts in South Sudan, while the last objective was to explore the best conflicts approaches in resolving conflicts in the South Sudan. From the guidelines that the objective gives for the study, the collected data largely affirms

¹³⁶ M.W. Getui, *"The Ethnicity factors in Politics, Religion and Conflict"*; Op. cit p.50

¹³⁷ Davidson, *Integrated Trans-Boundary Review Management Policy*, Op. cit, p.21.

that; politics, borders, oil resources, cattle rusting, and tribalism, are the main causes of conflicts.

Politics over strategic natural resources has also accelerated internal conflicts in South Sudan. Murshed argues that, disputes that arise may be organized around social class, ethnicity, religion, region or some combination of these factors, the struggle can be over economic opportunities, as well as political and civil rights, among other contestable factors. Although natural resources are inherently good in terms of generating wealth and contribution to peace and development, inequities in their distribution use, needs, desires and management have been sources of tension both internationally and in intra-state-disputes.¹³⁸ Heinrich Boll, views that, the link between conflicts and natural resources are not always so clear yet resource-rich countries have been shown to be more susceptible to conflict and appear to be greatest in countries which depend on primary commodities such as oil, gas and mineral ores.¹³⁹

i) Border conflict

The study carried out established that the natural resources cover a very large area occupied by the different local communities. The competition of over natural resources such as water and pastures between the Dinka and Ngok who are settled farmers and the Arab nomads has always resulted into conflict. This competition over natural resources supports Mitchell's views that a conflict arises when two or

¹³⁸ M. Murshed, "Conflict, Civil war and underdevelopment" *An Introduction, Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 39, No. 4 pp.387-393. Accessed: 21st April, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1555273>.

¹³⁹ Heinrich Boll, Shifting, the green political foundation, (2008) natural resources and conflict. Accessed 17/05/2015 website:www.boel.de/resourcegovernance

more parties have incompatible goals about something.¹⁴⁰ The study established that there have been traditional conflicts between settled farmers and Arab nomads moving South in search of water and pastures that has been a long standing problem over the years.

ii) Oil resources

The study carried out exposed that the oil field control in some areas of Kordofan, and Hegling in South Sudan, contributed to conflict. The competitions over oil between the local communities and to some extend foreign rivals have led to conflicts in South Sudan. China and Indian Oil Companies also facilitated conflict in the areas of interest in South Sudan through Government of South Sudan.¹⁴¹ The competition over the oil resources supports Mwagiru's views that, in a simple conflict, for example between two people the incompatibility arises because they may both have different perceptions, goals and ideas about how to achieve them.¹⁴² Underlying that situation is a conflict of vision and often an ability or unwillingness to see the other persons-point of view. Mwagiru further alludes that conflict is about values, want and interests which are negotiable and not susceptible to settlement.¹⁴³ The study established that oil in South Sudan continues to be a potential source of conflict due to lack of proper management and infiltration by Multinationals which sponsor oil conflict in furtherance of their interests.

¹⁴⁰ C. Mitchell, *The structure of international conflict*, (London: MacMillan press, 1998). Pp.15-25.

¹⁴¹ Daniel Large, 'China and the Contradictions of "Non interference" in Sudan', *Review of African Political Economy*, (2008) pp 35- 115 Accessed on 22nd September 2014

¹⁴² M. Mwagiru, *Conflict, theory, process and institute of management*, (Nairobi; watermark printers Kenya ltd, 1999), p.3.

¹⁴³ M. Mwagiru, The international management of internal conflict in Africa: *The Uganda mediation*, 1985 (PhD Dissertation University of Kent at Canterbury, 1994) p.15.

iii) Cattle rustling

During the interview it was revealed that cattle rustling has been common among the local communities. The strong and active tradition of heavy dependence on cattle as the source of livelihood has promoted conflicts in South Sudan. Cattle rustling is seen as part of culture as cattle are used for many purposes such as payment of dowry, income source, food and wealth. Awadi argues that, performing a single traditional marriage would cost a family up to an average of 100 heads of cattle and this is very costly to an average family household. As a result, there are cattle raids and counter raids which flare insecurity.¹⁴⁴ The study observed that cattle raids as culture, goes in line with Mwagiru's views that, conflict also relates closely to the cultural setting. What may be considered wrong and divisive in one culture may not be considered offensive in another.¹⁴⁵ He further explains that the cultural factor also extends to the causes of conflict. For instance, a gesture that is acceptable in one culture may be offensive in another on the other hand a conciliatory gesture in one culture might not be considered to be in another one.

iv) Tribal conflict

Through carrying out interviews, the study established that the South Sudan people are made up of different ethnic groups. These ethnic groups generally are concentrated regionally and speak distinct languages. There is no majority ethnic group; some of the largest ethnic groups are the Dinka, Nuer, Shulhuk, Murle,

¹⁴⁴ A.J. Wadri, *Perspective on tribal conflicts in the South*, (Khartoum; University of Khartoum, IAAS, 1998), p.41.

¹⁴⁵ M. Mwagiru, *Conflict in Africa theory, Process and Institution of Management*, Op. cit, pp.1-2.

