

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI



INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN STRATEGIC STUDIES

ETHNICITY AND NATIONAL SECURITY: SOUTH SUDAN 2011-2017

FRANCIS NG'ANG'A

R47/8907/2017

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN
STRATEGIC STUDIES OF NAIROBI UNIVERSITY

December, 2018

000000
018 1260A

Bd 37 52.5 11

Afs


GN

496.1

•573N2


DECLARATION

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

Signed.......... Date..... 19th Dec 2018

Francis Ng'ang'a

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed.......... Date..... 19th Dec. 2018

Supervisor's name and Full Titles

Dr Anita Kiamba, PHD – UoN

Signed.......... Date..... 19th Dec-2018

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my fellow Course Participants of G2 course no. 33 of 2017/2018

Defence Staff College, Karen

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge my supervisor for guiding me throughout the entire research process, up to this successful end. The directing staff (DS) of Defense Staff College and fellow course participants of Grade 2 staff course No 33 of 2017/2018 and last but not least to Major Peter Gichuhi Muturi for his encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	II
DEDICATION	IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VI
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	VIII
ABSTRACT	IX
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	4
1.3 Research objective	6
1.4 Specific objectives	6
1.5 Literature Review	6
1.6 Justification of the Study	14
1.7 Theoretical Framework	15
1.8 Hypotheses	16
1.9 Methodology	16
CHAPTER TWO	19
THE ACTORS AND ISSUES IN SOUTH SUDAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY SINCE 2011-2017	19
2.1 Introduction	19
2.2 Historical Background	19
2.3 Power Wrangles and Ethnics	26
2.4 Actors in the Conflicts	33
CHAPTER THREE	40
SOUTH SUDAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES AND CONCERNS SINCE 2011-2017	40
3.1 Introduction	40
3.2 Challenges to Peace and Security in South Sudan	40
3.3 Impact of the ethnicity on South Sudan security	50

3.4 Costs of the War.....	56
CHAPTER FOUR.....	60
4.1 Introduction.....	60
4.2 AU Mediation Panel and IGAD Peace Process	60
4.3 The Continued Positive Role of the International Community	64
4.4 The Role of the UN and the Fear of Spread for Extremist	67
4.5 South Sudan Fatigued With War and Just Want Peace	69
4.6 Lessons for South Sudan as a Young Nation from Other Countries	70
CHAPTER FIVE	81
RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION	81
5.1 Introduction.....	81
5.2 Conclusion	81
5.3 Recommendations.....	82
BIBLIOGRAPHY	86

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APSA: African Union Peace and Security Architecture

SANU: Sudan African National Union

SPLA: Sudan People's Liberation Army

MVM: Monitoring and Verification Mechanism

CPA: Comprehensive Peace Agreement

UN: United Nations

AU: African Union

IGAD: The Intergovernmental Authority on Development

NSS: National security strategy

GoSS: Government of south Sudan

EUPF: Ethiopian United Patriotic Front

ICC: International Criminal Court

CoH : Cessation of Hostilities

TGoNU: transitional government of national unity

DDR: Disarmament, Demobilization, And Reintegration

CPA: Comprehensive Peace Agreement

IHL: International Human Law

UNMISS: United Nations Mission Of South Sudan

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

LRA: Lord of Resistance Army

SOFA: Standard of Forces Agreement

IDP: Internally Displaced Persons

ABSTRACT

The international community praised Sudan for a peaceful referendum, which led to the independence of South Sudan. This was especially due to the promise by Khartoum (Sudan), even before and after the referendum, to adhere to and respect the results of the referendum. The results indicated that 99% of South Sudanese voted to secede from the north, according to the first complete results of the region's independence referendum. Following this, the world hoped that, there would be a relative peace for development after South Sudan had gained its independence. Contrary to what was expected, the new nation (South Sudan) is currently plunged into Civil War. The study examined how ethnic conflicts have affected security of South Sudan. Specifically the study sought to: examine the historical background, the actors in the issues in of power wrangles and ethnicity in South Sudan's national security since 2011-2017, investigate South Sudan's national security challenges and concerns since 2011-2017 and the examined whether measures and efforts taken by the international community (including the IGAD Plus, AU, and the UN) has any effect on south Sudan national security. This study was based on three theories: Instrumentalist Theory and Constructivist theory. The study employed a descriptive research design approach which has enabled me to use observations and case study to present the information contained in this document. The study used documents analysis as sources of information. These documents included: journal articles, Government reports, theses and dissertation, and books. The study relied primarily on secondary data. The data analysis used was purely descriptive and exploratory. The study further concludes that African Union does not have institutional and systematic process of mediation and therefore must build up one as a culture. This will eliminate personal ways of mediation as well as independence in the mediation process. Coming up with institutional and systematic culture of mediation will make stronger harmonization of AU and RECs envoys improving teamwork in mediation process and hence conflict resolution. The study recommends that the mediators should sit with all parties involved in the conflict listen talk to them over livestock, land and power among other issues of concern. The state should establish community based ways of solving conflicts. This should include leaders of local groups, youths and women as well as other citizens to help them develop skills for dealing with small conflicts which lead to greater wars in future.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The ending of Cold War prompted or enabled new secessionist movements and reinvigorated dormant separatist claims all over the world.¹ The right of people to self-determination is invariably defined and understood to mean the right of people to freely determine their government. The variability in the forms of free determination also points to the sometimes uneasy relationship between self-determination and secession. Although secession has long been a staple of the interstate system, recent secessions, for example, in Abkhazia, East Timor, Eritrea, Kosovo, Somaliland, South Ossetia and the tremors from the disintegration of three federal republics - the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia - have brought renewed attention.

Over the past two centuries, dozens of secessions have occurred in Africa, Asia, the Americas, Europe and Oceania. All told, the last two centuries witnessed the emergence of five to six dozen de facto and de jure independent secessionist states.² Although many of these turned out well—i.e., established peaceful and prosperous states a significant proportion did not. Some of the early quests for self-determination and secession have been resolved, while others linger. New instances have also surfaced. Examples of all three types are Somaliland, Puntland, Zanzibar, Niger Delta (Biafra), Western Sahara, Casamance, Cabinda, Ogaden, Ormia (Oromo Liberation Front), Tuareq (Azawa), Comoros, Darfur, South Kordofan, Blue Nile, Abyei and Mombasa.

¹Verhoeven, Harry. *Black Gold for Blue Gold?: Sudan's Oil, Ethiopia's Water and Regional Integration*. London: Chatham House, 2011.

²Madut, Kon K. "Spatiality of ethnic identity and construction of sociopolitical interaction in South Sudan." *Human Geographies--Journal of Studies & Research in Human Geography* 11, no. 2 (2017).

The fall of Kaddafi also reactivated old divisions in Libya, with Cyrenaica seeking to become a separate state.³

South Sudan has been moving from on crisis to another since war broke in 2013 December. The new country does not know peace or political stability. It can therefore be concluded that south Sudan has all characters of a failed state. The emerging security threats that South Sudan faces is a reflection of its geography, cultural diversity and political history as one unified and tied with that of the Republic of Sudan. South Sudan is so weak as a state and undeveloped and unable to meet Westphalia roles and functions.

The legacy of the war and ethnic exploitation by the political elites saw inter communal conflicts across the country. Khartoum regime used divide and rule tactics, setting one ethnic group against the other or pastoral communities against others with the result that communities were polarized and politically marginalized especially those who did not support the armed liberation struggle by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement. Put differently, the task of state and nation building was to start from the scratch without any corresponding structures and initiatives.⁴

From history therefore, the most serious security threats are internal driven by weak or failed states inability to ensure security to all the citizens and their properties. South Sudan is the newest nation of the world; 193rd member of the United Nations, a member of the African Union, and a sovereign nation.⁵ The state formation evolved out of violence and long years of struggle. It is not surprising that the new state is in Civil War. This is because the old animosity of the

³ Klein S. Braedly, *Strategic Studies and World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) p. 18

⁴ Spiegel, Paul B., Anne Rygaard Bennedsen, Johanna Claass, Laurie Bruns, Njogu Patterson, Dieudonne Yiweza, and Marian Schilperoord. "Prevalence of HIV infection in conflict-affected and displaced people in seven sub-Saharan African countries: a systematic review." *The Lancet* 369, no. 9580 (2007): 2187-2195.

⁵ Joshua Marks: *Border in Name Only: Arms Trafficking and Armed Groups at the DRCSudan Border*, Small Arms Survey, HSBA, Working Paper No. 4, 2007

Nuer and the Dinka ethnic groups in the country was carried into the new nation. A new nation was born but still with the same old people and same rivalries. Despite the fact that the formation of the new nation was seen as a new beginning, a continuation of an age-old animosity between the Nuer and the Dinka persisted.⁶ The ethnic War is not surprising because the struggle for independence came with different people with varying socio-economic and socio-political interests, who teamed up together for the sake of procuring independence from Sudan.⁷ These varying interests between the Nuer and the Dinka have constituted as source of conflict in South Sudan. Ethnic undertones influence the democratic practices, and also engender majority dictatorship syndrome in such a country. South Sudan is characterized by such features. The Dinka tend to dominate the politics of South Sudan to the detriment of the Nuer.

One can say that the state has no lawful national structure of administration/ governance. Most bodies including: bureaucracy, security and judiciary are not function or at best unplanned and dysfunctional. Absent of good or well established government in south Sudan has given room informal economy and rent seeking. High Corruption levels in the country are a clear indication of a failed state or a weak state. Within the SPLM, power struggle and failure to meet people's expectations has caused elite rifts that have led to civil wars such as the sustained wars that started in December 2013.⁸

The power struggles that have assumed ethnic dimensions and caused serious insecurity within have securitized other sectors such as natural resources, environment, energy and transnational crime as criminal organized gangs engage in trade across the national borders with established

⁶ John Young; The South Sudan Defense Forces in the Wake of the Juba Declaration, HSBA, SWP No. 1, P. 35.

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Konrad and Skaperdas; The Political Economy of Organized Crime – Providing Protection When the State Does Not, UCLA, 2011. Land Tenure Issues in South Sudan, USAID, December 2010, P. 29

groups with political motivations over war economy.⁹ Ungoverned spaces between South Sudan and its neighbors especially the border regions along Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda, have internationalized the conflict and instability as a result of resource based pull factors. The war economy associated with poaching of animals such as elephants, giraffe, chimpanzee, antelopes have attracted poaching and commercial trafficking of wildlife by the military, other armed groups and civilians as well. Wildlife and natural resources have fuelled corruption and armed conflicts across South Sudan.¹⁰ This study therefore seeks to investigate the historical background, the actors in the issues in of power wrangles and ethnicity in South Sudan's national security since 2011-2017.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The international community praised Sudan for a peaceful referendum, which led to the independence of South Sudan. This was especially due to the promise by Khartoum (Sudan), even before and after the referendum, to adhere to and respect the results of the referendum. The results indicated that 99% of South Sudanese voted to secede from the north, according to the first complete results of the region's independence referendum.¹¹ Following this, the world hoped that, there would be a relative peace for development after South Sudan had gained its independence.¹² Contrary to what was expected, the new nation (South Sudan) is currently plunged into Civil War.

⁹Spiegel, Paul B., Anne Rygaard Bennedsen, Johanna Claass, Laurie Bruns, Njogu Patterson, Dieudonne Yiweza, and Marian Schilperoord. "Prevalence of HIV infection in conflict-affected and displaced people in seven sub-Saharan African countries: a systematic review." *The Lancet* 369, no. 9580 (2007): 2187-2195.

¹⁰Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017.

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid

The Civil War came about mainly due to the fragile relations between the two predominant ethnic groups (for instance: the Dinka and the Nuer) in South Sudan. Historically, the social and economic relations between the Nuer and the Dinka have mostly generated tensions between these two groups.¹³ This has largely contributed to the state of insecurity and instability in South Sudan and has served as catalyst for the Civil War.

Notwithstanding considerable efforts by regional, sub-regional and international organizations (such as IGAD Plus, the African Union and the United Nations) to broker peace between the warring factions, the ethnic tendencies between the Nuer and the Dinka have made the realization of this goal very difficult.¹⁴ This is due to the fact that, these ethnic tendencies generate frequent tensions and clashes between the two groups. Several scholarly works have been carried out in recent times concerning the Civil War that has threatened the peace and stability in South Sudan.¹⁵ Most of these works have focused primarily on how competition for natural resources, influence of neighboring Sudan and how the proliferation of arms from remnants of past wars have led to the Civil War in South Sudan. However, most of these works have ignored how the ethnic dynamic between the Nuer and the Dinka in South Sudan have contributed to the conflict situation hence threat to national security. Towards this end, this study seeks to look at how the historical relations between the Nuer and the Dinka have contributed to the state of insecurity in South Sudan.

¹³Ranani, Saied Reza Ameli, and Zohreh Nosrat Kharazmi. "The significance of Muslim women in American foreign policy case study: Hillary Clinton's prophecy for women of science in MENA." In *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 61, pp. 20-27. Pergamon, 2017.

¹⁴Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017.

¹⁵Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017.

1.3 Research objective

The study examined how ethnic conflicts have affected security of South Sudan.

1.4 Specific objectives

1.4.1 To examine the historical background, the actors in the issues in of power wrangles and ethnicity in South Sudan's national security since 2011-2017.

1.4.2 To investigate South Sudan's national security challenges and concerns since 2011-2017

1.4.3 To examine whether measures and efforts taken by the international community (including the IGAD Plus, AU, and the UN) has any effect on south Sudan national security.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 Concept of Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a very broad term which can be defined in different ways depending on the context.

Ethnicity is a category of people who identify with each other based on similarities such as common ancestry, language, history, society, culture or nation.¹⁶ Ethnicity is usually an inherited status based on the society in which one lives. Membership of an ethnic group tends to be defined by a shared cultural heritage, ancestry, origin myth, history, homeland, language or dialect, symbolic systems such

¹⁶Babbie, E & Mouton, J. The practice of Social Research: South African Edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press 2015. p.184.

as religion, mythology and ritual, cuisine, dressing style, art or physical appearance. Ethnicity is defined as someone's cultural background or where they came from.¹⁷

In this study however, ethnicity termed as having common culture, practices, beliefs, initiations and same features (i.e. linguistic features) inherited from generation to generation. Ethnicity plays a very critical role in today's politics. In Africa and elsewhere ethnicity have great impact on both politics and other aspects of life.¹⁸ Ethnicity can also be explained in terms of race, people and ethnic group, these are fundamentals that are at the nucleus of African social, cultural and political organization.¹⁹

Issues of ethnicity or ethnic divide once suppressed by European colonial governments in Africa have become resurgent raising prospects for a myriad of conflicts in most African states. Paradoxically, prior to independence, some colonial administrators manipulated ethnic rivalries amongst indigenous populations by employing a strategy of 'divide and rule'.²⁰ This strategy created enmity and suspicions among African peoples and the situation has not significantly changed.

Politicians across Africa continent continue to use ethnicity to promote themselves and inflict maximum political damage on their opponents. They mobilize and sometimes pay youths from their tribes to campaign for them. Sometimes these youths they not only campaign but they

¹⁷Rice, F. Philip, and Kim Gale Dolgin. *The adolescent: Development, relationships and culture*. Pearson Education New Zealand, 2013.

¹⁸Alvidrez, Jennifer, Francisca Azocar, and Jeanne Miranda. "Demystifying the concept of ethnicity for psychotherapy researchers." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 64, no. 5 (2010): 903.

¹⁹Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017.

²⁰Rice, F. Philip, and Kim Gale Dolgin. *The adolescent: Development, relationships and culture*. Pearson Education New Zealand, 2013.

demonstrate and loot the property belonging to people from other ethnic groups.²¹ The beginning of multi-party politics was characterized by the materialization of ethnic based political parties. The main objective is to protect kith and kin at the expense of a genuinely inclusive democracy and political pluralism. Today ethnicity and conflict have replaced social harmony, diversity and development. Some argue that 'dictatorships contained ethnic clashes to a large extent' and that democracy has again revived ethnic clashes as politicians make it an issue to gain political mileage. The above point is debatable though. The situation in Kenya today is evident of how far politicians are prepared to go in abusive the ethnic card in politics.²²

In Sudan, the Darfur crisis is another example of the extremes of ethnicity and its resultant effects of poverty and human displacement. The peoples and ethnic groups of South Sudan have over the years suffered at the hands of the powerful Northerners. The civil war between North and South has left some 2 million people dead and many more that have fled their homeland. At the end of 2003, the Sudanese government and the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) reached a peace agreement mediated by the US, Britain, Norway and Italy. The agreement aims for a ceasefire, sets out conditions for power-sharing and creates a mechanism to determine the future of the South. However, strategic interests of outside powers and escalating violence in Darfur have rendered a quick conclusion on the peace deal impossible. Sudan's large oil deposits are central to the ongoing violence, as foreign governments and companies vie for lucrative concessions. As the North-South conflict eased, rebels in the western Darfur province challenged the government and were met with savage repression.²³ In July 2004, UN Security Council Resolution 1556 endorsed the deployment of a protection force by the African Union

²¹ Ibid

²² Alvidrez, Jennifer, Francisca Azocar, and Jeanne Miranda. "Demystifying the concept of ethnicity for psychotherapy researchers." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 64, no. 5 (2010): 903.

