

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI



INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN STRATEGIC STUDIES

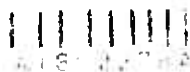
THE EFFECTS OF SOUTH SUDAN CONFLICT ON IT'S IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS

MARK AWALA JOSEPH

R47/8912/2017

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

2018



Bd 279471

Ajs

JZ

5597

57-11-

C.2


DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this project is my original work and has not been submitted in part or full to any other institution for academic qualification or otherwise. All other scholarly work from relevant studies have been duly acknowledged.

Signature  Date 07.12.18

Awala Mark Joseph

This research work has been submitted for examination in partial fulfillment of post graduate diploma in strategic studies at the university of Nairobi with my approval as the university supervisor.

Signature  Date 17/12/2018

Dr. Kizito Sabala

Lecturer

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS)

University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

This post graduate research project is dedicated to my loving wife Carol Mutambo Awala, son Ryan Wanyonyi Awala and daughter Gianna Joyce Akiru all of whom paid the ultimate price of my lengthy absence in the course of my studies at Defense Staff College (DSC)- Karen. God bless you all.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My sincere acknowledgement goes to my supervisor Dr. Kizito Sabala for his valuable patience and guidance in supervising this project to its conclusion. I further appreciate the support received from the commandant, chief instructor, directing and support staff for their relentless efforts in preparing officers for assumption of increasing responsibility in command and staff.

My special thanks to my loving wife Carol Mutambo Awala for her unwavering support and also stepping into my parental responsibility in the course of my study. I also wish to appreciate my parents Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Wanyonyi Kitutu and my siblings who always encouraged, inspired and wished me the best even when I felt exhausted. God bless you all.

ABSTRACT

The conflict in South Sudan and regional security relationship was the main objective of this study. The specific objectives were: -to review the discourses on African regional security internal conflicts and its impacts, to examine the impact of the South Sudan conflict on immediate neighbors and to examine the measures to minimize the consequences of the internationalization of civil wars. The study utilized Regional Security Complex Theory. This study utilized secondary data. Key informative interviews and document analysis were incorporated in a qualitative research methodology to collect the data for this study.

According to the study finding, the neighborhood of South Sudan is adversely affected by the conflicts taking place in South Sudan. Six countries border South Sudan and are interlinked with regional security complexes. The political developments of South Sudan affect the specific strategies of the border states. The study concludes that conflict/s in South Sudan has significant effect on the regional security and states that the interventions to minimize the consequences of the internationalization of civil wars have not merely succeeded or achieved the desired objective. The impacts of the conflict on the citizen could be getting worse and until all the actors involved in this make sure that the leadership of the military command of the SPLA and also the leadership of SPLM take serious reforms.