Funj Sultanate and Azande. Each tribe wants to be dominant thus, creating a very tight tribal competition which is easily manipulated by politicians.¹⁴⁶

The study established that South Sudan is multi-cultural multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-racial society. The combination of the different tribes has been a great factor in promoting tribal conflicts over years. Tribes like Azande, Avungara, Dinka, Shilluk, Bari, Lou, Jikany and Nuer having been fighting each other over control of natural resources.¹⁴⁷ For instance, Lou and Jikany had consistent conflict over the use of water of Sobat River along Jonglei and Upper Nile border. In the year 2009, about 2,500 people were killed while about 390,000 were displaced in South Sudan as a result of inter-tribal conflicts.¹⁴⁸

However, Eltigari, points out that ethnicization of the conflict has grown over more rapidly since the coming to power by military coup in 1989 of the National Islamic Front (NIF) regime which is not only Islamist but also Arab-centric.¹⁴⁹ The study established that tribal conflicts have been also part of inter-communal disputes, which makes claim on administrative resources as a result of speculation on its future value and on the possibility of it bearing minerals.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

¹⁴⁷ Ibid

¹⁴⁸ A thematic Report from the Norwegian Refugee Council, *Mitigating a Humanitarian Disaster* (2010)

¹⁴⁹ Eltigani Seisi and M. Ateem, *The root causes of conflicts in Sudan and the making of the Darfur tragedy (NEPAD and Regional integration division limited nations economic commission for Africa conflict prevention and development co-operation in Africa: A policy workshop* (Wilton Park: Sussex 8-11 November, 2007).

¹⁵⁰ Interview with survey respondent on 4th May, 2015

The study established that South Sudanese culture promotes tribal conflict. The investigation of study goes in line with Nantulya observes that culture tends to promote violence instigated by ethnicity and catalyzed by socio-economic marginalization. This is mainly among the pastoral communities due to lack of a proper policy framework to manage diversity, achieve culturally sensitive structures for good governance and the incompatibility of indigenous African cultures, values and institutions with the existing constitutional and political models. The situation is worsened by lack of creative modalities which could make full use of cultural patterns of the people concerned as opposed to the liberal models of governance including the multiparty system.¹⁵¹

v) Political supremacy

The study established that political supremacy and other forms of identity politics remain key factor in conflict; power is increasingly gained through the successful control of local resources and the development of commercially driven global networks of support. Further the study established that political supremacy in the Sudanese people's liberation movement has also been source of conflict among the Southern Sudan political leaders. The study also established that the political supremacy was not a new phenomenon in South Sudan, it goes back to 1991. After formation of the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA) under leadership of colonial John Garang de-Maboir soon internal opposition increased culminating into an attempt to over throw SPLA leader colonel John Garang on August 28, 1991. Several factors split from the SPLA often along ethnic lines and

¹⁵¹ P. Nantulya, "*The challenges of managing Africa's diversities and the role of the African union and civil society*" in the perspective on the OAU/AU and conflict management in Africa, 2004 p.57.

some were funded and armed by Khartoum, with the most notable being the SPLA-Nasir in 1991 led by Rick Machar.¹⁵² However, in 2002 movements united again.

The study established that despite that unity of SPLA the issue of political supremacy came again, President Salva Kiir alleged that on 14th December, 2013 a largely Nuer faction of the Sudan people's liberation army loyal to former vice President Riek Machar attempted a coup d'état and that attempt was put down the following day. The fighters accused the government of not being democratic, promoters of tribalism, and unequal distribution of natural resources. However, fighting has continued. The violent political conflict became both a regional and international concern.¹⁵³

vi) Militias

The study established that rebellions and civil war has been going on. The study noted that South Sudan is currently at war with several armed groups. These conflicts have affected nine of its ten states. The study established that Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) also operates in a wide area that included South Sudan. The fighters accuse the government of plotting to stay in power in the indefinitely, not fairly representing people and not supporting all tribal groups and neglecting development in rural areas.

¹⁵² Time-Com. "Deadly clashes on South Sudan's path to freedom". 12th February 2011. Retrieved on 21st December, 2014

¹⁵³ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

vii) Foreign trade

The presence of strategic resources in a country fuels and even instigate conflict by inviting and attracting foreign in South Sudan, these foreign or external forces have found it easy to prey on resource dependent countries because of the relative anarchy that prevails in these weak states because of the high interest in exploiting strategic resources external powers and forces engage in activities that promote abet, sustain and even instigate conflicts in the resource rich regions.

The study carried out showed that business rivalry especially in those oil field areas in South Sudan, multinational corporation companies from China, India and Western countries has been fueling conflicts; through making lucrative deals rebel movements.

viii) Unemployment

The study established that South Sudan is still young nation with half of population being under age of eighteen. 83% of the population is found in rural areas and depend on traditional farming. There is high degree of illiteracy whereby the formal sector is mainly occupied by foreigners. Lack of economic opportunities particularly among the local youth is a big problem and this has been part of cause of conflict.