²³ Ibid

(AU) to monitor the April 2004 ceasefire in Darfur. In November 2004, the Security Council held an extraordinary meeting in Nairobi, but the efforts of some Council members to impose sanctions on Khartoum were thwarted by China and Russia, veto-wielding members with significant oil interests. On January 9, 2005, the Sudanese government and the SPLA signed the Naivasha peace protocols, officially ending the North-South conflict. Yet many obstacles continue to block implementation.²⁴

In Nigeria, issues of ethnicity coupled with religious tensions and the North/South divide has also been a major factor in presidential and state politics. It is a pity to state that political conflicts in Africa are synonymous with ethnicity which is often abused or manipulated by failed politicians lacking credible agendas for their people and countries' development. These politicians have in some instances bribed and coerced traditional leaders, thereby tarnishing or destroying the credibility of these once respected traditional institutions.

It is a fact that ethnicity or issues related to it are essentially the major cause of political instability, chaos and bloodshed in Africa. Unfortunately, in some countries these ethnic tensions are instigated by powerful foreign elements with vested interests in Africa.²⁵ For instance, in Somalia the makeshift government there has received substantial logistical support from Ethiopia and allegedly the USA, to prevail against its opponents, the so called Islamic militants. Ethnic Warlords are in control of much of the country and this has worsened any chances of rebuilding the war ravaged country.

²⁴ Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017.

²⁵ Ibid

1.5.2 The Concept of National Security

National security is a state, attained as a result of joint, purposeful measures implemented by the country, that ensures improvement of internal and external security of the a state. as well as improves general abilities and readiness for detection, prevention, and overcoming of threats to the national security.²⁶

The concept of national security has often been taken to merely connote the preservation of sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal stability with the focus on the coercive power of the state.²⁷ In today's complex and interdependent world faced with many nontraditional threats like pandemics, climate change, etc. it must, however, be seen in a more holistic manner. Such an all-encompassing view of national security demands that the determinant of security is not just the coercive elements of state power but its comprehensive national power with the latter being a composite of many factors across all facets of national life. These factors, inclusive of leadership, if quantified, can help develop a national security index which in comparative terms could serve as an indicator of the relative security of a country vis a vis its peers. The holistic nature of national security demands that appropriate structures are in place to manage it. India is fortunate to have such structures which, of course, need revitalization.

Formally seen as security over military attack, security of a nation is seen today to consider many factors such as: cyber security, ecological security, food security and energy among others which are non-military dimensions.

²⁶ Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017.

²⁷ Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017

In addition Deudney asserts that, national security challenges involve act by violent, tranquilizer cartels, non-state actors, and international cooperation's as well as the impact of disasters which occur naturally.²⁸

Different measures are of help to various governments in enforcing national security. These include: political, military power, economic and diplomacy among others. These can help in building the state of regional and global security reducing insecurity caused transnational factors. These factors may include: economic inequality, change of the climate, exclusion politically and nuclear proliferation.

State insecurity can potentially be caused by: cyber attack and military actions of other states, terrorism acts, flooding, earthquakes as well as narcotic cartels. Baldwin explains that type of weather, inequalities economically, exclusion politically and militarization can be termed as major driving forces of transnational insecurity.²⁹

According to Horowitz, economic, energy, physical, environmental food, cyber and border security are the main dimensions of national security.³⁰ Horowitz further explains that the dimensions stated relate closely with national power. States such as Sweden, Spain and UK have organized their security policies into National security strategy (NSS) as of 2017.³¹ These states among others have gone to an extent of appointing NSS to keep an eye on the strategy.

While nations adopt different approaches Brower asserts that, some take actions by non-military to tackle insecurity drivers, coercive authority in many forms predominate and in particular

²⁸Deudney, Daniel. "The case against linking environmental degradation and national security." *Millennium* 19, no. 3 (2010): 461-476.

²⁹Baldwin, David A. "The concept of security." *Review of international studies* 23, no. 1 (2017): 5-26.

³⁰Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli concept of national security." In *The Middle East*, pp. 23-30. Palgrave, London, 2013

³¹ Ibid

military capabilities.³² The range of these capabilities has increased. Initially the capabilities of military ranged only on land and/or sea which are still practiced by the smaller nations. In modern day, capabilities of military also cover cyberspace, air, space and psychological operation. Capabilities of military made for such domains can be used for state protection, overcome and take possession of a territory and resources.

1.5.3 Ethnicity as a Threat to National Security

Deudney define ethnicity as a social occurrence explaining the condition of belonging to an ethnic group, the sense of ethnic identity felt by members of an ethnic community".³³ In literature related to conflict ethnicity has highly been observed particularly in conflicts occurring in Africa. More than 50 percentage of African countries experience multi-ethnic politics related instabilities, violent behavior as a result of disagreements, inequalities and ethnic cleavages.³⁴ Ethnicity can have a double potential. In a varied society it can be a source of conflicts or a characteristic of varied societies celebrating their unity in diversity. This can help in building state unity.³⁵

Brower established that mismatched interests; inability to access political space for some communities; and competition of intergroup identity always cloud Interethnic and intraethnic relationships.³⁶ These factors along with intolerance and disagreements have in some cases led to civil wars. Most African countries (For instance Kenya, Rwanda, DRC among others) have much

³² Brower, Jennifer, and Peter Chalk. *The global threat of new and reemerging infectious diseases: reconciling US national security and public health policy*. No. 1602. Rand Corporation, 2003.

³³ Deudney, Daniel. "The case against linking environmental degradation and national security." *Millennium* 19, no. 3 (2010): 461-476.

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Brower, Jennifer, and Peter Chalk. *The global threat of new and reemerging infectious diseases: reconciling US national security and public health policy*. No. 1602. Rand Corporation, 2003.

been affected by ethnic identity much witnessed in socio, economic and political imbalance. These conflicts in turn have affected choices related to politics, economic and social growth and development. The conflicts have also led to disrespect in relation to group and personal human-rights. In order to solve governance and political problems; elites have used Political principal of their ethnic affiliations and loyalty. This has been witnessed in many situations of post-violence.

37

A major characteristic of transitional society is divisions ethnically and mobilization along new identities which are based on politics. In these societies civil and human population take actions as per the power of politics.³⁸ With this, it is said that when nations encounter intimidating political and economic related responsibilities, ethnic anger and bitterness can be natured.³⁹

According to Kumar, Peace building and transformation efforts in south Sudan are mainly challenged by ethnic differences and disagreements. These ethnic tensions are caused by poverty, dependency on oil as the main source of countries income, inadequate opportunities both politically and economically which are only accessible to a few ethnic groups.⁴⁰ South Sudan's state of conflict today could lead to extensive violence accompanied by harsh effect on society disintegration, further impacting on investment, growth of the economy, increased corruption, and political unstable nation among others.⁴¹

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli concept of national security." In *The Middle East*, pp. 23-30. Palgrave, London, 1983.

³⁹ Brower, Jennifer, and Peter Chalk. *The global threat of new and reemerging infectious diseases: reconciling US national security and public health policy*. No. 1602. Rand Corporation, 2003.

⁴⁰ Kumar, Ranjit. *Research Methodology: A Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners*. New York: Ranjit Kumar, 2010.

⁴¹ Ibid

1.6 Justification of the Study

This research is intended to justify that intercommunity armed conflict in South Sudan is peacefully resolved. This can be done through disarmament of ex-combatants that have melt into the communities either by deserting with the arms from the organized forces or through militias that were developed by the Khartoum government during the SPLA war. A number of initiatives by bodies like IGAD have been taken to contain the conflict. However, more still needs to be done. The exercise of DDR has also been carried out especially in places like Jonglei where organized crimes are prevalent. It has had its challenges, but despite them it has impacted positively on the lives of people since its initiation in South Sudan specifically Jonglei state.

This research is further intended to see that these men who engage in such conflict lay down their arms so that they can support themselves through provision of skills for self-reliance and sustainability in their day to day lives. For example, free education for their children, health care, reduction of poverty through provision of agricultural tools and seeds. When such services are in place this will ensure free movement of people across the state, intermarriages and unity among the people. It will also ensure that the law prevails across all the states so to avoid the communities from taking the law into their own hands. When the militias do this they will realize that war is bad.

Academically, this study will add to the existing literature dealing with conflict management in South Sudan, peace building and reconstruction. In terms of policy, it will serve as a reference point for policy makers in their different capacities to who are involved in realizing both national and international security.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study was based on three theories: Instrumentalist Theory and Constructivist theory.

1.7.1 Constructivist theory

Constructivist theory advances many accounts insisting on the significance of ethnic groups formed as a result of social nature 'based on the idea of imagined society by Benedict Anderson. As an example this description suit Rwanda mainly because, Tutsi/Hutu difference was codified by the Belgian colonial power in 1930 on the issues of records of church, physical measurement and ownership of cattle. In 1994 genocide, identity cards were given and they played a greater role. As argued by Duffy and Ranjit, constructivists narratives of chronological master are not able to give an account of ethnic violence variation both locally and regionally. This narrative is a variable which suits best on state level, but its used to describe situations of ethnic conflicts also in a regional level.

Civil and ethnic conflict scholars have used the three traditional schools of thought to come up with some theories. Monica Duffy in geography describes how charismatic leaders, socially constructed identities, group settlement patterns and safe concerns with standard setting cause rational actors bring up a quarrel to fighting, even when doing so is thought to leave the two competing parties in a more worse state.⁴² Using constructivism approach alone cannot explain empirical puzzles addressed by the research. Pure essentials and pure instrumentalists do not exist anymore." The ongoing civil war in South Sudan can be attributed to deep ethnic conflicts in pursuance of political ends by the elites.⁴³

⁴² Monica Duffy Toft, "Geography of Ethnic Violence.

⁴³ Ibid

1.8 Hypotheses

The study tests the following two hypotheses namely:

1.6.1 Measures and efforts taken by the international community have not brought about peace in the southern Sudan

1.9 Methodology

1.9.1 Research design

The study employed a descriptive research design approach which has enabled me to use observations and case study to present the information contained in this document. The study used documents analysis as sources of information.⁴⁴ These documents included: journal articles, Government reports, theses and dissertation, and books.

1.9.2 Data collection

The study relied primarily on secondary data. The secondary data included information from books, magazines, and published articles as well as some selected internet web sites, where relevant data, pertinent to the topic, will be obtained for this study. The study was primarily qualitative in nature. Qualitative research method is a way of collecting, understanding, analyzing and interpreting unstructured data.

1.9.3 Data Analysis

The data analysis used was purely descriptive and exploratory. These are employed to establish already existing information about the study, and also indicate gaps in existing literature as well

⁴⁴Kumar, Ranjit. *Research Methodology: A Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners*. New York: Ranjit Kumar, 2010.

as suggesting plausible solutions for resolving the conflict situation in the South Sudan based on findings from the study. The exploratory method allows for reviewing several existing literature on the topic. This aided in making objective holistic analysis of the topic rather than relying on personal judgments. Based on the facts or the information obtained from literature reviewed, the descriptive approach was used to trace the trajectory of historical, economic and social relations that had existed between the Dinka and the Nuer which have also contributed to the present day insecurity in the Republic of South Sudan and serve as a catalyst for the Civil War.

1.9.4 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: This chapter contains background information, problem statement and the objectives of the study, study hypotheses, reviews relevant literature and present the theoretical framework within which it is anchored. The chapter finally presents the methods used to undertake the study and outlines its organization. **Chapter Two:** Historical Background, The Actors in the Issues in of Power Wrangles and Ethnicity in South Sudan's National Security Since 2011-2017. **Chapter Three:** The chapter discusses the challenges of ethnic conflicts and its impact on the national security of South Sudan.

Chapter Four: ascertain the measures and efforts taken by the international community (including the IGAD Plus, AU, and the UN) to help bring about peace in the country. The prospects covered in this chapter are: IGAD peace process and AU mediation panel; the continued positive role of the international community; the role of the US and the fear of spread for extremist; South Sudan fatigued with war and just want peace; and lessons for South Sudan as a young Nation from other Countries. **Chapter Five:** This chapter presents the conclusions

and recommendations to the study. The conclusions are arranged according to the study objectives and questions which are linked to the hypotheses of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ACTORS AND ISSUES IN SOUTH SUDAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY SINCE 2011-2017

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses historical background, the actors in the issues in of power wrangles and ethnicity in south Sudan's national security since 2011-2017.

2.2 Historical Background

In Sudan migration Profile reveals at least 6.9 million People affected by Migration and Human displacement. With 4.9 million internally displaced people, 750,000 foreign migrants and refugees living in Sudan and at least 1.2 million Sudanese living abroad compared with a total population of 39.2 million, the country faces enormous challenges to effectively manage migration. In line with other African countries, most of Sudan's migration flows originate from or are destined to neighboring African and Arab countries.⁴⁵

Despite forced migration being a more modern phenomenon, the population is historically known for being highly mobile; "on average 40 percent of the total population in Sudan is believed to be on the move every year for different motives and durations".⁴⁶ Nomadic movements, rural-to-urban migration, and famine related displacement are some of the diverse

⁴⁵ Chacón, Jennifer M. "Unsecured borders: Immigration restrictions, crime control and national security." *Conn. L. Rev.* 39 (2006): 1827.

⁴⁶ Davis, Darren W., and Brian D. Silver. "Civil liberties vs. security: Public opinion in the context of the terrorist attacks on America." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 1 (2013): 28-46.

types of migration Sudan has experienced. The conflict-induced displacement also has historical roots. During the Mahdist rule, for instance, internal and external wars, combined with a strict policy of military conscription and forced migration to the capital, resulted in massive population displacement. The displaced earned labels from the central Sudanese depending on which region they came from.⁴⁷

This created a divide between people, having important implications for the contemporary nation-15 building and integration. By 2005, two Sudanese civil wars had led to more than four million IDPs and about half a million refugees. Since then, the numbers have varied widely, due to continued unrest and occasional violence in the south.⁴⁸ The contemporary conflict-induced migration is a continuation of previous regimes of forced population movements that took place during different periods but for similar structural causes". This study looks further into the modern ethnicity in south Sudan its causes and effects on national security.

2.2.1 Origins of the Nuer and the Dinka

Though its origin is not known, the phrase Nuer has been used for over 200 years. The phrase is assumed to have its origin from the Dinka. The term has describes one person and the group.⁴⁹ The Nuer make a section of greater East African cultural set called the Nilotic but also comprise of Shilluk, Luo and anyuak. The Nuer resides in the swamps of savanna in South Sudan. They live on both sides of river Nile with the sobat and Bahr-al-Ghazah south of its junctions both banks tributaries.

⁴⁷Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. *The culture of national security: Norms and identity in world politics*. Columbia University Press, 2010.

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. *The culture of national security: Norms and identity in world politics*. Columbia University Press, 2010.

Nuer resemble the Dinka by bodily look, the language they use, and traditions thus they share a common origin. However, the narration of their diversity is not known. The Nuer and the Dinka live closely, have an unbroken relationship, share culture and have exchanged daughters and sons for marriage despite the history of conflicts.

It was back in 1980's when the Nuer became part of Sudanese polity. The time the state was taking form, commencing with the Ottoman invasion from Egypt in 1821. Their amalgamation began with slavery trade. The Nuer had resisted the amalgamation into the political stricter of Sudanese. Arab/Muslim, north/black, African/Christian south were as a result of resistance which led to two distinct groups.

The population of Nuer was estimated to be around 200,000 in 1930s. In 1952 they were 250,000 as per the census report of British colony. In 1956 the country become independent though north and south were already in civil wars that took place even to 1972. In their first census after independence the population of Nuer was about 300,000 out of a total population of 15 million.⁵⁰ War came back in 1983 and the population of Nuer then had gone up to to800, 000.

There war has been severe causing a number of casualties for the last eighteen years. Around half a million of victims are Nuer people with their total population now being 500000 out of 26, millions of Sudan's population.

There has been contact politics touching Nuer and other groups who do cattle rustling as their way of living. There are increased conflicts between other pastoral groups and Nuer. This is because cattle to Nuer translate to social, economic and cultural security.⁵¹ Major drivers of

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav."Threat, anxiety, and support of antiterrorism policies." *American journal of political science* 49, no. 3 (2013): 593-608.

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIKUBI
LIBRARY**

violence are the grazing plains found on the upper side of Nile River. This has caused major disputes between Dinka and Nuer.

At some point livestock have affected the ways into which Nuer people react to national power. From one government to another in Khartoum there has been mandate to incorporate all Nilotic areas cattle into national economy. The plan has been reached to through taxation.⁵² These governments have always require tax be paid in cash ensuring that Nuer people who lived in an economy without cash where paid labor does not exist, sold their cattle. This community has challenged government because of the attempt by north to commercialize cattle belonging to Nuer people. According to the Nuer the efforts to commercialize cattle by the government is cruelty to their identity. The government has always used the regional difference between subgroups of Nuer to deteriorate resistance by Nuer people.⁵³

Due to commercialization the Nuer cattle herds have dwindled significantly. This has forced most Nuer people to for help in Dinka villages especially in areas where there are disaster relief centers.⁵⁴

The land where Nuer reside in is swampy and the villages are classified into lineage system into some small important areas. Therefore Nuer are always moving from one place to another according to seasons. In the areas of favorable climates Nuer people grow millet.⁵⁵ Tot (rainy season) and mai (drought season) are two main dictating seasons to Nuer movements. There has been shifting of villages among the Nuer people due to flood from April to October caused by

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Chacón, Jennifer M. "Unsecured borders: Immigration restrictions, crime control and national security." *Conn. L. Rev.* 39 (2006): 1827.

⁵⁴ Brooks, Rosa Ehrenreich. "War everywhere: rights, national security law, and the law of armed conflict in the age of terror." *U. Pa. L. Rev.* 153 (2013): 675.