The study recommends that IGAD, the United States, the European Union, the African Union led by the UN should join hands to solve the current state in South Sudan before a total collapse of the socio-economic and complex political state of the nation. Pressure from the international and the regional bodies to the concerned parties and monitoring methods should be followed by strict and strong sanctions.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | | |
|----------------|---|--|
| ECOWAS | - | Economic Community of West African States |
| SADC | - | South Africa Development Cooperation |
| ECCAS | - | Economic Community of Central African States |
| UN | - | United Nations |
| RSC | - | regional security complex |
| WHO | - | World Health Organization |
| UNMISS | - | United Nations Mission in South Sudan |
| AU | - | African Union |
| UNHCR | - | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| SALWs | - | Small Arms and Light Weapons |
| WMD | - | Weapons of Mass Destruction |
| NGOs | - | Non-Governmental Organizations |
| IMF | - | International Monetary Fund |
| TFA | - | Transitional Financial Arrangement |
| CPA | - | comprehensive peace agreement |
| ICT | - | information and communication technologies |
| SPLM-IO | - | Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement in Opposition |
| UPDF | - | Uganda People's Defense Force |
| GDP | - | Gross Domestic Product |
| ARCSS | - | Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan |
| IGAD | - | Intergovernmental Authority on Development |
| SPLM/A | - | Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army |
| LRA | - | Lord's Resistance Army |
| CAR | - | Central African Republic |
| UNISFA | - | United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei |
| HIP | - | High-level Implementation Panel |
| UNISFA | - | United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei |
| IDP | - | Internally Displaced Persons |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| DECLARATION..... | ii |
| DEDICATION..... | iii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENT..... | iv |
| ABSTRACT..... | v |
| LIST OF ACRONYMS | vi |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | vii |
| Chapter One | 1 |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.1 Introduction and Background of the Study | 1 |
| 1.2 Statement of the Research Problem | 2 |
| 1.3 Study Objectives | 3 |
| 1.4 Research Questions | 3 |
| 1.5 Research Hypotheses..... | 4 |
| 1.6 Study Justification | 4 |
| 1.6.1 Academic Justification | 4 |
| 1.6.2 Policy Justification | 5 |
| 1.7 Analysis Framework | 5 |
| 1.8 Methodology of the Research | 7 |
| 1.8.1. Case Study | 7 |
| 1.8.2. Data Collection..... | 8 |
| 1.8.3. Data Analysis and Presentation..... | 8 |
| 1.9 The Study Organization | 8 |
| Chapter Two..... | 10 |
| Internal Conflicts and the Regional Security in Africa..... | 10 |
| 2.0 Introduction | 10 |
| 2.1 Link between Internal Conflict and Regional Security..... | 10 |
| 2.1.1 The Horn of Africa | 10 |
| 2.1.2 West Africa..... | 11 |
| 2.1.3 North Africa..... | 12 |
| 2.1.4 Southern Africa..... | 13 |
| Chapter Three | 15 |
| The Effect of South Sudan Conflict on its Immediate Neighbors | 15 |
| 3.0 Introduction | 15 |
| 3.1 Effects of South Sudanese Refugees..... | 15 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 3.1.1 Effects of South Sudanese Refugees on Sudan | 16 |
| 3.1.2 Effects of South Sudanese Refugees on Kenya..... | 18 |
| 3.1.4 Effects of South Sudanese Refugees on Uganda..... | 19 |
| 3.1.5 Effects of South Sudanese Refugees on Ethiopia..... | 20 |
| 3.2 Economic effects of South Sudan conflict..... | 21 |
| 3.2.1 Economic Impact South Sudan Conflict on Sudan | 21 |
| 3.2.2 Economic Impact South Sudan Conflict on Kenya..... | 22 |
| 3.2.3 Economic effects of South Sudan conflict effect on Uganda..... | 23 |
| 3.2.4 Economic effects of South Sudan conflict effect on Ethiopia..... | 24 |
| 3.3 Political effects for the States of Neighboring Countries..... | 24 |
| 3.4 Socio-Ecological Implications for Neighboring Countries..... | 26 |
| Chapter Four..... | 28 |
| Interventions to Resolve the Conflicts in South Sudan | 28 |
| 4.0 Introduction | 28 |
| 4.1 Interventions to Resolve the Conflicts in South Sudan..... | 28 |
| 4.2 The Role of IGAD in South Sudan Conflict Resolution..... | 29 |
| 4.3 Role of the AU in South Sudan Conflict Resolution | 31 |
| Chapter Five..... | 37 |
| Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations..... | 37 |
| 5.0 Introduction | 37 |
| 5.1 Summary of the Findings | 37 |
| 5.2 Conclusion..... | 38 |
| 5.3 Recommendations | 40 |
| 5.3.1 To South Sudan’s neighbors..... | 40 |
| 5.3.3 International Community..... | 41 |
| Bibliography | 43 |

Chapter One

Introduction to the Study

1.1 Introduction and Background to the Study

Since the end of the cold war in 1989 in Africa, the intra state conflicts have increased with devastating consequences.¹ This is contrary to the general expectation that the incidence of political conflicts would drastically reduce by end of the Cold War. Violent conflicts have continued and become even more salient and prevalent across the continent. According to Adebajo², most of these conflicts are as a result of reforms and struggles to achieve equity in economic and social systems as well as equitable distribution of power by the different groups within the same country.

Barbero³ asserts that other causes of conflicts in Africa include, struggle for democratization led by lack of practices, culture and structures that are not democratic, Political reforms which are incomplete and weak governance systems, unfair justice administration and inability to deal with security issues and especially those relating to religion. The increase of intra state conflicts in Africa has seen most of these conflicts spill over country borders. This often poses a risk to regional stability and undermines the continents economic development. The integration and the development of Africa is affected by the adverse impacts of constant and increased instability, insecurity and lack of peace.⁴

¹ Nicholas, Sambanis. *External Interventions and the Duration of Civil Wars*. World Bank working paper. (2010b)

² Adebajo, Adekeye and Ismail Rashid (eds.). *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in a Troubled Region*. (Boulder & London, Lynne Rienner, 2016)

³ Barbero, Julie C. *Refugee Repatriation during Conflict: A New Conventional Wisdom*. (Refuge, Vol 12, No.8, March 2013)

⁴ Brown, Michael (ed). *Internal War: Causes and Cures. Review of: „The International Dimension of Internal Conflicts*. (Roy Licklider, Princeton: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Reactive strategies cannot work out the conflicts in Africa, rather proactive strategies. Prosperity, development and economic integration will not be achieved and attained in the region unless the conflicts are done away with. It is impossible to achieve such goals in an atmosphere of insecurity.