4.2 Foreign policy

The study revealed that the internal conflicts in South Sudan has affected her foreign relations; the scope of involvement abroad and the collection of goals strategies and instruments that are selected by government policy makers.¹⁵⁴

Ibrahim Farrah argues that, foreign policy is the actions and declarations that

¹⁵⁴ A. Jerel Rosati, *The Politics of United States, foreign Policy*, (Harcourt: Brace college publishers, 1990), p.1.

affect the external environment of a state strategically planned to achieve a specific goal for the state through specific means and methods.¹⁵⁵

The study investigated the foreign policy in South Sudan from 2005, and established that signing of Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between South and North, marked the end of 22 years civil war in Sudan. The agreement lasted until 2011, when South Sudan declared self-independent from the Republic of Sudan. The signing of CPA failed to solve several numbers of crucial issues that have affected South Sudan foreign policy.

Border Conflict

The study established that first objective of South Sudan foreign policy is promotion of international cooperation, especially within the United Nations, African Union and other international and regional organizations for the purpose of consolidating universal peace and security respect for the international law, treaty obligation and fostering a just world economic order. In this first objective the South Sudan has partly fulfilled through becoming a member of United Nations and African Union. However, conflict with neighbouring countries has been experienced. South Sudan has also failed in international treaty obligations on boundaries considering her significant factor in fueling border conflicts between the two states; South Sudan and Sudan.

The study also established that Abyei which has been contentious area between North and South and continued to be a flash point marked by conflicts between the Republic of

¹⁵⁵ Ibrahim Farrah, *Foreign policy and Conflict in Somalia*, Op. cit.

Sudan and South Sudan. This is due to unresolved status of the area; whether Abyei belongs to South Sudan or Sudan, hence affecting relations between the two states.

Oil conflict

The study established that oil continues to be a potential source of conflict between the two states. Sharing of oil revenues has been a big problem. The controlling of oil products by Chinese and Indian companies and Western interest in oil products has affected South Sudan foreign policy.¹⁵⁶ While Indian citizens and Churches opposed Indian oil companies in South Sudan against the search for energy security on human rights basis, SPLA was also against the Indian oil companies' presence in the South accusing them of being used by the North to escalate conflicts. Due to her interest in Oil India had to find a way of balancing relations between the two states among them; training diplomats from South Sudan in New Delhi. On the other hand China financed and supplied Sudan with arms to fight he South while disregarding human rights in order to enable China National Petroleum Company (CNPC) carry out oil business.¹⁵⁷

Militia's conflict

The militia conflict in South Sudan has affected her foreign policy. The study established that the South Sudan and Uganda relations has been a source of bad relations between Sudan and South Sudan especially when the two states of Sudan and Uganda accuses each other on harbouring and supporting each other rebels¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

¹⁵⁷ Daniel Large, (2008) China and the Contradictions of "Non interference" in Sudan, *Review of African Political Economy*, Op. cit.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

The study further established that both Sudan and South Sudan support rebels against each other. The Sudan government supports the Yau Yau forces. While the South Sudan supports SPLM North as well as the Darfu rebels against the government of Sudan. These activities affect the foreign relations between the two states.

The study established that, Republic of South Sudan foreign policy aim at enlightenment of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in regional and international fora. This aim has failed as killing of innocent people continued after independence. Raping women and girls, burning houses and displacement of population have been reported. In addition, South Sudanese increasingly continue seeking refuge in the neighboring countries.

The study established that, despite South Sudan foreign policy aim being to enhance economic cooperation among countries of the region it has been affected by the conflicts, as an internal conflict becomes endowed with many external characteristics. For instance, the militia in South Sudan that from both Uganda and Sudan affects the cooperation between the two states with South Sudan.

The study established that, South Sudan foreign policy also aims at combating international and transnational organized crime, piracy and terrorism. But this has failed. South Sudan is currently at war with several rebellions that have killed many people and others displaced. Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) has been operating in a wide area of South Sudan.

Conflict Resolution

The study carried out, established that conflict resolution approach in South Sudan was poorly conducted. Conflict resolution aims at addressing the basic causes of a conflict to settle the grievances between the involved parties. However, there is usually a dilemma in conflict management between resolving the conflict and settling it. Settlement is centered on power while settlement does not regard power as necessary to manage the conflict. In structuralism perspective, achievement of peace can only be realized by checks on the structures that lead to the conflict.¹⁵⁹ Lack of efficient and effective conflict resolution approaches that would dismantle these structures remains the biggest challenge for African diplomacy at large. The problem of border conflict, natural resources, oil, land, cattle rustling, tribal conflict, political supremacy, militias, foreign trade, unemployment and foreign policy in South Sudan are thus not exclusive to South Sudan. The past and current approaches to conflict have often failed to understand the context within which conflicts operated or to address the causes. While it is possible to distinguish between the root causes of conflict, the secondary causes that enable and sustain conflict and tertiary causes, or the barriers that hinder resolution, preventing conflict and maintaining peace remain among the most vital and most elusive goals of diplomacy, and international conflict management.¹⁶⁰

Indeed, the acid test for international and regional organizations is invariably their efficacy in the area of peace and security management. Thus, the continuing proliferation of wars, conflicts, and all manner of sectarian violence and communal strife is eloquent