⁵⁵ Jok, Jok Madut, and Sharon Elaine Hutchinson. "Sudan's prolonged second civil war and the militarization of Nuer and Dinka ethnic identities." *African Studies Review* 42, no. 2 (1999): 125-145.

the rains. November to March is characterized by sending of family member to cattle camps because during this season the resources are limited. The Nuer people have become transhumant due to this migrating feature. The violence frequently occurring in Nuer land has been harmful to the village life. Over the two decades, the burning of villages has caused displacement which caused some people to engage in movements from one place to another. The Nuer people build traditional houses characterized by: windowless mud walls with a very small door, conical grass roof that make them enter their homes by crawling.

Oil on the other hand has contributed to conflicts. In 1998 many villages were burned to create a safe zone making a room for overseas companies dealing with oil. In this alternative livelihoods had to be provided.⁵⁶ The Nuer economy is a subsistent economy basically fishing; horticulture; collecting wild foods and livestock keeping. The most treasured belonging to Nuer people are the cattle which supply them with food and other important assets socially. In addition cattle play an essential role when Nuer performs their rituals.⁵⁷ Their folklore marriage practices; ceremonies in the region and Nuer relation with others all revolve around their cattle. As their believe Nuer treasure their cows and their culture only allows slaughtering only during sacrifice to ancestors, spirits and their gods.⁵⁸ Anything done culture or socially relate to cows.

The kin-relation is dictated by the way cattle pass from a member through lineages. In ceremonies that relate to religion; animals play a very crucial part. They use livestock when praying for rain; when treating the sick; when they need a good crop yield and also use animals when appeasing the ancestors. Nuer believes a man is complete and wealthy by the number of

⁵⁶Rolandsen, Øystein H. "Another civil war in South Sudan: the failure of Guerrilla Government?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 9, no. 1 (2015): 163-174.

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸Malkki, Liisa H. "Speechless emissaries: Refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization." *Cultural anthropology* 11, no. 3 (2010): 377-404.

cattle they possess. Cattle are termed as the end to economic utility.⁵⁹ With Nuer people cattle is the currency in trade dealings. Nuer today involves themselves in trading as a way of subsistence.⁶⁰ In some seasons wild foods are in plenty throughout Nuer land. Today war/conflicts have caused; displacement; famine; loss of wealth among others. This has made Nuer people to engage in building economy through fishing; gathering of wild foods as well as trading. The purpose of engaging in economic activities is rather not to make big amount of wealth but instead satisfy immediate needs. With Nuer majority of grain harvesting is changed into cattle.⁶¹

The Dinka people are an ethnic group inhabiting the Bahr el Ghazal region of the Nile basin, Jonglei and parts of Southern Kordofan and Upper Nile regions.⁶² The Dinka are mainly agripastoral people, relying on cattle herding at riverside camps in the dry season and growing millet (awuou) and other varieties of grains in fixed settlements during the rainy season. They number around 4.5 million people according to the 2008 Sudan census. It is the largest ethnic group in South Sudan. With the Tutsi of Rwanda, they are believed to be the tallest people in Africa. The Dinka' pastoral lifestyle is also reflected in their religious beliefs and practices.

2.2.2 The Conflict in South Sudan 2011: context

South Sudan participated in referendum in 2011 January 9th. It had close examination by international and regional actors as well as pan African community who helped give south Sudan

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Makinda, Samuel M., F. Wafula Okumu, and David Mickler. *The African Union: Addressing the challenges of peace, security, and governance*. Routledge, 2015.

⁶¹ Makinda, Samuel M., F. Wafula Okumu, and David Mickler. *The African Union: Addressing the challenges of peace, security, and governance*. Routledge, 2015.

⁶² Awolich, Abraham A. "South Sudan's national identity challenge: The interplay between fragmented social structure and elite's negative role." *The Sudd Institute Policy Brief*(2015).

independence hence declaring it a new state separate from north side of Sudan.⁶³ International community welcomed the state with great hopes which turned other otherwise with what is witnessed today. South Sudan people themselves also celebrated the achievements but roaring and cheers were for a short time. Bad news spread across the world about conflicts leading to mass destruction of property and villages. Media reports of near genocidal massacres spread throughout the globe.⁶⁴

On December 15, 2013 South Sudan once again slides back to conflict and fight between the South Sudan Presidential guards triggered what later become labeled a Civil war.⁶⁵ Tiger battalion fought for reasons which they didn't disclose to anyone, this sparked off violence and shooting in juba. Salva kiir and his former vice president Rick machar were main protagonists in this violence.⁶⁶ The president showed up in military uniform on the national television accusing his former vice present of plot against military coup. This was strange for he had not worn the uniform since the end of war.⁶⁷ The former president (Machar) denied the accusation claiming that he was not part of first fight. He then affirmed himself to be SPLM/A commander in opposition, an armed opposition group. Following this, in week's time 11 members of SPLM/A leaders including chief of staff, some former ministers and pagan Amum (secretary general) were arrested over attempted coup, Many commanders from SPLM/A become part of formed rebellion after they were beaten from the army.

⁶³Bellamy, Alex J. "The Responsibility to Protect turns ten." *Ethics & International Affairs* 29, no. 2 (2015): 161-185.

⁶⁴Awolich, Abraham A. "South Sudan's national identity challenge: The interplay between fragmented social structure and elite's negative role." *The Sudd Institute Policy Brief*(2015).

⁶⁵International Crisis Group, 2014

⁶⁶Davis, Darren W., and Brian D. Silver. "Civil liberties vs. security: Public opinion in the context of the terrorist attacks on America." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 1 (2013): 28-46.

⁶⁷ Ibid

Many thousands of people were killed and others displaced as a result of the fighting that was created. Some sought help in the nearby countries while others hide in some places within the country.

Violation of human rights was witnessed in great frequency daily.⁶⁸ These conflicts have left south Sudan with a lot of food insecurity and much spending to bring down the conflicts has left the country in a state of bankruptcy.⁶⁹

2.3 Power Wrangles and Ethnicities

There is a leadership crisis in South Sudan. All these leadership problems, coupled with the fear of a possible change of the status quo, led to the sacking of Machar, hence the Civil War in South Sudan. Matthew Leriche and Matthew Arm assert that unsupportive governance, broad feelings of exploitation and marginalization and fragile ethnic politics will determine whether South Sudan will achieve a durable peace.⁷⁰

2.3.1 The Power Wrangles

There has been a comprehensive peace agreement which brought down a 22 years old fight into an end in 2005. However, the SPLM was part of this agreement. Since it came to existence in 1983, John Garang led the movement until his death in an helicopter crash. This was 3 weeks after his swearing in as the head of GoSS. After death of John Garang, Salva Kiir who was deputy president became the president and led the country to self-governance in the year 2011. It was so clear that there was going to break violence just before the real fight in December 2013.

⁶⁸Bellamy, Alex J. "The Responsibility to Protect turns ten." *Ethics & International Affairs* 29, no. 2 (2015): 161-185.

⁶⁹Human Rights Watch, 2016

⁷⁰Bellamy, Alex J. "The Responsibility to Protect turns ten." *Ethics & International Affairs* 29, no. 2 (2015): 161-185.

This was evident by the difference between Salvakiir (president) and Pagan Amun (secretary general) of SPLM which was set to disrupt the elections progress. Many people were looking forward for unity for the sake of elections and referendum, therefore Salvakiir (president) and Pagan differences were solved.⁷¹ However even though the two were strained their difference was ignored for the sake of 2005 to 2011 interim period.⁷² Recollecting SPLM after its tear in 1991 to accommodate Riek Machar was not easy. Salva Kiir (president) and His vice president gave their support to rival candidates in many positions especially other nation's governorship in 2010.⁷³ There was great tension when the leaders (including: Pagan Amun, Riek Machar and Rebecca) declared that they were vying for the position of SPLM chair and later the presidency of South Sudan. Following the declaration the Salva Kiir removed Riek Machar and others from the office.⁷⁴

2.3.2 The Structure of government in South Sudan

SPLM is the ruling party in South Sudan. It's responsible of forming policies and also responsible for government supervision.⁷⁵ SPLM has not clearly defined its missions and therefore seems not to know its mandate. This makes the body fail to carry out its duties effectively. SPLM lack policies which are functioning and don't supervise the government. The

⁷¹ International Crisis Group, 2014

⁷² Davis, Darren W., and Brian D. Silver. "Civil liberties vs. security: Public opinion in the context of the terrorist attacks on America." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 1 (2013): 28-46.

⁷³ Rolandsen, Øystein H. "Another civil war in South Sudan: the failure of Guerrilla Government?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 9, no. 1 (2015): 163-174

⁷⁴ International Crisis Group, 2014

⁷⁵ Makinda, Samuel M., F. Wafula Okumu, and David Mickler. *The African Union: Addressing the challenges of peace, security, and governance*. Routledge, 2015.

two works in two parallel ways and the government is not transparent since they use old Sudanese structure. The Sudanese structure of government is not transparent.⁷⁶

The economy of the country is subsistence. Many of its citizens live in rural setting with many unable to satisfy their basic needs. Many live in lack of services like: infrastructure developments and security. Corruption has dominated major sectors. For instance for one to be employment they must either corrupt or be related to a senior leader in the office. The system is controlled by: abuse of power, discrimination, and isolation of minority among others.⁷⁷ The country administration dismisses good number of reformist with the claim that they are disobedient and disturbing government operations. Development loans have placed the state under debts. This loan however end been pocketed by a few individuals. No one oversees the government not even parliament nor SPLM. In a day the country exports crude oil of about 500000 barrels between 2005 and 2012.⁷⁸ With this still the government could not develop the country hence they claim can do so with loan. The Salva Kiir autocracy form of leadership harms the government. The president has the ability as give on the constitution to dismiss and appoint any elected leaders without anyone's question. When the parliament and the ruling party invested with Salva Kiir were not aware of the dangers linked to totalitarianism. As members of parliament were showing loyalty Mr. Kiir abused the power.⁷⁹ Salva Kiir (The president) threatened the members of parliament who did not support his choice of vice president 2013. He claimed that he had power to dissolve the parliament and bring up other law makers can even wonder on the streets. At this point the members of parliament were fully aware of the mistake

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ Davis, Darren W., and Brian D. Silver. "Civil liberties vs. security: Public opinion in the context of the terrorist attacks on America." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 1 (2013): 28-46.

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ Bellamy, Alex J. "The Responsibility to Protect turns ten." *Ethics & International Affairs* 29, no. 2 (2015): 161-185.

they had done. the constitution again do not allow the parliament to supervise executive arm. Instead executive transfer its power to the president. All these have brought great failure in south Sudan and can therefore be concluded that the country has no good government structure to develop the country.

2.3.3 Ethnic Conflicts: Immediate Cause

Salva Kiir as the president decided to remove Riek Machar and the cabinet from the office in 2013. Even though the president has power to do so constitutionally the sacked did not move from their offices. Instead they formed Politburo against the president to stop him from being a leader of SPLM. They went ahead and involved other citizens claiming that Kiir was not able to lead. Majority of the citizens heard and sided with them. Salva kiir decided to defend himself. He attempted to prepare the military to confront the vice president, but Riek Machar group ignored him.⁸⁰

Machar had confidence in politburo power and therefore forced Kiir to summon a meeting to deal with party issues as an emergency. Machar wanted the meeting to revise the constitution with regard to vote system. Kiir was ready to use force to stop everything but was advised otherwise.⁸¹ With great significance of plan by the adviser Kiir called NLC meeting. He offered executive portfolio and monetary gifts to NLC to gain their support. The system of voting was controversial during the meeting and therefore the vice president advised for a secret voting, the president on the other hand persistent that voting be made by rising of hands.

⁸⁰Bellamy, Alex J. "The Responsibility to Protect turns ten." *Ethics & International Affairs* 29, no. 2 (2015): 161-185.

⁸¹Wafula Okumu, *The African Union: Addressing the challenges of peace, security, and governance*. Routledge, 2015.

Both were strategic kiir new by doing it publicly he was going to win. This is because he was not sure with faithfulness of some few people whom he had offered money as well as political portfolio.⁸² Kiir sought to threaten them through hand rising. The vice president also was aware that if the voting would be done secretly he would win since some NLC members were no longer supporting Kiir instead they were they were there because of the jobs he offered to them. Finally the voting was made by rising of hands and therefore Machar lost it. Even after the democratic fail Machar group did not stop, they went ahead attempting to bring Kiir down through civil conflicts. The president called for military action but the group wrongly ignored the move thinking the international peace actors would advice the president otherwise.⁸³ Riek Machar having been a former general trusted that he was able to overthrow the military. Forgetting about sun Tzu principle "know the enemy and know yourself" he went ahead. Kiir however prepared enough to counter his rival. He went further and deployed a backup from Ugandan army. The assumption on the ratio was wrong. Naath under vice president had great military skills and could not be ignored.⁸⁴ The Naath had fought about 18 states since 2013 under the leadership of Riek Machar. This was a bad mistake by Salva kiir. The fight began with its proximate cause being sacking of machar by the president Kiir.

2.3.4 Trigger of Ethnic Conflicts

Kiir further initiated ethnic conflicts. 2013 December 15th he had send the presidential guard commander to disarm all soldiers from Naath ethnic groups. Kiir had assumed that all Naath supported the vice president. The soldiers did not take the order and therefore war stated. Kiir

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Rolandsen, Øystein H. "A nother civil war in South Sudan: the failure of Guerrilla Government?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 9, no. 1 (2015): 163-174

⁸⁴ Davis, Darren W., and Brian D. Silver. "Civil liberties vs. security: Public opinion in the context of the terrorist attacks on America." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 1 (2013): 28-46.

made a mistake of assuming guards almost half of total population would just surrender their arms. The war spread so fast to general headquarters and the surrounding areas. The fight continued the next morning with forces targeting Naath people. Between 16th to 17th December the Jieng forces had killed twenty thousand Naath people in Juba.⁸⁵ The force used horrifying ways to attack the Naath people. For instance small children, sick on the bed, the old age were burned alive in the houses.⁸⁶ Victims were forced to drink blood and eat the flesh of the killed family members. Parents were forced to kill their young ones with women found dead with pieces of wood in the private parts. At gunpoint sons also had sex intercourse with their mothers. It was so humiliating until some more Jieng were involved in saving the Naath victims.

These bad news reached Nuer people which forced them to launch strike all over the country from the areas where Dinka (Jieng) live. These areas included: Jongeli; united states as well as upper Nile. The launch in these areas also targeted the government soldiers. From these attack Nuer killed so many (thousands in number) who were blameless and unaware of Kiir violence.⁸⁷

In addition the Nuer (Naath) left no child, aged or sick alive. It was a tit for tat game and war become so unmanageable. However there were some alerts from international peace bodies trying to cool the situation. Unfortunately war spread the more to other ethnic groups and tribes hence prolonging the war. It was so clear that by 2013/2014 around 63 other tribes in the army were fighting against Naath people. War however continued at the same time the government started attacking the smallest tribes. In turn the attacked minor groups formed their defense like

⁸⁵ Malkki, Liisa H. "Speechless emissaries: Refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization." *Cultural anthropology* 11, no. 3 (2010): 377-404.

⁸⁶ Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav. "Threat, anxiety, and support of antiterrorism policies." *American journal of political science* 49, no. 3 (2013): 593-608.

⁸⁷ Waal, A.D. *When kleptocracy becomes in solvent: Brute causes of the civil war in South Sudan.* (2014). Oxford University Printing Press

military to defend themselves and their people. Machar was behind all these paramilitaries. Finally the war remained between the 63 tribes and Dinka who have foreign army support.

Today many of the citizens give their support to machar but SPLA is empowered by breakdown of the SPLM-IO-Riek. Many state that Riek machar is not competent while other talk of disunity of SPLM-IO-Riek which is of great importance for the state progress. Waal established that to this Riek has not yet armed the force. He however claims that if he arms them they will eliminate the Dinka people and he will be questionable before ICC. Machar has however adopted a strategy which has not been practiced elsewhere in the world; instead of teaching his army war rules he only teaches them a self-defeat strategy.⁸⁸ The wangling over the positions SPLM continued. The people who were not satisfied with Machar leadership under SPLM-IO-Riek gave in to the government hence destroying the SPLM-IO-Riek. Some rebels who were seeking positions and could not get them in SPLM-IO-Riek had to get back to the government. This position wrangles bring a great cost to SPLM-IO-Riek. Riek people looking for power must get it clearly that machar must prepare the ground first.⁸⁹

2.3.5 Statements of the Leaders

South Sudan as a new nation is in turmoil because the leadership tends to represent a particular ethnic group's interest and not the nation. Utterances made by both sides tend to be more ethnically-divisive in character than nationalistic. It was reported that Kiir encouraged the Dinka ethnic group to stand against the Nuer as quoted "You, the Dinka of Rumbek why are you fighting yourselves and not your enemies? The Nuer are coming to fight you. You should wait

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS). Interim reports on human rights crisis in South Sudan. Human Rights Division, UNMISS 2014; South Sudan. .

for your enemies to fight you". Rebels have on many occasions accused Kiir of inciting tribal sentiments. The question that lingers in the minds of people is whether Kiir is a president of South Sudan or of the Dinka people? Such utterances do not augur well for a new nation that wants to thread on national unity and cohesion and move through the path of development. These ethnic utterances have all translated into the Civil War. Machar has also made several other divisive comments to gain the support of the Nuer people amongst the presidential guards.⁹⁰

2.4 Actors in the Conflicts

The war actors include anybody who participated in the war either knowingly or unknowingly. These include the victim, those who supported as well as those actively fought. This thesis only concentrates with main actors 4 tiers.⁹¹

2.4.1 The First Tier

SPLM: The first tier comprise of Salva Kiir group (the government/ SPLM-IG), the Taban Deng group, riek group (the main opposition) and finally the pagan Amun group of detainees (SPLM-F). Taban and the detainees are part of the Salva group (the SPLM-IG). The main agenda of Salva group is to overthrow the SPLM-IO-Riek and Naath people. This is because the two are the main source of power for Riek. The war mainly started on the basis that Riek machar intended to out win the leadership of Salva Kiir while he was the vice president hence the empowerment of SPLM-IG. After a long period of unending war the SPLM-IG realized that machar group is not easy to fight and military alone is not enough. However the alternative is

⁹⁰Bellamy, Alex J. "The Responsibility to Protect turns ten." *Ethics & International Affairs* 29, no. 2 (2015): 161-185.