¹⁵⁹ M. Mwangiru, *Conflict in Africa, Theory, Process and Institution of Management*, Op. cit.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

testimony to the failure of international organizations to deal effectively with the peace and security nexus.¹⁶¹

Weakness of Conflict Resolution Approaches

The study revealed that all agreements reached in South Sudan and even before independent were weak agreements. The Anyanya 1 War ended in 1972, and gave birth to Addis Ababa peace agreement, which established the Southern autonomous region. However, the two parties never adhered to the agreement. The Northern policies towards the South encouraged marginalization and Islamization. Southerners stood once against the Northern regime. This resulted into abolishment of Southern Sudan autonomy ending the Addis Ababa agreement.¹⁶²

The study established that after the end of Addis Ababa agreement, in fighting developed among the Sudan people's liberation army/movement (SPLA/M). Despite that opposition, in 2002, the South Sudanese reunited. In 2003 the SPLA/M and the government of Khartoum agreed on a ceasefire that led to the signing of the CPA in 2005 ending 22 years of conflict between the North and South.¹⁶³

The study revealed that in 2005, comprehensive peace agreement, mediated by the intergovernmental authority on development (IGAD), as well as IGAD partners and construction of donor countries, was signed in Nairobi and autonomous government of

¹⁶¹ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

¹⁶² Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

¹⁶³ Ibid

Southern Sudan was formed. This agreement lasted up to the year 2011, when South Sudan was declared independent. However, the study shows that the agreement signed between the National Congress Party (NCP) and Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) establishing referendum that was part of fulfillment of the requirement of the CPA, failed to agree on several post-referendum issues.

The study exposed those critical components of negotiations which the two parties has failed to solve; citizenship, the complex part is that the CPA did not clearly spell out the date of Southerners living in the North should leave after separation. On the other hand, there are northerners in the South whom the CPA did not mandate to leave.¹⁶⁴

The study revealed that Abyei area is located between North and South. Because of weak CPA, Abyei area continues to be a flash point between the Republic of Sudan and the South Sudan because of unresolved status of Abyei area. The two parties also failed to end border disputes areas of oil producing region of South Kordofan, Blue Nile and Abyei.¹⁶⁵ Despite an acceptance by both the North and the South on a ruling by arbitration court in The Hague that created new boundary of Abyei putting it in the North. Tension between the two parties continued as they failed to agree on key legislative agreements among them the Abyei Referendum Bill.¹⁶⁶ The region has yet to be divided in a separate referendum whether to join the South or North.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

¹⁶⁵ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

¹⁶⁶ A thematic Report from the Norwegian Refugee Council, 2010, "*Mitigating a Humanitarian Disaster*", Op. cit.

The study investigated out that, sharing of the oil revenue as estimated 80% of the oil in both Sudan is from South Sudan, still remain a big issue. Oil was not fully addressed in great detail in the CPA. The study revealed that oil production is controlled by the Chinese and Indian companies. The separation of South Sudan from Sudan, perhaps would allow other investors to come in Western companies are also interested to invest in oil production¹⁶⁷.

The study revealed that after signing of the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) was not the end of signing peace agreements. In June 2010, the CPA parties signed another agreement that was memorandum of understanding in Mekelle, Ethiopia. The memorandum committed them to come up with solution of post referendum issues which were crucial. They also agreed outline modalities of solving those problems. They also agreed to look into other issues including citizenship, security, financial, economic, natural resources, legal issues and international treaties.

Through interviews the study established memorandum of understanding (MOU) signed was cosmetic. It failed to address the issues which led to signing of MOU. Both parties were not totally committed. The negotiating teams were also hand capped as they lacked strategies and directives from the parties. The SPLM had no enough technical expertise and lacked access to information which was controlled by their NCP counterparts in the government. Important issues such as oil statistics and other economic issues went largely unanswered, posing challenges for implementation and threat to security.

¹⁶⁷ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

The study established that all the parties involved conflict resolution that lacked proper mediation which is very important in extremely bitter disputes. This view is supported by Cohen as he argues that mediation is necessary in extremely bitter disputes especially those in which the parties have been engaged for long periods and are locked in public postures which appear to make compromise impossible without loss of face. It is very useful where the parties have profound distrust of each other's intentions and where cultural differences present in additional barrier to communication.¹⁶⁸

Cooperation Approaches

The study established that, border conflicts, land, oil resources and cattle rustling have become natural resource based conflicts, as a result of poor environmental cooperation approaches.¹⁶⁹ This goes in line with Mazrui views that, "Natural resources based conflicts prevention will not be effective unless it is based on Africa's own experience and capacity to approach crisis".¹⁷⁰ Africa provides examples of some of the world's largest lasting regional conflicts. Resolving the persistent conflicts in South Sudan needs a commitment to use government and institutions as a means of managing regional conflicts. South Sudan needs to adapt the concept of environmental cooperation.

The study established that South Sudan lacked environmental cooperation approaches in solving natural resources conflicts. The environmental cooperation is part of a long-time

¹⁶⁸ E.A. Cohen, *Causes, conduct and termination of war*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1991) pp. 30-40

¹⁶⁹ S. Field, *Peace in Africa: Towards a Collaborative Status Security Regime*, (Johannesburg: The Institute for Global Dialogue, 2004), p.16.

¹⁷⁰ A. Mazurui, *Towards A pax African: A Study of Ideology and Ambition*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967) pp.10-13

solution to conflict. It offers sustainable solutions for the future. It contributes to the improvement of living constitutions such as supply of water, grazing and it fosters the building of confidence and trust among adverse societies. The study established that, environmental issues and the mutual ecological dependence across territorial borders facilitate and encourage cooperation, which often is a first step toward the initiation of an ongoing dialogue which would be difficult to mediate through political channels.

The parties to a conflict get integrated into a cooperative negotiation processes as they share management of environmental resources development. Political tensions can be overcome and due to the establishment of mutual trust a creation of a common regional identity and the idea of mutual rights and expectation are likely to emerge.¹⁷¹

The study established border conflicts, land issues which include water and grazing and oil resources the South Sudan have failed to solve all these conflicts as a result of lack of strengthening regional cooperation. In return, lack of regional cooperation hampers conflict resolutions. Carius, argues that, the importance of environmental cooperation is to strengthen regional cooperation and fostering political convergence of parties to a conflict. According to Carius cooperation on environmental issues is likely to lead to, the internalization of shared norms, the creation of a regional identity and regional interests. The creation of a regional identity is related to the way people see and understand geographical spaces and communities. In the long term, environmental cooperation has the potential to replace the traditional concept of mutually exclusive and potentially defined identity with a concept of an ecological community. This fosters the creation of shared perception, experiences and communal goals. In addition, communal participation

¹⁷¹ Ibid

in environmental issues reduces environmental conflict.¹⁷² He further delineates the advantage that environmental issues hold; that they facilitate cooperation between adverse parties, they ignore political boundaries in order to sustain and manage natural resources or mitigate negative environmental impacts and that the parties work together in the cooperation.¹⁷³ This cooperation gives rise to a connection between different people, areas, regions and countries.

Environmental issues initiate long term cooperation for their solution through consultation which is necessary.¹⁷⁴ If shared environmental conditions need to be managed effectively on a platform for dialogue and interaction which fosters building of trust between adverse societies. He further advances that environmental issues lend themselves to people-to-people interactions, while interactions among civil society could be seen as a pre-stage for an ongoing dialogue between states.¹⁷⁵ This ability to act on environment issues enables cross-border linkages that may serve as precursors to state-to-state engagements.¹⁷⁶ This cooperation should also form a basis for mitigation of other conflicts like oil and other natural resource based conflict in pursuant of their interests.

¹⁷² C. Alexander, *Environmental Peace Building, Environmental Cooperation as an Instrument of Crisis Prevention and Peace-Building: Condition for Success and Constrains*, (Berlin; Adelphi Press, 2006).p.11.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ D. Geoffrey, *Environmental peace and the dialogue among civilization and cultures*, (Tehran; IRI, press, 2006),p.11

Policy and Institutional Approaches

The study established that, the Republic of South Sudan had no policy and institutional approaches in solving conflicts. They never practiced the policy and institutional dimensions of integrated natural resource management approaches. South Sudan in those areas of natural resource conflicts like oil field areas, water and pastures need adoption of policy and institutional integrated approaches to manage conflicts¹⁷⁷.

Through interview the study established that, there are countries that have been successful in solving natural resource conflict, for instance, natural resource conflicts in the Tanzania. The natural resource conflicts have been managed by a non-governmental organization (NGO) whose vision and mission were developed in a participative process through a series of workshops. NGO focuses on facilitating good local governance across several sectors that included water, education and health.¹⁷⁸

The policy and institutional approaches goes in line with Claudius views, as he argues that, the NGO initiated a dialogue project that focuses on the nature of relationships between users of natural resource and the systems of natural resource management that govern these relationships. The building blocks of the projects design are based on the underlying logic that if collaborative relationships among local stakeholders exist good governance of natural resources would prevail. The basic principle behind the model is that people's mindsets can be changed through persuasion so that they start cooperating

¹⁷⁷ Interview with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2015

¹⁷⁸ Interviews with respondent on 28th May, 2015

and entering into dialogue with their rivals or perceived rivals to resolve natural resource conflicts.¹⁷⁹

The study established that, South Sudan had not adequately used integrated legal approaches which should involve various stakeholders from the agricultural sector, pastoral sector, both GoSS and states' governments, traditional leaders, natural resource bodies, NGOs, community based organizations and other interest groups in solving natural resource conflicts.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, people resort their plights to the traditional system and worse of, they directly seek support of their SPLA leadership in case of need of official help.¹⁸¹

4.2 Conclusions

The chapter criticizes the root causes of conflicts in the Republic of South Sudan. The criticism is based on border issues and how the border has caused conflict. It also criticizes the oil resource conflict issues, cattle rustling, tribal conflict, political supremacy, militias, foreign trade conflict, unemployment and how foreign policy has been affected by the internal conflicts, conflict resolution approaches, the type of conflict resolutions approaches to natural resources, environmental cooperation approaches, policy and institutional approaches, policy and institutional approaches. The critical analysis focused conflicts and foreign policy in the Republic of South Sudan.