⁹¹ John Young; The South Sudan Defense Forces in the Wake of the Juba Declaration, HSBA, SWP No. 2014 1, P. 35.

that SPLM-IG works to ensure that they are in power at every cost⁹² SPLM-IG also aims at winning to Riek machar people into the governorship by use of money. It works together with armed force to bring down the Riek team.⁹³ The killing of Nuer people government was reduced so that that the government could win them to their side. The government divided, with great fall of the economy, the security also went down. On seeing this administration opted to go for peace actions but they excluded machar because his goal to the president was thought otherwise.⁹⁴

Though machar people were not aware that he had changed his mind they still seek to overthrow the president by use of military. Riek Machar on the other side has a different goal and his interest is by political means become the vice president.⁹⁵ Machar followers are also ravaging for their people who were killed during crisis. On the other hand (SPLM-IO-Riek) want Riek be the president. They do this by bringing instability in the government. They intent to use whichever mean including political ways to get machar in his vice-president position and later take over from Kiir.

2.4.2 The Second Tier

This tier talks of military by people (paramilitaries) who formed as self defense against the government fight to minorities. These paramilitaries were formed under Machar leadership to fight against the government. These paramilitaries include the south Sudanese outside the

⁹² Joshua Marks: Border in Name Only: Arms Trafficking and Armed Groups at the DRCSudan Border, Small Arms Survey, HSBA, Working Paper No. 4, 2012.

⁹³ Chacón, Jennifer M. "Unsecured borders: Immigration restrictions, crime control and national security." *Conn. L. Rev.* 39 (2006): 1827.

⁹⁴ Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. *The culture of national security: Norms and Identity in world politics*. Columbia University Press, 2010.

⁹⁵ Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav. "Threat, anxiety, and support of antiterrorism policies." *American journal of political science* 49, no. 3 (2013): 593-608.

country. It also includes the 64 tribes though the 64 belong to another faction.⁹⁶ Their interest being to conquer the government by use of force, Jieng mission on the other side is to remain in positing of controlling the land. A number of Jieng people wish to overthrow Kiir but they lack means to do so. In this tier the only way out is the use of military means.⁹⁷ Every tribe and ethnic group wants the president come from them which is impossible and will always cause conflicts. Dinka have been deploying political and monetary means to overcome the enemy.

The will of many tribes is to return back to the old – the agreement of 2015. Get machar back to position and have another election. They claim that the election should be free and fair. Jieng on the other side oppose the idea. This tier can bring change; it can bring peace to the fighting parties only through agreement of leaders. If leaders no longer provocative them they can talk positively and have peace.⁹⁸

2.4.3 The Third Tier: Foreign Powers

This group defines the external powers that showed up during the conflict period. Most of these powers were on the side of the government and rebels but majority fought in support of Kiir the president. A number of countries were involved including: Kenya, china, DRC congo, Burundi, Sudanese rebels, Ethiopian United Patriotic Front (EUPF), Russia, Uganda, Tanzania, Egypt, Mali, Zimbabwe among others.⁹⁹

⁹⁶Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav. "Threat, anxiety, and support of antiterrorism policies." *American journal of political science* 49, no. 3 (2013): 593-608.

⁹⁷Malkki, Liisa H. "Speechless emissaries: Refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization." *Cultural anthropology* 11, no. 3 (2010): 377-404.

⁹⁸Chacón, Jennifer M. "Unsecured borders: Immigration restrictions, crime control and national security." *Conn. L. Rev.* 39 (2006): 1827.

⁹⁹Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav. "Threat, anxiety, and support of antiterrorism policies." *American journal of political science* 49, no. 3 (2013): 593-608.

In this tier except for a few (including: EUPF, SRF and Egypt) all others have interest in monetary benefits. For instance a country like china wants to maintain Kiir as the president for the benefits of oil fields. Russia has its own interests too and it limited interruptions in juba. Both countries were in support of Kiir as the president. During 2016 conflicts they went to an extent of refusing resolutions by United States Security Council to sanction the government with the claim of committing genocide.

Egypt on the other hand has a different interest. South Sudan offered them a space to fight with Ethiopians over the waters of blue Nile but the space offered is under machar. They have to help south Sudan administration to bring down Riek machar so that they would have a field to initiate war with Ethiopians. ¹⁰⁰

The interest of Sudan government is to support Riek Machar to overthrow the Kiir presidency. Those who support the government aim at mobilizing both diplomatic and military support favoring the government. ¹⁰¹ The supporters think that if riek is excluded the war will stop and peace will be available. On the contrary the Sudan thinks that the exclusion of riek will bring more war without an end. In this tier actors have an opportunity to stop the conflicts and bring peace if they work together to bring of Riek and kiir on the same table. They made a mistake of taking side hence the making it impossible for the ends to meet ¹⁰²

2.4.4 The Fourth Tier

In the 4th tier we have UN, AU, IGAD and Troika who acted as the mediators of war. However, African Union and IGAD took side in support of machar and therefore could not be qualified as

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ Reverend Sarafino Oseyel: (Assistant Bishop, Africa Inland Church, Torit), Interview: August 24th, 2012

¹⁰² Brooks, Rosa Ehrenreich. "War everywhere: rights, national security law, and the law of armed conflict in the age of terror." *U. Pa. L. Rev.* 153 (2013): 675.

mediators.¹⁰³ They both argued that taban was the best partner of peace to Kiir. This was an irony to the war reality. Both taban and other rebels have differences. According to the rebels taban is a traitor and this therefore complicates the war.¹⁰⁴

The actors want to find means to stop the war as soon as possible forgetting that ethnic conflicts are complicated and need to be well examined and time should be taken to solve every difference. This will take time but finally bring peace once and for all. Ending war must take all necessary steps with no shortcut.

The fourth tier aims at putting Riek machar into a fix. They aim at making taban work with the president and finally make possible state dialogue proposed by the president. The main concern of the mediators is to make the country a stable one. If the mediators use their powers in the right manner then they are in a good position to bring peace to south Sudan. Global politics block the fourth tier from making maximum use of the power they have. For instance china and Russia banned resolution of United Nations security against the south Sudan government.

2.4.5 Relationships of the Actors

All the discussed actors in the four tiers relate strongly. Jieng ethnicity, SPLM-IG, foreign fighters, SPLM-FD, SPLM-IO-Taban, IGAD and AU aim at crushing Riek and his followers, They have to a point become successful but they are yet to touch the strength of Riek supporters who at grassroots. If they all cooperate they will bring down the SPLM-IO-Riek.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³Babbie, E & Mouton, J. *The Practice of Social Research: South African Edition*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press 2015. p. 520

¹⁰⁴Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. *The culture of national security: Norms and identity in world politics*. Columbia University Press, 2010.

¹⁰⁵Konrad and Skaperdas; *The Political Economy of Organized Crime – Providing Protection When the State Does Not*, UCLA, 2011. Land Tenure Issues in South Sudan, USAID, December 2010, P. 29

Riek machar seems to be ignorant of what's happening. He has no strong connection with local and global actors. The communication between him and the force is so weak he doesn't even talk of arrest to his supporters neither does he show any concern about the future of his movement. Martin says that during his imprisonment his forces did not replace him and work for winning of his movement. In fact they became more confused.¹⁰⁶ In summation, this thesis categorized actors into four tiers: the First Tier comprises the SPLM-IG, SPLM-FD, SPLM-IO-Riek and SPLM-IO-Taban; the Second Tier comprises ethnic groups that engage in the war; the Third Tier comprises foreign fighters assisting the government and rebels; and the Fourth Tier comprises the AU, UN, IGAD and Troika.¹⁰⁷

The members of the Troika (Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States) strongly condemn the continuing pattern of violations of the 21 December 2017 Cessation of Hostilities (CoH) agreement by parties to the South Sudan High Level Revitalization Forum (the Forum), and call on all parties to immediately and fully implement the CoH in letter and spirit and ensure humanitarian access throughout the country.

The Troika has seen strong evidence of violations of the CoH by Government of South Sudan forces in Unity State and by forces associated with opposition groups, including Sudan People's Liberation Movement-In Opposition, in Unity State and the Greater Upper Nile region, as witnessed by ceasefire monitors.¹⁰⁸ We are seriously concerned by continuing reports of the movement of forces by all sides in violation of the CoH, including the movement this week of hundreds of Government troops into Jonglei state. The Troika also notes with grave concern the

¹⁰⁶ Martin, H. *Kings of peace, pawns of war: The untold story of peacemaking*. London, United Kingdom: (2015). Continuum.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Hauschildt, Jürgen, and Edgar Kirchmann. "Teamwork for innovation—the 'troika' of promoters." *R&D Management* 31, no. 1 (2001): 41-49.

strong evidence from multiple sources linking the attacks in Gudele, Jubek State, on 4 January to former SPLA Chief of Defense Paul Malong and forces under Lt. Colonel Cham Garang, an SPLA-IO commander. We remain committed to holding to account all those who obstruct the realisation of lasting peace for the people of South Sudan, whether or not they are participating directly in the Forum.

The HLRF process must be conducted in the spirit of compromise by those South Sudanese leaders who are committed to working for peace. Parties must not be able to increase their influence through force of arms in advance of the second round of talks. The Troika reaffirms its full support for the Intergovernmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) efforts to build peace in South Sudan and will continue to follow developments on the ground. We call on our IGAD partners to rapidly investigate all violations and to immediately hold those responsible to account. We will continue to work closely with international and regional partners to ensure full accountability with respect to the CoH and stand ready to impose consequences on those who violate the agreement, also in line with the African Union Peace and Security Council Communiqué of 20 September 2017.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹Zhang, Zhilin, Zhouyue Pi, and Benyuan Liu. "TROIKA: A general framework for heart rate monitoring using wrist-type photoplethysmographic signals during intensive physical exercise." *IEEE Transactions on biomedical engineering* 62, no. 2 (2015): 522-531.

CHAPTER THREE

SOUTH SUDAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES AND CONCERNS SINCE 2011-2017

3.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses the challenges of ethnic conflicts and its impact on the national security of South Sudan. It is divided into the following sections: Challenges to Peace and Security in South Sudan, Impact of the ethnicity on South Sudan security, Costs of the War and Dynamics of The War.

3.2 Challenges to Peace and Security in South Sudan

South Sudan obtained its self governance in 2011. This event marked the end of long war between south Sudan and northern Sudan.¹¹⁰ Not long after its independence the country entered into ethnic war which was based on the competition of power between the president and his vice president. The south Sudan war began on 15th December 2013. Both wanted to lead SPLM which was the ruling party. This aroused conflicts in juba. Kiir had just dismissed Riek machar together with cabinet whom he suspected over attempting overthrow.¹¹¹ Machar and some ministers instead formed a group to fight against the government. This stirred up a great fight in the country where, many lost their lives and others became displaced. International bodies threatened the leaders in the fight resulting to a power sharing agreement which was signed in

¹¹⁰ Klein S. Braedly, *Strategic Studies and World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge UniverstyPreess, 1994) p. 18.

¹¹¹ Rands, B.R., & LeRich,M. *Security responses in Jonglei State in the aftermath of interethnic violence*. Netherlands: (2012). Safer world.

2015 August. This had been mediated by IGAD and other bodies. Following this Riek machar went back to juba and there was formed a TGoNU (transitional government of national unity).

The Riek and Kiir forces again began the fight in juba in 2016 July. Machar again went out of the city leading to the collapse of the government which had been formed. This led to a greater violence which was a great threat even to regional security.¹¹² Kiir loyal military forces began a mission to kill Riek and His people immediately after he had gone missing in the city. They planned to bombing campaigns as well as the used coordinated operations. There was a great violation of lasting cease fire every day and the all the TGoNU decisions made no sense.¹¹³ One could just predict the breakdown TGoNU as well as the agreement made.

For any negotiation to go through it must be based on three facts. One, everybody involved must come to an understanding that military way is not the solution and it's impossible.¹¹⁴ Again the results of negotiation must cut across the two conflicting parties without bias. And lastly parties involved must be made aware of later enforcement of the terms of agreement. All these were not done in the south Sudan peace negotiations. In contrary south Sudan government continued with military means as the solution to the conflicts, the parties kept violating the cease-fire agreed on in 2014 and nothing was enforced even after negotiations.

There was an attempt to bring back the idea of power sharing in 2015 which had failed in previous years.¹¹⁵ According to Wallenstein, South Sudan was almost running on power deficit and therefore there was nothing to share. There is in addition no enough enforcement ability to the monitoring mechanisms under the agreement established.

¹¹² Ibid

¹¹³ Narang, A. S. Ethnic conflicts and minority rights. *Economic and Political Weekly*, (2012). 37(27), 2696-2700.

¹¹⁴ O'Brien, A. *Shots in the dark: Sudan civilian disarmament campaign*. Geneva: (2009). Small Arms Survey.

¹¹⁵ Wallenstein, P *Preventing violent conflicts: Past records and future challenges*. Uppsala: (2002). Department of Peace and Conflicts.

3.2.1 Continuation of Tribal and Political Violence

UN uses some factors to analyze whether the conflict has a risk of genocide. In case of South Sudan using both military and political factors, UN found the risk present and strong.¹¹⁶ The leaders of both tribes kiir and machar continue using harsh words to each other. They both have used provocative, polarized and humiliating language against each other. They have also abused other tribes which were not initially involved in the conflict. According to Nuer people war was initiated by the president himself who due to fear of being overthrown ordered for massacre in Juba in December 2013. Former Nigerian president who led AU mission then agreed with this claim saying that the killings in the city in December 2013 were full of inhuman actions only to pursue state goals.

Therefore Nuer people are not only fighting for Riek but they are also doing this in protection of their people as well as paying back what was done to them. Dinka on the other side believe that Nuer people now have what they call an anti-Dinka agenda. Dinka are the majority in security, military and administration positions.¹¹⁷

The mission by AU also established that Nuer people who were led by machar were also inhuman and had committed many crimes. Leaders from Dinka community as well as those on government claim that the hatred of Nuer to Dinka is not a new phenomenon it started long ago. They give an example with what happened in 1991 a massacre which took place in Bor, Jonglei State. According to them machar in 1990s ordered an attack where 5000 Dinka people lost their

¹¹⁶ Mbugua, J.K. Security and organized crime: Dynamics and challenges in South Sudan. Nairobi: International Peace Support Center, Occasional Paper (2012). No.2

¹¹⁷ Garfield, R. Violence and victimization in South Sudan: Lakes State in the post-CPA period. Geneva, Graduate Institute of International Studies: (2012). Small Arms Survey.

lives. This was during larger Sudanese war when machar led a breakaway faction of SPLM. It was out of this past experience that even before July 2016 people were already in great tension.¹¹⁸

Nuer troops in opposition who were to give Machar Company on his return 2016 April had 2 sites. They were near SPLM installations and also in UN - protection of civilian's location which hosted around 25,000 Nuer communities who had been displaced. Dinka people (that is the government) accused UN - protection of civilian's place as being a stronghold of armed people without considering that most people hosted were children and mothers.

Many soldiers from SPLM had a cantonment site 25 kilometers away from the city. Despite the many thousand soldiers still in Juba the information obtained indicated that there was more deployment of soldiers by January 2016. Therefore the contingents were greatly equipped (i.e. the Dinka people). AU, UN and other bodies claim that these armed contingents were under command of people responsible for the conflicts up to date.¹¹⁹ President Kiir further ordered for additional states in south Sudan from 10 to 28 in October 2015. His action is believed to be of benefit to Kiir an advantage to his tribe which increased tension and yet become a new driver of conflicts. This was contrary to core provisions made on the peace agreement.¹²⁰ many welcomed the presidents order. Kiir however did not explain the stages involved in demarcating controversial country boundary this further brought grievances to the minor communities.

¹¹⁸ Mayai, T.A. Mapping social accountability: An appraisal of policy influences on service delivery in South Sudan, 2015-2011. Juba: The Sudd Institute

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Willems, R., & Rouw, H.S. Security promotion seen from below: Experiences from South Sudan. Peace Security Studies and Development Networks. (2011). No. 00030.

Former President of Botswana (Festus Mogae) and IGAD among other bodies pushed for the suspension of the order in vein. This order remained even after April 2016 when the transition governance was formed. This order has further led to displacement of some communities from their former locations. The residents are to move by militia and the government to accomplish Kiir's agendas. ¹²¹

2016 February marked yet another inhuman action where the ruling party organized transportation of Dinka from UN - protection of civilian's location. Later affiliated militia destroyed areas belonging to Shilluk and Nuer people. At this point another war was initiated. Division of the tribes has caused yet others conflicts which are neither Nuer versus Dinka nor Salva Kiir versus Riek Machar. Every community and tribe has now formed their strategies of fighting their enemies. ¹²² Just before 2016 a tribe called Equatorians who seemed to be out of was, fully engaged in conflicts and started their fight against Dinka people. They frequently carried attacks on city outer edge. This has since cause yet another war between the 2 tribes. Machar has pushed all together to work with Equatorians in the military in order to fight the government and the Dinka people. These efforts have already born fruits.