¹⁷⁹ Claudius Chikozho, *Policy Institutional Dimensions of Integrated basin Management* (Pretoria international water management institute, 2005),p.20

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Barbara Unger, Oliver Wils, "Systematic Conflict Transformation and Inclusive Governance in South Sudan." *Berghof Foundation for Peace Support*, (May 2007) p.18 Accessed on 22.09.2014

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Summary

Chapter one, presented the background of the study, statement of the research problem, objectives of the study, specific objectives, literature review, justification of the study, hypothesis, theoretical framework, research methodology, and chapter outline. Chapter two presented an overview of conflict and foreign policy in Africa and conflict resolution approaches. The chapter is divided into the following sub-sections: background of conflicts in Africa, cause of conflicts, foreign policy and conflict resolution approaches. Chapter three which is the case study of the project presented primary obtained with regards to internal conflicts in South Sudan from the years 2005 and 2014. However, the chapter also gives information on the years before the case study as the background information. The chapter examined the causes of the internal conflicts, foreign policy, and conflict resolution approaches. Chapter four critically analyzes internal conflicts in South Sudan, role of foreign policy in mitigating conflict and conflict resolution approaches in solving conflict. The chapter criticizes the border conflict, militias, tribal conflict, oil issues, foreign trade, and unemployment, foreign policy and conflict resolution approaches. The critical analysis focused on conflicts, foreign policy and conflict resolution approaches in solving conflict in South Sudan. Chapter five gives summary, key findings conclusions, and recommendations.

5.1 Key Findings

The findings of the study were presented in accordance with the research objectives to examine the role of foreign policy in managing internal conflict in Africa. The study found out that the internal conflict in South Sudan though border and resources based is complex from the foregoing, it becomes very clearly that the conflict in South Sudan has deep roots going into the past as far as the pre-colonial times, while others are as recent as after independent. However, despite existence of foreign policy which aims at promoting international cooperation and consolidating universal peace to crates a just world order South Sudan foreign policy has fallen short of the goal. It is also clear that though conflict over natural resources could have fuelled the previous conflicts in South Sudan, border from a variety of perspective is seen to be the biggest issue in the area not only at intrastate conflicts level but also at international level with her neighbours. Therefore, intervening by providing equal natural resources distribution to the local communities could only postpone the conflict but not solving the main problem.¹⁸² However, initiatives for cooperation between communities, areas, regions and countries especially on environmental and natural resource based conflict are the necessary tools to mitigate the conflicts.

The study established how the South Sudan conflict over resources could be destructive to all parties involved especially when given ethno-political competition, which has been achieved since independence and has finally degenerated into discrimination and violence. For instance attempt of the government to stay in power indefinitely, unfairly

¹⁸² Interview with respondent (name with held), on 28th May 2015)

representation and support to all the tribal groups while neglecting development in rural areas triggered a wave of ethno political violence. Many people have been violently driven from their homes and many are now resettling in ethnically homogenous zones. The phenomenon of ethnic discrimination comes into play when each region is identified with a certain ethnic group, whenever political misunderstandings emerged and when those who are identified as foreigners are forced to go to their ancestral land.

During interview with businessmen from the South Sudanese community, the study revealed that the conflicts affected business in South Sudan economy negatively and led to low circulation. The South Sudanese traders made huge losses during conflicts, many shops and hotels were closed down due to the lack of business.

Further interviews with the South Sudanese revealed that conflicts resulted in villages being burned, women and girls were raped, untold number of civilians killed, many people displaced and stalled development in all affected areas. In addition lack of shelter exposed many families to harsh weather conditions resulted in sickness especially among the children.¹⁸³

The study established that civil wars in Sudan since independence encouraged acquisition of firearms in South Sudan. Most of the youth in rural villages possess guns. Moreover, the government has failed to control use of fire arms by the civilians. Illegal trade of fire arms, between neighbouring countries has been highly observed. This has made management of conflict in South Sudan to be difficult. The study also established that most of local government positions especially in the rural areas are held by ex-combatant.

¹⁸³ Interview with South Sudan Embassy officer, on 29th May, 2015

They filled the offices to reinforce rule of law but were not trained and lacked working experience making controlling of conflicts to be very difficult.¹⁸⁴

The study revealed that culture in South Sudan has been one factor that contributes to conflict. Traditionally, Sudanese heavily depends on cattle as the source of livelihood, cattle are heavily valued for payment of dowry, income source, and food and wealth, and cattle raids in South Sudan are a part of culture that encourages conflict. Mwangiru highlights that; conflict relates closely to the cultural setting. “What may be considered wrong and divisive in one culture may not be considered in another.”¹⁸⁵

The study revealed that conflicts in South Sudan have really affected foreign relations with other countries, especially the neighbouring countries. The relation between South Sudan and Sudan has not been good. The two states keep on waging a proxy war against each other by arming and harboring each other’s rebels. The government of Sudan continues to support the forces of Yau Yau and other rebels groups and these groups continues to pose major security threat to stability and peace of the Republic of South Sudan. On the other hand, South Sudan continues to support the forces of the SPLM north as well as the Darfur rebels against the government of Sudan. These rebels continue to have basis inside South Sudan territory from which they operates.

The study revealed that although South Sudan became independent, some certain disputes still remained unresolved and affected her foreign relations with Sudan. For instance

¹⁸⁴ Interview with South Sudanese student, on 29th May, 2015

¹⁸⁵ M. Mwangiru., *Conflict in Africa, Theory, Process and Institution of Management*, Op. cit. p.1

Abyei area continues to be a flash point of conflicts between Sudan and South Sudan because of unresolved status of the area. Oil revenue sharing and other natural resources continue to be a potential source of conflict between the two states and issues of citizenship between the two states. The complex part being that the CPA did not clearly spell out the fate of Southerners living in the North after separation. Foreign trade has also affected the South Sudan foreign relations. There was cross border trade between North and South of Sudan before the independence of South Sudan. After South Sudan gaining independence the border trade was stopped, affecting the relation of the two states.

The study revealed that sharing oil revenue between the two states affected the South Sudan foreign policy. Oil production in Republic of Sudan is dominated by Chinese and India companies which facilitate conflict in South Sudan and Sudan government is not ready for other investor's especially western investors. On the other hand South Sudan is ready for western investors.

It also emerged during the study that continued souring of border conflicts along which oil fields lie, among them, South Kordofan, Blue Nile and Abyei has also affected South Sudan foreign policy with Sudan.

The study established that militia conflicts have affected South Sudan foreign policy. The South Sudan – Uganda relations has been a source of souring relations between Sudan and South Sudan. The two states: Sudan and Uganda accuses each other on harbouring

and supporting each other's rebels within South Sudan. The involvement of the Ugandan defense force (UPDF) in South Sudan internal conflicts has been misinterpreted by the Republic of Sudan as an aggression by Uganda against the Sudan's interests in South Sudan further hampering relation between Sudan and South Sudan.

During the interviews, the study revealed that historical methods of conflict, mitigation and resolution by respected leaders where negotiation of land, grazing and water rights need to be shared had been fallen foul to the manipulation of armed malevolence for personal gain.¹⁸⁶ Further, the study established that conflict resolution was done by use of gun. Rule by respect for values and by the degree of those in authority have been replaced by the rule of a gun, regardless whether it is the judge, the chief, the parent, the policeman or woman.¹⁸⁷

During the study, it became clear that there were no strong traditional conflict resolution mechanism within and between the local communities. However, members of the South Sudanese community said that they had council of elders, who helped to solve the conflict arising with other communities. During interview with members of the South Sudan embassy, they admitted that they had no traditional conflict-resolution mechanisms. They felt that such roles should be taken by the community barazas and churches. They pointed out that they tried to use the elders in their community to broke peace but their initiatives were ignored as the conflicts continued. They agreed that the council of elders do not command much authority any more in the South Sudanese

¹⁸⁶ J. Douglas, *The Root causes of Sudan's civil wars*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003) p. 142

¹⁸⁷ *United Nations Sudan joint Assessment Mission Report*, Vol. III Cluster Report, March 18, 2005.

community, thus adoption of conflict resolution approaches that include environmental cooperation amongst the communities, organizations, countries and regions should be encouraged to mitigate the internal conflict.

The study revealed that conflict resolution approaches in South Sudan were poorly conducted. Negotiations and mediations by antagonistic parties were always weak and could not completely end the conflicts. Signing of the CPA between the two parties brought the end of civil war. However, the peace agreement failed to solve several numbers of crucial issues, instead kept on postponing for future negotiation.

The study further revealed that after signing of CPA, the parties signed another agreement that was Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in Mekelle, Ethiopia. The Memorandum committed the parties to come up with solution of post referendum issues which were crucial. However, the MoU failed to address the issues that led to its signing as both parties were not totally committed.¹⁸⁸

5.2 Recommendations

The newly independent South Sudan needs to concentrate on state- nation building and preventing conflict through examining carefully the structures of conflicts and use the best conflict resolution approaches in solving the conflicts.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with South Sudanese Embassy officer, on 29th May, 2015

As pressure on the natural resources continues to increase, it is ever more critical to find out sustainable solutions to natural resources management. Reconciling the impacts of these pressures requires an understanding of how natural systems interact, their interdependencies and their changing relationship over time. A solution would also require an understanding of the consequences of different conflict management approaches. The state also needs to have an ability to balance the needs of society and the natural resource and willingness for dialogue with relevant stakeholders in order to address the causes of the conflict and formulate strategies on conflict management.

In creating a peaceful environment, there is need for an integrated resource management policy which can be achieved through the following steps:-

- i. Investment in research on strategic natural resources. This would inform the strategies and policies on how the resources and benefits there of would be distributed with a view to minimizing natural resource based conflict for an ultimate peaceful Country.
- ii. Establishment of regulatory mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the exploitation of the natural resources in line with the strategies and the policies to ensure transparency and accountability for the benefit of all stakeholders.
- iii. Improvement of infrastructure and services like health and education as well as security environment in all the states to reduce disaffection from lack of development.