3.2.2 Unsuccessful Political Settlement: Reappearance

In 2013 a power sharing plan failed but attempts were being made to bring it back in 2015. ¹²³ This agreement failed to address a long period war which had its roots in the competition of power between Kiir and Riek Machar. According to Ganahl, bringing back power sharing idea

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² Ganahl, J.P. Corruption, good governance, and the African state: A critical analysis of political-economic foundations of corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa. Potsdam: (2013). University of Potsdam.

¹²³ Ibid

would not solve anything rather would just give rise to conflict hence instability regionally. As quoted by Chester A. Crocker (former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) “*if outside states attempt to freeze power relations or entrench political-military groups in open-ended power-sharing structures, they will likely sow seeds of future conflict and distort the chances for organic political development (e.g., Lebanon and Bosnia).*”¹²⁴

United States support to a decision by Kiir to have Machar replaced by Deng Gai Taban in July 2016 just encouraged the opposition to continue with violence. First Taban being a Nuer just like Machar made no difference. Additionally Taban was corrupt, self-lifting and had no political supporters from his tribe.¹²⁵

The plan of power-sharing today perpetuates a dynamic among many groups involved in the violence. The dynamic has reduced the ability of the nation to provide services to the citizens. This has also prevented unity of the nation for a very long time.

UN and South Sudan are faced with one greatest challenge to bring order into the country and allow it practice sovereignty as a state.¹²⁶

Mogae, in a statement to the JMEC on June 23, 2016, declared, “*The progress I had expected has not materialized. If anything, the Parties are further apart. There appears to be a stalemate that now threatens the implementation of the entire Agreement.*” And later in his statement, he

¹²⁴ Fukuyama, F. *The origins of political order: From pre-human times to the French Revolution.* (2012). London: Profile Book Ltd.

¹²⁵ Evoy, C.M., & LeBrun, E. *Uncertain future: Armed violence in Southern Sudan.* Geneva, Graduate Institute of International Studies: (2010). Small Arms Survey.

¹²⁶ Hoehne, M.V. *Traditional authorities and local government in Southern Sudan.*(2008).Doctral Thesis, Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Saalle, Germany.

noted the “lack of commitment towards peace” and the “*meager gains we are all making in the peace process.*”¹²⁷

When machar moved from Juba, Mogae made a proclamation made on July 31, 2016, reported during JMEC meeting in Khartoum to the partners: “*We know that forces of both parties and others allied to them continue to clash throughout the country, with a likelihood of larger battles increasing every day.*” As he said on June 23, “*This deliberate and institutionalized impediment to the implementation of the Agreement is totally unacceptable.*”¹²⁸ The country’s increased split gives no room to power-sharing plans rather complicates the plan. Power-sharing seems to be the way out to solve the south Sudan long conflicts and give minority the rights.¹²⁹

3.2.3 Lack of Political Legitimacy

According to Drew shortage of lawful power seems to be the main cause of persistent conflicts in South Sudan and not power imbalance as concluded by many.¹³⁰ First South Sudan has no history of any successful leadership. If it existed during colonial period it would make more sense. After splitting from Sudan, south Sudan has no institution for power allocation; neither does it have the lawful authority/power to allocate. The great challenge now magnified by this deficit of power.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Hutchinson, E.S. Nuer ethnicity militarized. University of Madison. International Crisis Group (ICG, 2009). Jonglei’s tribal conflicts: Countering insecurity in South Sudan. Africa Reports, (2008).No. 154. 23rd December.

¹²⁸ Ibid

¹²⁹ Crawford, B., & Lipschutz, R.D. The myth of ethnic conflicts: Politics, economics and cultural violence. (1998). University of California.

¹³⁰ Drew, D.M., & Snow, M.D. Making strategy: An introduction to national security processes and problems. Alabama: (1998). Air University Press.

¹³¹ Ibid

As determined by AU Commission of Inquiry determined, *“the crisis in South Sudan is primarily attributable to the inability of relevant institutions to mediate and manage conflicts, which spilled out into the army, and subsequently the general population.”*¹³²

The AU also established that capacity building effort which had been carried before south Sudan did not succeed.¹³³ A number of things were associated to the failure of the efforts by AU. The commission explained that global bodies made a mistake of ignoring the politics. AU claimed that the south Sudan leaders have no political gravity centre instead they are led by different personal interests.

Since the start of war in the new country Salva Kiir has lost His authority and fame following his own poor and corrupt deeds. The country politics require only one strong trustworthy person to overthrow Kiir and bring peace and unity to the country.

3.2.4 Inadequacy of Enforcement Mechanisms

From the findings by Collier UN is not ready to help in either intervening or enforcing the agreement made in 2015 in south Sudan. They are not ready to confront the administration and the opposing side. As a confirmation of this UN mission in south Sudan halted all the patrols in July 2016 when war had just become worse.¹³⁴ This proved the inadequacy of the body to bring peace in south Sudan.

¹³²Jano, D. Aspects of security dilemma-what we have learned from the Macedonian case. (2009).Perceptions, Spring-Summer

¹³³ Crocker, C.A., Hampson, F.O., & Aall, P. Leashing the dogs of war: Conflict management in a divided world. Washington: (2012). United States Institute of Peace.

¹³⁴ Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. On economic causes of civil war.oxford University Economic (1998). Papers 50:563-573.

Salva Kiir undermined UN intervention to an extent of using military to attack UN personnel and later expelling them from the country. He also challenged JMEC and treated them alike. Both IGAD and UNMISS have tried to bring resolutions in South Sudan but the country leaders do not listen to them. IGAD talked to UN in 2016 July requesting them to come up with regional protection force derived from the UNMISS body. IGAD believed that this would create a good space for the agreement realization. On contrary the Kiir governance has always burred any move regarding the deployment of UNMISS force and if allowed then their duties must be very limited. This body is not allowed to put into the effect the agreement, instead they only take part in helping stop the attacks on United Nations, prevent attack on humanitarian personnel, and take care of the airport among other.¹³⁵

3.2.5 The Challenge of Armed Groups in South Sudan

The integration of militia and armed groups in the national army and security agencies in a way to build national unity in itself is a source of conflict. The integration of these armed groups into the National army of South Sudan was not properly done. Commanding positions were given to former rebel leaders. This situation creates an ethnic identity in the national army. These army commanders are either loyal to Machar or Kiir.¹³⁶ In such a situation, anytime there is a problem, these commanders quickly align themselves with their former rebel leader either Kiir or Machar. The situation has taken an ethnic dimension and translated into the Civil War in South Sudan. Although the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) programme in South Sudan which resulted from the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 has been laudable, the

¹³⁵ Jok, M.J. State, law and insecurity in South Sudan. The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, (2013). Vol 37:2
¹³⁶ Ibid

challenge has been especially with the locals who are on the ground retrieving the weapons.¹³⁷ These locals may have been discriminatory and not particularly retrieved guns from their ethnic militia groups. Another challenge may be that since South Sudan security officers are not on top of security issues, other threatened groups may keep their weapons in anticipation to protect themselves in case of any security challenge. The reintegration of the militia groups into the army, and the lack of professionalism have made the South Sudanese security set-up quite porous. This is because some of these militia groups in the army had no proper training but were just brought in to pacify them and for the sake of national unity. Other causes of the South Sudan violence could be attributed to a dysfunctional political system, lack of skill to build South Sudanese identity transcending ethnic boundaries and poor provisions of public goods.¹³⁸

3.3 Impact of the ethnicity on South Sudan security

In south Sudan many innocent civilians have suffered since 2013. The acts of conflicts have been so severe and inhuman to date. Human rights have been abused. Based on the reports of various humanitarian bodies (AU, UNMISS etc) south Sudan violence has been directed mainly by ethnicity. This has caused great violation of human rights. The actors of violence in both sides have repeatedly caused death and destruction of property. During the crisis some government facilities were destroyed, many people have lost their homes, churches, hospitals, mosques and other important places. This destruction has caused many of them to become refugees and tens of thousands becoming displaced.¹³⁹ IHL has greatly been violated; many people have faced serious inhuman acts including: painful deaths, rape cases, and their wealth taken by force, arrests

¹³⁷ Mamdani, M. *When victims become killers*. New Jersey: (2011). Princeton University Press.

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ Collier, P. *Economic causes of civil conflicts and their implications for policy*. (2015). Oxford University Press.

among others. The acts of violence have also caused insecurity in terms food crisis where many have lost their lives due to lack of food. Economically the country has also experienced great reduction in terms of revenues. As a result of conflicts businesses were closed, government sources of income also closed or not giving expected output hence affecting economy of the country at large. Constraints pertaining budgetary have been experienced when goals and visions of the government have died before accomplishment.¹⁴⁰

Infrastructure has been affected by the conflicts too. Many facilities were destroyed including: roads, railways, health, education, communication together with other personal possessions. Increased criminal acts in absence of security, low productivity in many sectors and joblessness of many people living in fear have impacted the economy negatively.

The conflicts have also caused negative impacts on social life. Many communities lost trust to one another and hatred was planted instead. One community is an enemy of another; one tribe is an enemy of the other hence increased ethnic conflicts. This has caused insecurity both locally and regionally.¹⁴¹

This is compounded by the fact that the region constitutes interlinked regional security complexes. Plus due to the approximately near location to South Sudan each neighboring state like Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya and others would eventually be forced either implicitly or explicitly to shoulder the political and socio-economic consequences of the South Sudanese current conflict. Therefore the following sub sections has given paramount importance to the

¹⁴⁰ Ibid
¹⁴¹ Buzan, B. *People, state, and fear: The national security problem in the international relations*. Brighton Sussex: (1983). wheat sheaf Book Ltd

analysis of a number of actual and potential political, economical and social consequences of the current conflict of South Sudan upon the mere existence of the Horn of African countries.¹⁴²

Uganda is highly affected by the contiguity of instability in South Sudan to its territory. In particular, Uganda has been challenged by its concern that unstable South Sudan would become a safe haven to the Lord of Resistance Army (LRA), which has operated in Central African Republic and Democratic Republic of Congo.¹⁴³ Economic interests of Uganda, however, have been crushed due to conflict in South Sudan. In fact Uganda is the largest trading partner of South Sudan, exporting coffee, shoes, vehicles, steels and other agricultural products, amounting to millions of dollars annually.

In addition, South Sudan employs thousands of Ugandan citizens, especially in the service sector, generating a significant amount of revenue yet this has been challenged by the conflict in South Sudan. Likewise Sudan significant potential of importing uninterrupted flow of oil from South Sudanese fields was considerably challenged. Although it has lost 75% of the oil reserve together with the secession of South Sudan, South Sudan oil is still an important source of revenue to Sudan. Yet Sudan was irritated by Uganda's intervention into the conflict since both were supporting rebels of each other.¹⁴⁴

Neighbor countries like Kenya, Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia has been affected negatively by the south Sudan conflicts. Refugees from south Sudan have flocked into these countries causing strain in terms of security, food and other facilities. This pressure might be worse if war

¹⁴² Brosche, J. Sharing power: Enabling peace? Evaluating Sudan's comprehensive peace agreement 2013. Uppsala University: (2009). Department of Peace and Conflict.

¹⁴³ International Crisis Group Group, 2014

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

continues in south Sudan.¹⁴⁵ In Ethiopia for instance, Nuer refugees have been causing great trouble to the residents of Gambela area. This is because Ethiopia is still suffering from population politics. Due to limited resources population is a great challenge in Ethiopia. Funds and other allocations are done proportionally. Any additional population is a challenge to the federal system of governance in Ethiopia.¹⁴⁶ 2nd war in Sudan 1983 and the south Sudan war currently have continually increase in population of Gambella are economic relationship a. Ethiopia and south Sudan is also losing ground due to conflicts. The conflicts have affected the Ethiopians who worked in south Sudan together with Ethiopian airline. The potentiality of earning foreign currency from south Sudan is no more.

Kenya is another country affected much by the war in south Sudan. Many Kenyans working in south Sudan, Kenyans investments and businesses in south have greatly Sudan have greatly been affected by the crisis. The conflict in the south Sudan has left nothing to be enjoyed by Kenya economy wise. Many plans have been disrupted including oil transportation through Lamu port.¹⁴⁷

3.3.1 Current Crises in South Sudan

Today as the south Sudan economy is greatly affected by the conflicts crisis of food and children sufferings is at its worse.¹⁴⁸ No peace agreement has been successful hence the violence still continues. Machar has been proving himself innocent of the allegations, made earlier by Kiir that he was attempting Coup against the president. The vice president now leads rebel group SPL-IO with great dream of heading south Sudan even at its state of torn. There are still claims that the

¹⁴⁵ United Nation Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2015

¹⁴⁶ Battahani, A. A complex web: Politics and conflict in Sudan. (2015). Rift Valley Institute Sudan Course.

¹⁴⁷ International Crisis Group, 2014

¹⁴⁸ Blagojevic, B. Causes of ethnic conflict: A conceptual framework. Rutgers University: (2009). Journal of global change and governance.

vice president is now working with Sudan to conquer Kiir and take over the leadership.¹⁴⁹ machar is said to have in possession heavy weapons payloads but the origin is not known. This has severally be observed by the global monitoring agencies.¹⁵⁰ According to their reports the weaponry are so classy and costly and unease to carry from one place to another. This then confirms that they either have been taken from a very close neighbor and the first suspected country is Sudan. The fight is now complicated and one cannot what keeps the violence growing from two people to two tribe, from ethnic groups to now communities and later making the whole country an enemy of many states.¹⁵¹ The celebrations have have been replaced by cries and south Sudan is no longer a happy new state.

3.3.2 Children Plight

Any fight whether domestic or international affect the children. Children are unnoticed during fight and therefore suffer greatly whenever there is a conflict.¹⁵² In south Sudan children are challenged most by the current fight. Over a million children have escaped to other countries since the start of the war.

According to UN there is expected a big gap in future south Sudan generation due to this displacement and death of children in the country. According to the reports over one thousand children have been killed and others injured by stray bullets. If a child not wounded physically then they are traumatized with more than 50% not attending any learning institution. According

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

¹⁵⁰ Beswick, S. (2013). Sudan's blood memory: The legacy of war, ethnicity, and slavery in early South Sudan. Rochester: University of Rochester.

¹⁵¹ Ahmed, E., The comprehensive peace agreement and the dynamics of post-conflict partnership in Sudan. Africa Spectrum.(2009). Vol. 44. No.3. 133-142.

¹⁵² Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J.A. Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity and poverty. London: Profile Book Ltd. (2012).

to the reports given by UNICEF most of these children have been abducted and trained as soldiers who also further the state of violence in south Sudan in future.¹⁵³

3.3.3 Food Crisis

Food and water shortage experience in south Sudan today is as a result of continued conflicts and violence which follow ethnic lines. The situation has worsened because the state was neither stable economically nor developed just before the war began. Shipment of aid by the food crises agencies has always experienced challenges. The rebel's forces have severally raided the food making profit far from normal markets. This makes aid useless since does not benefit the desired target.¹⁵⁴

Due to increased conflicts farmers in addition are not able to get back to the farms. Farms have repeatedly been burned during the fight. Some have been burned with ripe produce ready for harvesting increasing food shortage.¹⁵⁵

UN explain the word famine as "*extreme scarcity of food*". If 20% of bthe population lack amount of food require then famine takes its definition. During this time a country or the area experience at least 30% of children suffering from malnutrition with 2 over a population of 10,000 people dying each day. If all these situations occur then UN declares a famine.¹⁵⁶ declaration of famine helps spread news to international bodies who can give help to the affected.

¹⁵³ Ibid

¹⁵⁴ Nhema, A. & Zeleza, P.T. (Eds.). *The resolution of African Conflicts: The management of conflict resolution & post-conflict reconstruction*. Oxford, United Kingdom: (2011). James Currey.

¹⁵⁵ Marang, A. S. Ethnic conflicts and minority rights. *Economic and Political Weekly*, (2012). 37(27), 2696-2700.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

Over six years no country had experienced famine until UN declared South Sudan under famine in 2017. Globally bodies concerned with fighting famine have showed their interest in aiding South Sudan but the aid does not reach the affected. War and violence have burred aid from getting to the country, NGO have stopped operating in the country due to tension. Majority of the aid staffs including 7 from Samantha purse were taken out of south Sudan due to insecurity. After a week had passed the 7 were kidnapped by rebels who demanded food in exchange of the staff's safety. In 2017 june 21st though declared famine over UN added that 2 million were still under starvation and needed help.¹⁵⁷ This declaration was done out of government pressure to UN to do so. This is because in reality famine had increased and even worse than was first declared. Today more than half of the total population is experiencing food insecurity.

3.4 Costs of the War

South Sudan might be labeled as failed state if conflicts continue. The consequences of the renewed conflict have been serious. Tens of thousands of people have been killed, and almost 2 million displaced, with at least 400,000 South Sudanese having fled to neighboring countries by July 2014 and as many as 715,000 refugees anticipated by the end of the year.¹⁵⁸ The threats of famine and of sexual violence have increased dramatically; and ethnic tensions and violence have returned to the forefront of intra-South Sudanese relations. The psychological damage to people – and to a country that was slowly shedding the spirit of civil war is enormous. South Sudan matters internationally. Its independence marked a change in the dynamics of the Horn of

¹⁵⁷ Chretien, J., & Banegas, R. *The recurring Great Lakes crisis: Identity, Violence, and power.* (2008). London: Hurst and Company.

¹⁵⁸ Martin, H. *Kings of peace, pawns of war: The untold story of peacemaking.* London, United Kingdom: (2015). Continuum.

Africa – long a source of worry and insecurity for African and non-African partners alike.¹⁵⁹ The region is one of the world's most politically unstable, shaped and reshaped by a shared history of cross-border conflict, socio-economic and cultural ties, and competing claims over territory. What had previously seemed to be a single regional conflict dynamic with Somalia at its heart (involving Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda) has transformed into a less manageable dynamic, dividing international attention between conflicts on both sides of the Horn of Africa in the context of increasing global uncertainty.¹⁶⁰ An unstable, conflict-prone South Sudan will not change without improved and increased engagement by the outside world. Home to some 11 million people, South Sudan is a growing potential market, a stakeholder in efforts on the part of the region towards furthering the resilience and integration of its countries, and a partner for regional peace. Both the African Union (AU) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the regional bloc mediating efforts to end the conflict, have been unequivocal about the conduct of the warring parties.¹⁶¹

Clearly, all sides have behaved in a way that African countries consider to be beyond the pale. Countries of the region including Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya, while not always acting in ways likely to win approval from the wider world, have been clear about their interests.¹⁶² They have engaged robustly and sometimes unilaterally to mitigate the spread of instability into their own territories. South Sudan is revisiting its war-ridden recent past. Seeing South Sudan in a wider context, and understanding why the country matters to the region and the international community, is essential to shaping the country's future. This paper charts the path to the

¹⁵⁹ Babbie, E & Mouton, J. *The practice of Social Research: South African Edition*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press 2015. p.184.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

¹⁶¹ Sudan army threatens to "kill Jonglei raiders", 2 May 2012, Available at: <http://www.sudantribune.com/South-Sudan-army-threatens-to-kill,42457>

¹⁶² President Kiir witnesses signing of Jonglei peace deal, 6 May 2012. Available at: <http://www.sudantribune.com/President-Kiir-witnessessigning,42504> Sudan Tribune, 2012. South

outbreak of violence in December 2013, the role of key actors such as that played by the country's security sector, and examines the context in which the international community must work to support a sustainable way out of conflict and towards an inclusive state.

3.4.1 Unchecked Violence

Violence and war has been growing from one level to another even before fighting in Juba started in July 2013. As observed by AU, murder and inhuman cases had been occurring without being closely followed and the root cause addressed.¹⁶³ Violence later extended to the whole country involving even the individual and groups who were not initially part of it.

By 2014 November 50,000 people had lost their lives. It is thought that if this rate continues in South Sudan then their case will exceed the Syria case. About 7,165 people lost their lives in South Sudan in a span of 12 months (2014-2015). This number exceeds the international expected emergency threshold making Sudan worse than Syria and Yemen during war time.¹⁶⁴

3.4.2 Economic Collapse

The South Sudan economic state is worsening. There have been warnings of economic collapse in the country. However, in June 2016 IMF warned that South Sudan will experience economic collapse totally. Oil is the main source of revenue in South Sudan giving a 98% of country revenue. War has affected oil production in the country leading to collapse of the economy.¹⁶⁵

The country is experiencing 700% inflation by September 2016, during this time GDP deficit of 25 percent (\$1.1 billion) between 2016 and 2017 financial year.

¹⁶³ South Sudan: Cattle Rustling Becomes Increasingly Violent, ISS, February 2012. South Sudan Development Plan (SSDP) 2011-13, P. 32 Sudan Tribune, 2012.

¹⁶⁴ Small Arms Survey HSBA Working Paper 1, P. 20.

¹⁶⁵ Babbie, E & Mouton, J. The Practice of Social Research: South African Edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press 2015. p. 520

Basic goods are sold at high prices. For instance due to food shortage many people have suffered due to lack of enough finances to purchase food sold expensively. Those living in urban centers have had the greatest challenges when buying basic commodities. In 2016 March for instance sorghum in juba was 400% higher than an average of five years.

3.4.3 Humanitarian Disaster

Un in 2014/2015 chose south Sudan as a level three humanitarian emergency. South Sudan was the only one in Africa under this category and number 4 in the world. In 2016 the disaster was worse and in September the country joined a group of 3 countries who have greatest number of refugees (above 1 million) in foreign countries. The other three countries in this category are: Somalia, Afghanistan and Syria. For south Sudan, 1.6 million people lost their homes during the crisis and are living elsewhere within the country. Of these population, around two hundred thousand look for refuge in UN PoC places; over 80% living under starvation..¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

CHAPTER FOUR

MEASURES AND EFFORTS TAKEN BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO HELP BRING ABOUT PEACE IN SOUTH SUDAN

4.1 Introduction

This chapter ascertains the measures and efforts taken by the international community (including the IGAD Plus, AU, and the UN) to help bring about peace in the country. The prospects covered in this chapter are: IGAD peace process and AU mediation panel; the continued positive role of the international community; the role of the UN and the fear of spread for extremist; South Sudan fatigued with war and just want peace; and lessons for South Sudan as a young Nation from other Countries.

4.2 AU Mediation Panel and IGAD Peace Process

Many actors have played a crucial role in south Sudan. These actors (AU, IGAD and South Africa) in the middle of donors walked with south Sudan to independence. Many actors have play a crucial role in south Sudan. These actors (AU, IGAD and South Africa) in the middle of donors walked with south Sudan to signing of CPA and later the independence.¹⁶⁷ They have help in mediation of conflicting parties alongside great challenges. Through a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, donors and actors from Africa have been able to communicate. Some actors are barred from handling sensitive matters while others are allowed. For instance

¹⁶⁷ Klein S. Braedly, *Strategic Studies and World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge UniverstyPreess, 1994) p. 18.

since South Sudan has subscribed in IGAD and AU then these 2 bodies have authority to engage in such issues.¹⁶⁸

When Sudan separated with south Sudan, Thabo Mbeki in Sudan led AU high-level implementation panel. Thabo Mbeki was the former president of South Africa.¹⁶⁹ The panel was discussing crucial issues touching the two countries. The major issues of concern during the panel were oil and citizenship. What Mbeki did is still visible despite the talk behind his back. Mbeki worked to bring peace between government of Sudan and opposing group. He also offered his support at some borders of south Sudan.

In 2005 IGAD appeared in mediation reports in the formation of CPA agreement. War broke in south Sudan 2013. AU and PSC approved that it was to use the subsidiarity principle and therefore IGAD was given the chance to be the main conflict mediator. Concerning this, envoys from Sudan, Kenya and Ethiopia were appointed by the body. These envoys were extraordinary and devoted. In Uganda however, the body only involved the head of state level. This brought about bewilderment and constrained IGAD's capability to take the right position and do decision making without asking or permission from the presidents. Even though most documents were signs successfully, there were challenges attached to the process. African Union gave their support to IGAD. They went ahead and established a committee of AU High-Level Ad-hoc of state heads. By 2014 December there was a government formed from: Rwanda, Algeria, Nigeria, South Africa and Chad. Troika together with this government and IGAD, formed a body called IGAD plus.¹⁷⁰ Troika composed of US, UK and Norway.

¹⁶⁸Narang, A. S. Ethnic conflicts and minority rights. *Economic and Political Weekly*, (2012). 37(27), 2696-2700.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

¹⁷⁰Rolandsen, Øystein H. "Another civil war in South Sudan: the failure of Guerrilla Government?" *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 9, no. 1 (2015): 163-174.

4.2.1 IGAD Peace Process

When war erupted in south Sudan, president Kenyatta of Kenya and prime minister Hailemariam Dessalegn from Ethiopia (IGAD chair) gave president Kiir a visit in Juba. They had a meeting with cabinet members and SPLM detained members. Resulting from these meetings there was a convened summit by IGAD on 2013 December 27th.¹⁷¹ This summit immediately announced an emergency formation of special envoys in the Office of IGAD for South Sudan. The envoys came from Kenya Ethiopia and Sudan. Seyoum Mesfin of Ethiopia chaired the body.

IGAD started its mission. The envoys asked for expansion where global bodies helped in the mediation process. They tried constructive dialogue to bring peace back to south Sudan.¹⁷² This was their main mandate. They also engaged in reviewing the position of the SPLM detained individuals and parties of conflicts in order to come up with a solution. IGAD member then had a conflict of interest in regard to oil production. According to findings the rivalry was clear even during the selection of envoys. Kenya, Egypt, Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda had differences during the mediation process in south Sudan. Due to these interests the scope of mediation also brought another conflicts. The envoys had to state their plan before beginning the process.

At the beginning the envoys team came up with committees speed up the progress. The committees were alienated into themes. The themes included: management of funds, justice of transition and a permanent ceasefire. Committees were made up of CSOs and political parties who were experienced and committed in discussing arguable issues and reaching an agreement that was expected to restore peace in south Sudan.

¹⁷¹Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J.A. Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity and poverty. London: Profile Book Ltd. (2012).

¹⁷²Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017.

IGAD team of mediation prearranged for symposiums and workshops in order to help the groups in negotiation process.¹⁷³

4.2.2 The AU's behind-the-scenes role in South Sudan

The proximity gave IGAD the advantage of taking lead on South Sudan mediation, yet the AU maintained a role in the overall ownership of an African problem within the African continental framework.¹⁷⁴ The unspoken arrangement was that IGAD takes the lead in facilitating a political solution through mediation while the AU takes on the issues of providing protective space in international arena while it tackles accountability related matters in nature such as Justice and investigating the alleged atrocities and human rights violations. The responsibility on matters of international peace and security lies on the UNSC, however at the AU continued as part of its complementarily with the UN to play a vital role through its Security Council providing guidance and management of conflict on African conflicts.¹⁷⁵

AU's overall responsibility on matters of peace and security in Africa demanded that IGAD reports the progress, hinderers and challenges to the AU Peace and Security Council which it continue to do in implementation to the principle of subsidiarity where RECs play vital roles as building blocks of the AU. The AU in the case of current conflict in South Sudan took lead to investigate the alleged atrocities and violations of human rights. However, its role is complementary as the report was held by the AUSC and not released as leverage on the parties to achieve a mediated settlement as well to avoid polarization of the parties and hardening their

¹⁷³ Ibid

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

¹⁷⁵ Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. On economic causes of civil war. *Oxford University Economic Papers* (1998). *Papers* 50:563-573.

positions more in case no agreement is reached. AU encourages the complementarity between RECs and its structures as well attempting solutions to African problems through its mechanism.

South Sudan case is unique in a sense that the parties accepted IGADs' mediation while maintaining the AU as the next level of reporting and seeking remedies while in cases of conflict in Sudan's Darfur, Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile in addition to political dialogue, the AU took the lead with support from IGAD with symbolic presence in the presence. Nonetheless, with the mounting discomfort of the deteriorating situation on the ground the IGAD role was strengthened with what became known as the IGAD plus where the (5) regions of Africa (South Africa, Nigeria, Algeria, Chad, and Rwanda) are represented by the decision of the AUSC in addition to other partners; Troika and China. The role to be played by the IGAD plus is still subject of ongoing consultations between the Special Envoys and the parties to the conflict in addition to IGAD member states and the intended countries to be represented.¹⁷⁶

4.3 The Continued Positive Role of the International Community

The international community has repeatedly called on South Sudan's leaders to implement the peace agreement signed in August 2015. But it has still failed to exert enough pressure to nudge things along. This matters both for South Sudan and for the world. Mass atrocities in any one place can undermine the entire international system of collective security by calling into question the UN Security Council's ability to live up to its responsibility as the authority tasked by law with maintaining international peace and security.¹⁷⁷ Too often, the international response has been either too late or too weak. Rwanda and Syria stand out as two marked examples. It is

¹⁷⁶ Evoy, C.M., & LeBrun, E. *Uncertain future: Armed violence in Southern Sudan*. Geneva, Graduate Institute of International Studies: (2010). Small Arms Survey.

¹⁷⁷ Garfield, R. *Violence and victimization in South Sudan: Lakes State in the post-CPA period*. Geneva, Graduate Institute of International Studies: (2012). Small Arms Survey.

therefore imperative that the international community and other leading bodies begin to act and do something about what is happening in South Sudan.

At long last the SPLM/A in its different guises together with its off-shoots have called the bluff of the international community. For four years now the international community's handling of the peace talks and implementation of ARCSS leaves a lot to be desired. During this period, they have left footprints of bias everywhere. Just before the start of the revitalization talks, the international community issued strong letters sending a message that this time round they meant business. This raised the hopes of South Sudanese and for the first time the people appeared to give the international community the benefit of doubt about their conduct of the talks.

Ms Rebecca Nyandeng Garang, the widow of the late leader of SPLM/A, Dr John Garang, captured the positive feeling of the South Sudanese people in her interview with Mr John Tanza on Voice of America on 2nd January 2018. Nyandeng expressed optimism about the revitalization talks based on the assurance she received from IGAD. This is what she said, "*And I was happy to hear that IGAD said they were speaking in the same voice. Because IGAD in the other hand also have to unite their ranks and file.*" Asked by Tanza, why she was saying so, Nyandeng explained, "I say so because IGAD was divided."¹⁷⁸

From 2013, even during the 2017 there are some leaders in IGAD who are supporting leaders instead of supporting people of South Sudan." Given the numerous violations of the Cessation of Hostilities agreement signed on 21st December 2017 by the government, the international community initially went mute only to issue the usual statement loaded with condemnation wrapped up with moral equivalence. Many people have been asking what the international

¹⁷⁸Baldwin, David A. "The concept of security." *Review of international studies* 23, no. 1 (2017): 5-26.

community is doing given their latest tough statement. Nobody has the answer and unfortunately the hopes of the people have once again been dashed. Nyandeng must be very disappointed. The South Sudanese people have for over a year now lost faith in the international community following the naked violation of ARCSS by President Salva Kiir regime and its subsequent silence followed by their endorsement of General Taban Deng Gai as a replacement to Dr Riek Machar.¹⁷⁹ Why the international community as guarantors of the agreement chose to ignore Juba regime's destruction of the agreement remains to be explained? It is something that makes many people to date to scratch their heads. Worse still, they have gone on to isolate and confine the victim, Dr Riek Machar, the leader of SPLM/A-IO in South Africa. Machar has his own blemishes, but to put the blame of what happened in Juba in July 2016 on him to the extent of victimizing him is as unfair and unethical as to reveal the internecine bias by international community against an innocent person exercising his birthright in his country's affairs.¹⁸⁰

Machar isolation has proven one thing beyond doubt. His absence has not brought any peace. The war has continued unabated and this should be a reason enough to exonerate this innocent man and release him from the crude illegal confinement in South Africa. Democracy demands that there must be a level field for all to compete for the highest office in the land. At the moment that is not the case in South Sudan. An innocent man is illegally held against his wishes in foreign land while the culprit is allowed to roam freely mismanaging the country.¹⁸¹

This culprit, the trouble maker is in Juba. He is called President Salva Kiir, an extremely dangerous tribalist-psychopath who has already committed ethnic cleansing and continues to

¹⁷⁹ Garfield, R. Violence and victimization in South Sudan: Lakes State in the post-CPA period. Geneva, Graduate institute of International Studies: (2012). Small Arms Survey.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

¹⁸¹ Willems, R., & Rouw, H.S. Security promotion seen from below: Experiences from South Sudan. Peace Security Studies and Development Networks. (2011). No. 00030.

pose serious risk to himself, the people of South Sudan and South Sudan the country itself. The facade of the international community in relation to peace in South Sudan dressed up in statements like, “*We care for the people of South Sudan*”, “There will be consequences”.. etc is unraveling before the eyes of the people of South Sudan and the world.¹⁸²The revitalization of ARCSS was meant to be a serious business. Though speeches were delivered by Troika, African Union and IGAD as mentioned above, only for the regime in Juba to instantly rubbish it by violating the CoH openly without any consequences as promised.

4.4 The Role of the UN and the Fear of Spread for Extremist

The UN has no direct role in the mediation process as an external actor, yet it has huge presence on the ground in South Sudan through its mission in country (UNMISS), which superseded the conflict. The relations between the GoSS and the UN deteriorated at early stages of the conflict when (13) UNMISS trucks transporting weapons manifested as building materials were uncovered. “The weapons were packed in crates whose labels said they contained food rations. Under the terms of its agreement with South Sudan, the U.N. is only allowed to ship its peacekeepers weapons by air, not by land”.¹⁸³

The UN admitted its responsibility and the mistake of non-adherent to the Standard of Forces Agreement (SOFA) and “the weapons seized were claimed to belong to Ghanaian peacekeepers but the cargo wrongly labeled” “containers were wrongly labeled and inadvertently contained weapons and ammunition”.¹⁸⁴ The GoSS and the general public in South Sudan accused UNMISS of housing in protection camps elements of pro-Machar rebels and in some occasion’s

¹⁸² Reverend Sarafino Oseyek (Assistant Bishop, Africa Inland Church, Torit), Interview: August 24th, 2012

¹⁸³ Garfield, R. Violence and victimization in South Sudan: Lakes State in the post-CPA period. Geneva, Graduate Institute of International Studies: (2012). Small Arms Survey.