On foreign trade, the newly independent South Sudan needs to create conducive business environment and confidence for both local and international investors. The GoSS needs

to initiate youth empowerment programs to deter the youths' involvement in the conflicts like joining militia and cattle rustling.

South Sudan needs to establish a strong democratic nation, good governance, transparency and accountability that promote confidence, stability and the credibility of government. The GoSS also needs to be guided by a popular constitution. This would control the political power and reduce political supremacy conflicts that exacerbate to politicians marshaling ethnic support.

To conclude, conflict resolution could be fully achieved through establishment of peace building. It is a long term process that occurs after violent conflict has slowed down. GoSS needs to establish peace building mechanisms to entail; early warning, response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy work, civilian and military peace keeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance. GoSS may also consider adopting frameworks for ceasefire agreements and establish peace zones. Combination of these factors would facilitates the establishment of sustainable durable peace and prevent recurrence of conflict by addressing its roots causes. This would make it easy to mitigate conflicts through reconciliation and institution building for a stable social equilibrium where new disputes would not spiral into violence and war. The GoSS may also consider engaging the South Sudan diaspora in borrowing some conflict resolution practiced in their host countries.

The study suggests for further research in area of effect of oil based conflicts on foreign policy of South Sudan. Whereas boundaries define political areas, the core causes of the conflicts are the resources around these boundaries. Exploitation of these resources involves the host country search of market on one hand while on the other hand, other countries are in pursuit of the energy resource.

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APPENDIX I: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

In the interest of confidentiality, do not write your name or your organization anywhere on this questionnaire.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I humbly request you to complete this questionnaire seeking information that will help me in my research study. The objective of the study is to examine “Internal conflicts and Foreign policy of South Sudan from: 2005-2014.

The questionnaire is in two parts and has 21 questions

PART A: INFORMATION ON YOUR PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES

1. What is your current occupation?

- i) Student []
- ii) Employee []
- iii) Diplomat []
- iv) Business []
- v) None []

2. If you are employee, please comment about your current employment position

.....
.....

3. What is your total number of years that you have been in South Sudan?

- i) 0-5 years []
- ii) 10 years []
- iii) 15 years []

- iv) 20 years []
 - v) 25 years []
 - vi) Over 30 years []
4. What is the highest level of education you have completed
- i) Primary []
 - ii) Secondary []
 - iii) Tertiary []
 - iv) University degree []
 - v) Post-graduate []
5. How old are you?
- i) 18-35 []
 - ii) 35-55 []
 - iii) 55-65 []
 - iv) 65+ []
6. Sex/gender of the respondent (interview)
- i) Male []
 - ii) Female []
7. What is your current marital status?
- i) Single []
 - ii) Married []
 - iii) Divorced []
 - iv) Separate []
 - v) Widowed []

8. About your background, where you were born.

i) Outside South Sudan

ii) South Sudan

9. What is your religion, if any?

i) Protestant []

ii) Catholic []

iii) Muslim []

iv) Indigenous beliefs []

v) Others (specify).....

10. This question seeks information about your living between the period 2005 and 2014, where have you been living, place of childhood first 25 years.

i) South Sudan

ii) Outside South Sudan

PART B: INFORMATION ON INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND FOREIGN POLICY

11. This question seeks information about internal conflicts in South Sudan in your opinion , what are the root causes of internal conflicts in South Sudan?

.....
.....

12. In your opinion do you think that internal conflicts in South Sudan have affected the country?

Yes []

No []

13. If yes, please comment about the effects

.....

14. In your own opinion, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?

(Use scale 1-5 where 1= Strongly agree, 2 =agree, 3=neutral, 4= disagree, 5= strongly disagree) Please tick appropriately. (NB. The period in question is between 2005 and 2014)

		1	2	3	4	5
1	Tribalism was a cause of internal conflicts in South Sudan					
2	Political supremacy has been a source of conflict among the South Sudan political leaders					
3	Militia were a cause of internal conflict in South Sudan					
4	Foreign interference contributed to internal conflicts in South Sudan					
5	Unemployment was a cause of internal conflicts in South Sudan					
6	Internal Conflicts affected South Sudan's foreign policy					
7	Conflict resolution in Sudan has poorly been conducted					

15. In your opinion, do you think that internal conflicts in South Sudan have affected the other countries?

Yes []

No []

If yes please comment how the internal conflicts in South Sudan have affected the other countries.

.....
.....

16. In your opinion do you think that there is solution to these internal conflicts in South Sudan.

.....
.....

17. This question seeks information about foreign policy in South Sudan

In your opinion, do you think that there is relationship between internal conflicts and foreign policy in South Sudan?

.....
.....

18. In your opinion, do you think that internal conflicts have affected foreign policy in South Sudan?

.....
.....

19. In your opinion do you think that foreign policy is effective in South Sudan?

.....
.....

20. In your opinion do you think that relationship between South Sudan and other countries (neighbouring) is good?

.....

.....
21. In your opinion what can you comment about conflict resolution approach in
solving internal conflicts of South Sudan?

.....
.....

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation, I highly appreciate your help in
advancing this research study.

Daniel Gatundu

MA Candidate