¹⁸⁴ Baldwin, David A. “The concept of security.” *Review of international studies* 23, no. 1 (2017): 5-26.

white army militia members within its protection sites UNMISS' role in South Sudan continues to expand with its vital civilian protection mandate where it house hundreds of thousands of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) who are forced to take shelter either because of fighting or fearing retribution of other communities in relations to the current conflict. It accepted responsibility over the violation of the Standard of Forces Agreement (SOFA) and apologized but still denied covering elements of rebellion within its protection, then conducted search for weapons among IDPs who sought protection in the camps and managed to uncover huge numbers of rifles and pistols though refused to surrender them to the security organs of the GoSS destroyed these weapons transparently in a present of its representative. Though, the UN HQs expressed an apology and was able to dispatch a high level team to investigate the circumstances of the incident it issued a press statement ahead the arrival of the team and expressed "the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) is looking forward to being able to conduct this investigation in full transparency and collaboration with the authorities of South Sudan, and allow the Mission to clarify the circumstances of this unfortunate incident, ensure that it will not happen again, and defuse any misunderstanding between the United Nations and the Government of South Sudan."¹⁸⁵

The implications of this serious incident created difficult relations where mounting distrusts by the party to the conflict of assigning a position to the UN on Monitoring and Verification Mechanism (MVM) established by the Secession of Hostilities Agreement signed on 23 Jan 2015.¹⁸⁶ The UN mission in South Sudan continues to provide logistic to the MVM in their deliverance of mandate "to protect civilians and provide humanitarian relief wherever possible".

¹⁸⁵ Ibid

¹⁸⁶ South Sudan: Cattle Rustling Becomes Increasingly Violent, ISS, February 2012. South Sudan Development Plan (SSDP) 2011-13, P. 32 Sudan Tribune, 2012

¹⁸⁷The UNSC tries to play its leverage role through threatening targeted sanctions against people it may name as spoilers or obstructing peace. Despite the mixed reactions on which the sanctions were received and the regional and national rejection of even a wider arms embargo, it remained an attempt to skillfully engage in ending the crisis through backing African Unions efforts as well IGAD led process.

4.5 South Sudan Fatigued With War and Just Want Peace

Enter Ana Taban, which means "*I'm tired*" in Arabic, a group of young musicians, fashion designers and poets who are using art and culture to demand peace in their homeland. "*I hope for better serviced institutions, better opportunities for youth, a country where I don't need to be from a specific tribe,*" said Ayak Chol Deng, 31, an epidemiologist, spoken word poet and activist who co-founded the group about a year ago.¹⁸⁸

The group holds regular open-air performances around the capital Juba and in other towns to call for peace and to educate their fellow citizens on the need for a non-violent resolution of the conflict that has cost thousands of lives. Meen Mabior Meen, 30, a rap musician and founding member of Ana Taban, said it is a platform for the youth to tackle issues that can change the country. He spoke at his home in Juba, sitting next to the crib of his new-born child. Such powerful aspirations are also attracting people outside of the country to the group, at Anataban, in order to play their role in encouraging peace. They include Abul Oyay, 30, a university student in neighboring Kenya.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁸ Ibid

¹⁸⁹ Baldwin, David A. "The concept of security." *Review of international studies* 23, no. 1 (2017): 5-26.

Ana Taban's members do not limit themselves to theatrical performances. Bright murals with messages calling for peace, created by its members, can be seen on walls around Juba. "We are focused on bringing the country together, bringing people together. We are neutral, we are non-partisan," said Jacob Bul Bior, 28, a radio and theater actor.¹⁹⁰

4.6 Lessons for South Sudan as a Young Nation from Other Countries

South Sudan's bitter history of slave pillage, armed resistance to Turko-Egyptian and Anglo Egyptian imperialism, racial and religious antagonism, regional marginalization, and inter-ethnic cleavages present the greatest challenge of nation building. Unlike Tanzania, South Sudan, Africa's youngest country, has, like other postcolonial African countries, become enmeshed in ethno-military conflicts which have affected national politics. The country suffered from a failed coup with ethnic undertones.¹⁹¹ It degenerated into a civil war fought along ethno-linguistic lines. This pitted hitherto comrades-in-arms under the John-Garan-led Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) against one another. The country has evolved a "militarized, corrupt neo-patrimonial system of governance." In this evolving "kleptocracy", the politico-military patronage system depends on corrupt rewards for allegiance to maintain political and military loyalty. This stifles positive developments and progressive engagement of the numerous problems afflicting newly-independent South Sudan.¹⁹²

South Sudan and her development partners have focused more on state building and less on answering the question: "how to turn the young state into a nation in which all South Sudanese can see themselves represented." It lacks, or rather needs, a pragmatic solution to its nation

¹⁹⁰ South Sudan: Cattle Rustling Becomes Increasingly Violent, ISS, February 2012. South Sudan Development Plan (SSDP) 2011-13, P. 32 Sudan Tribune, 2012

¹⁹¹ Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli concept of national security." In *The Middle East*, pp. 23-30. Palgrave, London, 2013.

¹⁹² Jok, M.J. State, law and insecurity in South Sudan. *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, (2013). Vol 37:2

building problems. Key lessons can be drawn from Tanzania's language policy, political-military reorientation, and promotion of nation-ness, to create a feeling "that South Sudan belongs to all South Sudanese, and not to any ethnic, religious, or political group." Hard political choices and compromises have to be made on language policy and ethno-political reconfigurations.

4.6.1 De-Politicisation of the Military and De-Militarization of Politics

South Sudan has yet to build a professional national army let alone embark on programs to depoliticize its military and demilitarize its politics. This carryover of militarism is rooted in the many years of struggle during which political objectives were pursued militarily and military activities were fused with political maneuvers in the day-today running of the SPLM and pre-SPLM rebel movements.¹⁹³ Since independence, the country retains an ethnically-fractured military. These fractures are based on ethnicity; hence ethnic loyalty has penetrated the military institution and national politics. The resulting tension between mainly the Nuer and Dinka threatens to tear apart the country's hard-won independence as foreign interests became fused in the 2013 armed uprising. Though there were splits within the SPLM since August 1991, reflecting elite competition within the SPLA combined with machinations from Khartoum, the "targeted killings in Juba and revenge killings of Dinka by Nuer in Akobo and Bor in Jonglei state" seemed to bear the oft-reported claim of ethnic influences in the conflict.

If it be true that the alleged coup begun with a fight between Nuer and Dinka soldiers in the presidential guard, the nature and compositions of defections and loyalties to the president and his opposing vice indicate the triangular intersection between ethnicity, militarism, and politics. Intra SPLM divisions, militarization of ethnicity and politics, and lack of elite consensus are

¹⁹³ Ibid

responsible for this flare-up.¹⁹⁴ This underlines the challenge upon Juba to include all the diverse ethnic groups, attract the remnants of the militias that had not yet joined the SPLA, and build national cohesion. Leaders face other challenges (like boundary problems, oil wealth, and system of government). But national integration and loyalty to the nation remain key to the country's nationhood and cannot be relegated to political chance.

The nation-building challenge facing South Sudan is a serious leadership issue similar to Tanzania's challenge in 1964. It requires elite consensus on depoliticizing both the military and ethnicity. Few options are available. First, professionalization of the military is an urgent matter. This demands legal restrictions against the military's involvement in politics, recruitment and enlistment based on merit, provision of professional training, and respect for military autonomy. Errant military officers and men need to be disarmed, difficult as this exercise may be, to de-tooth them as Tanzania did in 1964.¹⁹⁵ The AU and UN can support this endeavour. Second, and as an alternative to the foregoing, South Sudan may fuse its national ideology with military training, by: (i) retiring majority of the country's soldiers and providing them with means of alternative livelihood and then reconstituting the military; and (ii) by making legal prohibitions against elites using the military to settle political differences. Finally, the country needs an elite consensus on the nature and future of the military in the country's grand strategy. On elite consensus, there are few options.¹⁹⁶ One option is the choice of declaration of state neutrality, akin to Costa Rica's and Belgium's neutrality in international relations. The military would then be integrated in the police force or disbanded altogether. The country would then depend on

¹⁹⁴Madut, Kon K. "Spatiality of ethnic identity and construction of sociopolitical interaction in South Sudan." *Human Geographies--Journal of Studies & Research in Human Geography* 11, no. 2 (2017).

¹⁹⁵ Ibid

¹⁹⁶Babbie, E & Mouton, J. *The Practice of Social Research: South African Edition*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press 2015. p. 520

international will for its national defense and security, territorial integrity, and strategic survival. This might have three consequences: (i) it removes opportunities for foreign penetration of the country's armed forces with an aim of internally destabilizing the country through such things as engineering coups d'état. (ii) State neutrality erases fears from neighbors of possible military incursions and aggression when leaders of these countries disagree or when there are conflicts over such issues as national borders and transnational armed conflicts. (iii) Finally, neutral status significantly reduces the presence, and potential instrumentalisation, of means and instruments of violence for narrow sectional, including ethno-political, interests that pit ethno-military groups against one another as the current conflict demonstrates.

The second consensual option is the integration of South Sudan's military with regional military arrangements. One opportune structure is the East African Standby Force (EASF) under the African Union Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The other, were it fully operational, would be the EAC's security and defense cooperation arrangements.¹⁹⁷ It is possible, even desirable for political stability, regional integration, and geostrategic survival, to put command over the country's armed forces under some regional entity for at least few years. Though this may seem to political elites as antithetical to the oft-exaggerated principle and practices of state sovereignty (autonomy, control, legitimacy, security and defense policy), it may be informed by considerations of pragmatic necessity and strategic survival. Tanzania relied on the British to disarm its errant army and on the Nigerians for the subsequent reorganization and reconstitution of the TPDF. The state is now as sovereign as any other in today's world.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli concept of national security." In *The Middle East*, pp. 23-30. Palgrave, London, 2013.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid

4.6.2 Language Policy Challenges in South Sudan

South Sudan realizes the challenge of national integration. But it has yet to properly embark on the race to nation building. The country lacks a unifying [indigenous] national language. Nuer dominates in Upper Nile region. Dinka dominates the greater Bahr el-Ghazal. In the Equatoria region, Bari, Latuka, and Zande, are spoken by majority of the people.¹⁹⁹ Swahili has also been learned by many of the country's young returnees who lived in East Africa as refugees. English is also appearing as equally important especially in government circles. Arabic, which was the official/national language of the united Sudan, is also prevalent. There are other small sociolinguistic groups which can be considered minorities. The choice of a language, or set of languages, which can be used in education, government, and every-day communication between peoples, remains difficult due to ethno-linguistic competition.²⁰⁰

Competing language groups are difficult to mobilize to agree on a certain language specific to a particular sociolinguistic group. Yet having a national language would lessen feelings of exclusion, domination by specific group(s), and disproportionate pride and power. As Shepherd argues, the extent to which national consensus and public order are present determines national unity and internal. National consensus is about loyalty to national values, institutions, and policies. It includes loyalty to one political authority system. The development and consolidation of this consensus is achieved via cultural fusion, including language adaptation and the involvement of a socio-cultural infrastructure around it. I address public order later.

¹⁹⁹ Martin, H. *Kings of peace, pawns of war: The untold story of peacemaking*. London, United Kingdom: (2015). Continuum.

²⁰⁰ Ibid

Regarding language policy the young country has few options: (i) it can decide to become trilingual by adapting English, Arabic, and Swahili as national languages. (ii) The country can make its major languages—Nuer, Dinka, Bari, Zande, Latuka—national languages taught in all schools at a certain grade. Or (iii) South Sudan can decide, through a national process, like a referendum or parliamentary legislation, to adopt Swahili as its lingua franca in line with its recent interests in joining the East African Community. This should erase racialism and ethnic pride.²⁰¹ While racialism, as characterized North-South relations before South Sudan's secession, "can confound human reason even among those recently freed from western imperialism", intergroup antagonisms within the South are potentially "the most destructive of consensus."¹⁰⁵ In the midst of ethnic competition over language, consensus on a national language is difficult.

Ethno-linguistic conflicts stymie national consensus on a national language by creating mistrust and suspicion between/among language groups. These fissures create competing demands upon the state to adopt one's language as against others or to adopt many languages—multilingualism—thus placing greater burdens upon the state to teach as many languages as can serve the purposes of meeting the demands of all sociolinguistic groups. According to one observer, The lack of a common language does not imply that South Sudan cannot become a unified nation, but a failure to address the issue would certainly hamper its growth.²⁰²

A national language would diminish feelings of exclusion or the perception that one or few ethnic groups dominate. Here, South Sudan may follow the example of other countries with similar problems. A solution could be a hybrid tongue that draws on local languages, similar to

²⁰¹ Martin, H. *Kings of peace, pawns of war: The untold story of peacemaking*. London, United Kingdom: (2015). Continuum.

²⁰² Waal, A.D. *When kleptocracy becomes in solvent: Brute causes of the civil war in South Sudan*. (2014). Oxford University Printing Press.

the Indonesian model, or the adoption of English as the language of government and education. Others have suggested that five languages from the three main regions should be selected. However, developing a national language or languages does not mean that the smaller languages would disappear; rather it would encourage literacy and their use at a local level.²⁰³ If language policy were linked to education, indigenous languages could be taught at primary school level ... after which English would become the medium of instruction.

Jok's above-quoted observations provide vital starting points for understanding the language problem in South Sudan. I, however, consider the adoption of a single national language or very few languages as vital for the rapid national integration in South Sudan. One national language that is also widely spoken in the region lowers costs of language education, especially among adults. Since South Sudan has joined the EAC, Swahili comes out as a promising candidate. English is not only widely spoken in the region but is a global language adoptable if not out of pragmatic necessity then to also ease interactions with EAC partner societies. Whichever choice is made, a common language will ensure the emergence of a common citizenship.²⁰⁴

As Tanzania's experience demonstrates, language policy, like any other policy, is not unproblematic. Neither it is cheap to teach one language countrywide amidst low levels of literacy nor to convince political nor other ethnic elites to adopt a single language unfamiliar to them or distinct from their mother tongues. But a choice has to be made. Few approaches are worth trying: first, a countrywide survey can be conducted to obtain the people's choice of language. Second, where deemed necessary, a referendum may be held on whether or not to choose a non-indigenous language like Swahili or Arabic. Finally, legal and politico-

²⁰³ Ibid

²⁰⁴ Collier, P. *Economic causes of civil conflicts and their implications for policy*. (2015). Oxford University Press.

administrative requirements for deliberate promotion of the chosen language(s) by public and private entities alike can follow.²⁰⁵

4.6.3 Ethno-political Integration and De-Politicization of Ethnicity

South Sudan has multiple ethnic groups. Competition between these groups may be historical, but took on new dimensions after independence. This culminated in an armed confrontation between soldiers loyal to Dr Riek Machar and those loyal to Salvar Kiir in 2013.²⁰⁶ Observers have claimed that ethno-politics was at the centre of this confrontation. Historically, South Sudanese have struggled against Arab-Islamic-dominated North, making the long Sudanese conflict assume a racial-religious dimension. "Completely isolated from the North until little more than a century ago, embittered by decades of subsequent hostility, and administered separately until the threshold of independence, the Southerner feels himself to be an African, while the ruling Northerner is proud of his Arab consciousness." This expression was echoed by Aggrey Jaden, president of the Sudan African National Union (SANU), in 1965. Jaden stated that geographical, racial-ethnic, and cultural differences between north and south Sudan imply that there were no shared beliefs, no common identity, no interest convergence, no local signs of unity, and "above all, the Sudan has failed to compose a single Community." Today, South Sudan has no common language, no ethnic convergence, and no feeling of national unity and purpose. There are opportunities which a nation-building program can start. Shared historical memories and similarities among South Sudan's ethnic groups come to mind.

²⁰⁵ Ibid

²⁰⁶ Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017.

There are significant similarities among South Sudan's ethnic groups. The groups are racially African. Their modes of production and livelihood are similar. Religious traditions and culture in general, are similar. The different groups also share important historical experiences constituting a shared memory.²⁰⁷ This is rooted in the experience of protracted struggle against islamisation, slave trade, imperialism, western colonialism, and Arab-northern domination. Over the years of conflict, emphasis has been placed on how different south Sudanese are from their northern neighbors. Many South Sudanese consider themselves different from north Sudan, now under Khartoum, despite southern penetration by Islam and Arabic.

The political elites in South Sudan need to realize the importance of looking beyond ethnic loyalties and membership when recruiting for national political parties and public offices. Second, ethnic diversity, Juba has already realized, needs to be celebrated as a valuable resource that enriches the country's cultural, epistemic, and historical landscape. Programs that are aimed at promoting inter-ethnic dialoguing, ethnic intermarriages, and which mobilize all ethnic groups into single sets of activities, including participation in mass parties as the TANU did, should go a long way in promoting national unity. Finally, the national leadership must come out strongly and be seen to act for the diverse nation not their ethnic groups. The current conflict (as of 2016) negates the core intent of South Sudan's liberation struggles. Its ethnic dimension needs to be publicly denounced, and national cohesion practiced at the highest levels of political and bureaucratic leadership. This de-politicization of ethnicity needs to spread to all major state institutions, especially the military.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli concept of national security." In *The Middle East*, pp. 23-30. Palgrave, London, 2013.
²⁰⁸ Mamdani, M. *When victims become killers*. New Jersey: (2011). Princeton University Press.

4.6.4 Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

Also, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) should rethink its institutional bottleneck to become a trustworthy peace mediator with the commendable achievement of the desired goal. The hierarchical decision-making organs of the IGAD (i.e., Assembly of Heads of State and Government that determines the policies and guidelines; Council of Ministers that approves the work programs and budget of the Secretariat; and Committee of Ambassadors that influence the Heads of State and Government, the Ministers and officials of the Secretariat, etc...) have often undermined the work of HLRF mediation experts, especially on issues of good governance and credibility of leadership of the awaited post-war South Sudan.

At the end of the game, all the stakeholders (nationals and foreigners alike) should get tough lessons from the evolution of the political history of South Sudan so as to avoid dangerous blunders of unending crises. They must know that absence of good life, deflated people's will, concentrated power and decayed national unity usually put big question marks on the essence of existence of a modern democratic state in the globalized era of universal human rights.²⁰⁹

It was regrettably a wishful naivety to have thought that the tainted history of abortive governments and oppositions of Sudan would absolve 'independent' South Sudan from inheriting the DNA of bad governance, dooming insecurity, confused economy and recurrent humanitarian catastrophe. The deceptive economic boom from oil revenues in the SPLM/A-controlled government in Juba (not clear for any confidence whether it is free-market capitalism,

²⁰⁹ Mbugua, J.K. Security and organized crime: Dynamics and challenges in South Sudan. Nairobi: International Peace Support Center, Occasional Paper (2012). No.2

protected regulatory socialism or 'mixed' economy) has been infected by Dutch Disease with the behavior of milking public coffers unaccountably.²¹⁰

As the reality of SPLM/A's government and opposition has now gotten known by hard way of trial-and-error, it is high time the search for lasting peace is informed by roots and links of the evolved political past of South Sudan. Such acknowledgement is necessary, precisely when the territorial geography of the new country on the globe has not shifted to the Atlantic or the Indian Oceans, or even to the Red and the Mediterranean Seas.

The historical facts and actors about South Sudan must be gleaned and screened honestly from illusionary propagandist fictions. SWOT Analyses must be applied rigorously to identify internal and external Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats of the existing dysfunctional institutions and those leading them with defective attitudes. Also, SMART Principles must be invoked to ensure adherence to Specificity, Measurability, Achievability, Realist city and Timeliness of IGAD-mediated negotiations without fear or favour of anti-peace or anti-transformation proponents.²¹¹ Empirical descriptive evidence and logical premises must be used rigorously to arrive at sound prescriptive conclusions on resolving the daunting problems of leadership, security reforms, humanitarian assistance, sustainable economy, transitional justice and democratization of power in South Sudan.

²¹⁰ Ibid

²¹¹ Oysten Rolandsen: Land, Security and Peace building in the Southern Sudan, PRIO Paper (Oslo, 2009) Report of UN Secretary General, 2012.

CHAPTER FIVE

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations to the study. The conclusions are arranged according to the study objectives and questions which are linked to the hypotheses of the study.

5.2 Conclusion

Defined as an ordinary characteristic, Ethnic violence is many sided and is present in many states all over the world. A state with many ethnic groups is poses a challenge to its management. Nevertheless, if the differences are used for good then the state prospers. Many African countries have been challenged by ethnic differences south Sudan included.

Peace and national stability is highly affected when differences between and among ethnic groups cannot be contained all together. In this unknown is always expected and people live in tension /fear that war may arise. This has been the case in south Sudan where communities (ethnic groups) have engaged in conflicts. There are many differences between different groups over livestock, land and power.

The study concludes that though efforts of mediation are still understand subsidiarity was found difficult to put into practice. The principle though seems to be the only way out implementation has become a challenge to APSA. IGAD was mandated with peace building process in south

Sudan. The body has used different ways to reach destination but there are many challenges on the way. IGAD has been of great importance in mediation process but African Union has been missing the chances to help in harmonizing the process in order to apply the principle of subsidiarity. The main cause of this has been the difference of interest with many peace actors involved. This challenge has led to some extent inability of AU to help in mediation of conflicting parties in different settings.

The study further concludes that African Union does not have institutional and systematic process of mediation and therefore must build up one as a culture. This will eliminate personal ways of mediation as well as independence in the mediation process.

Coming up with institutional and systematic culture of mediation will make stronger harmonization of AU and RECs envoys improving teamwork in mediation process and hence conflict resolution.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Power Wrangles and Ethnicity in South Sudan's National security

South Sudan has mismanaged multiethnic state. Nevertheless the country has lessons to learn. There are several experiences of such which did not succeed in past. South Sudan can learn from Rwanda, DRC and also from Syria. Despite the differences ethnically south Sudan can choose to adopt a method which leads to success and not failure from these lessons.

The study recommends that the mediators should sit with all parties involved in the conflict listen talk to them over livestock, land and power among other issues of concern. Through this they will find the way out. Concerning property reforms, right to maintain a property, project

should accompany policies so that they bring improvement on sustainable use of land as well as the process of development.

5.3.2 South Sudan's National Security Challenges and Concerns

The fact that south Sudan just parted with Sudan out of conflicts which were not yet fully resolved brings more challenges. Failure to solve past dispute is dangerous. South Sudan is in new conflict with past conflicts still hanging and unresolved. This brings danger of intra and interstate security threats. South Sudan being a new state these threats are too severe for them and can cause danger of a failed state.

The present conflict situation of insecurity, great loss of human being life and possessions, failing economy, with youths who have no idea of peace leaves a great challenge to people strangling to bring peace in south Sudan. For the country to experience economic stability and growth they should first deal with their differences and bring peace and harmony to the state. **They should take all the necessary steps to solidify national unity. Machar and Kiir should come together and agree on the way forward. As leaders they should call for peace, mobilize their people for inter ethnic love peace and unity. The south Sudan people's difference should be used to overcome the current conflicts.**

Citizens of South Sudan have the potential to bring the fight down today. If they fear more loss they forgive and forget lets thy lose everything. Citizens should be careful not be used by leaders for their own interests. From the experience they should not elect leaders based on the ethnic qualifications but choose a leader who can unite the country for growth and development.

A country that takes care of the residents cannot concentrate on ethnic leaders rather would value the country more than an individual. A country with a sense of belonging comes up with a sense of responsibility of the leaders and works together with customary leaders to enhance unity and cooperation. The best techniques for building a nation is by use of modern technology as well as traditional ways of solving conflicts. The traditional methods are passed from one generation to another. South Sudan can set up a very great political social and economic environment by espousing its traditional institutions. This set up can be the best for conflict resolution and state building.

The state should establish community based ways of solving conflicts. This should include leaders of local groups, youths and women as well as other citizens to help them develop skills for dealing with small conflicts which lead to greater wars in future. Revolutionary for good administration should be brought on board for better tomorrow. This would help bring out a feasible political structure that aims at ending ethnic clashes and leads to state prosperity.

5.3.3 Measures and Efforts Taken By the International Community

With south Sudan RECs have takes first place in the conflict mediation. AU has contributed greatly too. AU and IGAD tried subsidiarity principle though they were not in agreement about its application. They then clashed on the way with great efforts to bring peace to south Sudan. AU_RECS plans are still being executed with great care to reach the desired goal. AU should improve in collaboration and harmonization with RECS so as to bring the best results.

AU, IGAD and other bodies should keep good communication, share information and coordinate well in reviewing the status of the peace process. They should sit and agree on the right criteria of applying subsidiarity principle so as to achieve best results.

The bodies should investigate and eliminate parties with different interests so as to reach who might be working against the planned goals. Inclusion of such individuals lead to resource waste and therefore should be avoided. For AU to succeed should establish understandable steps for mediators. The objectives would help guide them in their efforts to bring peace.

Without such objectives the envoys will take advantage of the system and carry out their own agendas. This will lead to the failure of the whole body. The appointment of envoys should follow a certain criterion too to avoid bias. The mediation funding model should also be revised. AU should be find out ways of getting funds and avoid donor dependence.

Bibliography

- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J.A. Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity and poverty. London: Profile Book Ltd. (2012).
- Ahmed, E., The comprehensive peace agreement and the dynamics of post-conflict partnership in Sudan. *Africa Spectrum*.(2009). Vol. 44. No.3. 133-142.
- Alvidrez, Jennifer, Francisca Azocar, and Jeanne Miranda."Demystifying the concept of ethnicity for psychotherapy researchers." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*64, no. 5 (2011): 903.
- Awolich, Abraham A. "South Sudan's national identity challenge: The interplay between fragmented social structure and elite's negative role." *The Sudd Institute Policy Brief*(2015).
- ~~Dabbie, E & Mouton, J. The practice of Social Research, South African Edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press 2015. p.184.~~
- Babbie, E & Mouton, J. The Practice of Social Research: South African Edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press 2015. p. 520
- Baldwin, David A. "The concept of security." *Review of international studies* 23, no. 1 (2017): 5-26.
- Battahani, A. A complex web: Politics and conflict in Sudan. (2015). Rift Valley Institute Sudan Course.

- Bellamy, Alex J. "The Responsibility to Protect turns ten." *Ethics & International Affairs* 29, no. 2 (2015): 161-185.
- Beswick, S. (2013). *Sudan's blood memory: The legacy of war, ethnicity, and slavery in early South Sudan*. Rochester: University of Rochester.
- Blagojevic, B. *Causes of ethnic conflict: A conceptual framework*. Rutgers University: (2009). *Journal of global change and governance*.
- Brooks, Rosa Ehrenreich. "War everywhere: rights, national security law, and the law of armed conflict in the age of terror." *U. Pa. L. Rev.* 153 (2013): 675.
- Brosche, J. *Sharing power: Enabling peace? Evaluating Sudan's comprehensive peace agreement 2013*. Uppsala University: (2009). Department of Peace and Conflict.
- Brower, Jennifer, and Peter Chalk. *The global threat of new and reemerging infectious diseases: reconciling US national security and public health policy*. No. 1602. Rand Corporation, 2003.
- Buzan, B. *People, state, and fear: The national security problem in the international relations*. Brighton Sussex: (1983). wheat sheaf Book Ltd.
- Cawthra, G. *African security governance emerging issues*. Johannesburg: Wit University Press.
- Center for European Studies (CNC, 2014). *What happened in Yugoslavia? The war, the peace, and the future: Examining NATO and the evolution of Trans Atlantic relationships*.

- Chacón, Jennifer M. "Unsecured borders: Immigration restrictions, crime control and national security." *Conn. L. Rev.* 39 (2006): 1827.
- Chretien, J., & Banegas, R. *The recurring Great Lakes crisis: Identity, Violence, and power.* (2008). London: Hurst and Company.
- Collier, P. *Economic causes of civil conflicts and their implications for policy.* (2015). Oxford University Press.
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. *On economic causes of civil war.* *Oxford University Economic Papers* 50:563-573.
- Crawford, B., & Lipschutz, R.D. *The myth of ethnic conflicts: Politics, economics and cultural violence.* (1998). University of California.
- Crocker, C.A., Hampson, F.O., & Aall, P. *Leashing the dogs of war: Conflict management in a divided world.* Washington: (2012). United States Institute of Peace.
- Deudney, Daniel. "The case against linking environmental degradation and national security." *Millennium* 19, no. 3 (2010): 461-476.
- Drew, D.M., & Snow, M.D. *Making strategy: An introduction to national security processes and problems.* Alabama: (1998). Air University Press.
- Evoy, C.M., & LeBrun, E. *Uncertain future: Armed violence in Southern Sudan.* Geneva, Graduate Institute of International Studies: (2010). Small Arms Survey.
- Fukuyama, F. *The origins of political order: From pre-human times to the French Revolution.* (2012). London: Profile Book Ltd.

- Ganahl, J.P. Corruption, good governance, and the African state: A critical analysis of political-economic foundations of corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa. Potsdam: (2013). University of Potsdam.
- Garfield, R. Violence and victimization in South Sudan: Lakes State in the post-CPA period. Geneva, Graduate institute of International Studies: (2012). Small Arms Survey.
- Geraghty, T. Guns for hire: The inside story of freelance soldiering. London: (2012). Piatkus Books.
- Hoehne, M.V. Traditional authorities and local government in Southern Sudan.(2008).Doctral Thesis, Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Saalle, Germany.
- Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli concept of national security."In *The Middle East*, pp. 23-30. Palgrave, London, 2013.
- Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Charles Taber, and Gallya Lahav."Threat, anxiety, and support of antiterrorism policies." *American journal of political science* 49, no. 3 (2013): 593-608.
- Hutchinson, E.S. Nuer ethnicity militarized. University of Madison. International Crisis Group (ICG, 2009). Jonglei's tribal conflicts: Countering insecurity in South Sudan. Africa Reports, (2008).No. 154, 23rd December.
- Jano, D. Aspects of security dilemma-what we have learned from the Macedonian case. (2009).Perceptions, Spring-Summer

- John Young; The South Sudan Defense Forces in the Wake of the Juba Declaration, HSBA, SWP No. 2014 1, P. 35.
- Jok, Jok Madut, and Sharon Elaine Hutchinson. "Sudan's prolonged second civil war and the militarization of Nuer and Dinka ethnic identities." *African Studies Review* 42, no. 2 (1999): 125-145.
- Jok, M.J. State, law and insecurity in South Sudan. The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, (2013). Vol 37:2
- Joshua Marks: Border in Name Only: Arms Trafficking and Armed Groups at the DRC/Sudan Border, Small Arms Survey, HSBA, Working Paper No. 4, 2012.
- Klein S. Braedly, Strategic Studies and World Order (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) p. 18.
- Konrad and Skaperdas; *The Political Economy of Organized Crime – Providing Protection When the State Does Not*, UCLA, 2011. Land Tenure Issues in South Sudan, USAID, December 2010, P. 29
- Madut, Kon K. "Spatiality of ethnic identity and construction of sociopolitical interaction in South Sudan." *Human Geographies--Journal of Studies & Research in Human Geography* 11, no. 2 (2017).
- Makinda, Samuel M., F. Wafula Okumu, and David Mickler. *The African Union: Addressing the challenges of peace, security, and governance*. Routledge, 2015.

- Malkki, Liisa H. "Speechless emissaries: Refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization." *Cultural anthropology* 11, no. 3 (2010): 377-404.
- Mamdani, M. When victims become killers. New Jersey: (2011). Princeton University Press.
- Martin, H. Kings of peace, pawns of war: The untold story of peacemaking. London, United Kingdom: (2015). Continuum.
- Mayai, T.A. Mapping social accountability: An appraisal of policy influences on service delivery in South Sudan, 2015-2011. Juba: The Sudd Institute
- Mbugua, J.K. Security and organized crime: Dynamics and challenges in South Sudan. Nairobi: International Peace Support Center, Occasional Paper (2012). No.2
- Narang, A. S. Ethnic conflicts and minority rights. *Economic and Political Weekly*, (2012). 37(27), 2696-2700.
- Nhema, A. & Zeleza, P.T. (Eds.). The resolution of African Conflicts: The management of conflict resolution & post-conflict reconstruction. Oxford, United Kingdom: (2011). James Currey.
- O'Brien, A. Shots in the dark: Sudan civilian disarmament campaign. Geneva: (2009). Small Arms Survey.
- Oysten Rolandsen: Land, Security and Peace building in the Southern Sudan, PRIO Paper (Oslo, 2009) Report of UN Secretary General, 2012.

- President Kiir witnesses signing of Jonglei peace deal, 6 May 2012. Available at:<http://www.sudantribune.com/President-Kiir-witnessessigning,42504> Sudan Tribune, 2012. South
- Rands, B.R., & LeRich, M. Security responses in Jonglei State in the aftermath of interethnic violence. Netherlands: (2012). Safer world.
- Reverend Sarafino Oseyek (Assistant Bishop, Africa Inland Church, Torit), Interview: August 24th, 2012
- Rice, F. Philip, and Kim Gale Dolgin. *The adolescent: Development, relationships and culture*. Pearson Education New Zealand, 2013.
- Rolandsen, Øystein H. "Another civil war in South Sudan: the failure of Guerrilla Government?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 9, no. 1 (2015): 163-174.
- Røstrup Mørtner. *Arteile on „Humanitarian“ and „Military“ Don“t Go Together Republic of Trinidad and Tobago Accounting for the Petrodollar 2012*.
- Small Arms Survey HSBA Working Paper 1, P. 20.
- South Sudan: Cattle Rustling Becomes Increasingly Violent, ISS, February 2012. South Sudan Development Plan (SSDP) 2011-13, P. 32 Sudan Tribune, 2012.
- Spiegel, Paul B., Anne Rygaard Bennedsen, Johanna Claass, Laurie Bruns, Njogu Patterson, Dieudonne Yiweza, and Marian Schilperoord. "Prevalence of HIV infection in conflict-affected and displaced people in seven sub-Saharan African countries: a systematic review." *The Lancet* 369, no. 9580 (2007): 2187-2195.

Sudan army threatens to "kill Jonglei raiders", 2 May 2012, Available at:
<http://www.sudantribune.com/South-Sudan-army-threatens-to-kill.42457>

Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017.

Totten, Samuel. "Anti-genocide Activism: A Very Mixed Affair." In *Controversies in the Field of Genocide Studies*, pp. 197-235. Routledge, 2017.

United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS). Interim reports on human rights crisis in South Sudan. Human Rights Division, UNMISS 2014: South Sudan.

Verhoeven, Harry. *Black Gold for Blue Gold?: Sudan's Oil, Ethiopia's Water and Regional Integration*. London: Chatham House, 2011.

Waal, A.D. *When kleptocracy becomes in solvent: Brute causes of the civil war in South Sudan*. (2014). Oxford University Printing Press.

Wallensteen, P *Preventing violent conflicts: Past records and future challenges*. Uppsala: (2002). Department of Peace and Conflicts.

Willems, R., & Rouw, H.S. *Security promotion seen from below: Experiences from South Sudan*. Peace Security Studies and Development Networks. (2011). No. 00030.