⁵ One such conflict was the civil war in the North and South of Sudan which has been termed as one of the longest and devastating intra state war in Africa killing an estimated two million people. The conflict pitted the Arab Islamic North against the Non-Muslim Southern part. ⁶

Sudan conflict traces some of its causes from the post independent Khartoum successive governments which sought to impose their hegemony over the South and the dominant political forces in the North.⁷ The Islamic fundamentalists in the National Islamic Front (NIF) carried out violent and radical application of Islam that posed challenges to the authority and power base of the established Islamic fraternities. Christians and adherents of African beliefs were systematically harassed and forced to convert to Islam.⁸ These can be regarded as triggers that finally caused the war.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The effect of civil wars has assumed the dubious character of spreading beyond national borders. Although immediate neighbors are more affected by the civil wars, it can be felt miles away in different versions. The current conflict in South-Sudan which began in 2013 has had devastating impact not only within the country but also beyond. Internally it has led to stagnation in economic and social development. The region suffers a lot of humanitarian, social, cultural and political

⁵ Hathaway, James. *The Rights of Refugees under International Law*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

⁶ Helton, Arthur. *The Price of Indifference: Refugees and Humanitarian Action in the New Century*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 2012)

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Andrew, S. Natsios. *Sudan, South Sudan and Darfur: what everyone needs to know*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, (2012), 79.

chaos due to the many people who have died in the war. Many people have been displaced with other fleeing into neighboring countries. Due to competing interests between the host community and the refugees, there are high security lapses in the region, conflict over natural economic resources and Common Property Resources (CPRs), change in economic values due to change in supply and demand among other issues. Natural resources are being competed for in the region by the local communities and this has led to tensions.

Despite that, Sudan, Kenya and Uganda are the countries highly depended on by South Sudan from which it imports food among other items like vegetable fats, crude, refined or fractionated fats, lime cement and construction materials, alcoholic beverages, tobacco, medicines, iron products and furniture. This study therefore sought to investigate the extent to which southern Sudan internal conflicts affect immediate neighbors.

1.3 Study Objectives

The overall study objective is to examine the effects of South Sudan conflict on its immediate neighbors and specifically, the study seeks to: -

- 1.3.1 Review of literature on the impact of internal conflict on regional security in Africa.
- 1.3.2 Examine the impact of the South Sudan conflict on immediate neighbors.
- 1.3.3 Examine the measures to minimize the consequences of the internationalization of the South Sudan conflict on the immediate neighbors.

1.4 Research Questions

- 1.3.4 What is the impact of internal conflict on regional security in Africa?
- 1.3.5 To what extent do South Sudan conflict impact immediate neighbors?

1.4.3 What measures could be taken to minimize the consequences of the internationalization of the South Sudan conflict on the immediate neighbors?

1.5 Research Hypotheses

The study proceeded from two hypotheses

1.5.1: The conflict/s in South Sudan has significant effect on the immediate neighbors

1.5.2: Interventions to minimize the consequences of the internationalization of civil wars have merely succeed or achieve the desired objective

1.6 Study Justification

The study has both academic and policy significance

1.6.1 Academic Justification

Firstly, the findings of this study will inform policy and decision makers, politicians, senior military personnel and other stakeholders on the dangers and consequences of conflicts on social development and service delivery. The academic community with special focuses on the following areas: Theory building, teaching which will be assimilated by the recipients, publishing and knowledge creation. All these are meant to reinforce each other and to improve people's lives and their well-being. The information generated from this study will assist development actors in the following areas: formulation of sound initiatives / interventions, strategies, action plans development and implementation mechanisms with clear budgetary allocation. Academically, this study will contribute to re construction, pace and reconciliation of South Sudan management and thus contribute to the existing literature.

1.6.2 Policy Justification

Due to globalization and global economic inter-dependence, civil wars and instability in one nation can cause direct negative effects in another state's security in terms of economic, political and social standing. This insecurity creates a stumbling block against other states ideal or realistic economic interest.⁹ South Sudan's instability has prevented neighboring countries from pursuing their economic interest. Kenyans for example have not been able to practice their economic interest through Kenya's renewed economic diplomacy and this has consequently caused economic insecurity for the Kenyans trading in goods and services.¹⁰ This study is important for the Policy makers in the sense that it provides a basis for strengthening mechanisms that can address regional instability stemming from inter-state or intra-state conflicts. Policy development and dissemination is also another important area that informs and facilitates policy makers in formulation of sound decisions and strategies. It will serve as a reference point for policy makers in their different capacities to who are involved in peace building efforts.

1.7 Analysis Framework

Regional security complex framework enabled the study to analyze and explain occurrence of conflict webs in South Sudan. Furthermore, the Regional security complex theory centers on member states in the Horn of Africa sub system forms of enmity and amity, which in turn results to the region being dependent on the actions and interpretations of the intentions of the member states. Buzan notes that most states in a regional security complex worry more about their immediate neighbors than distance states, this has been the situation between Sudan, Kenya,

⁹Schünemann, Julia. *The Future of Intra-State Conflict in Africa; More Violence or Greater Peace?* Institute of Security Studies, Dakar. (2013).

¹⁰ Ibid p 77

Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia in the case of South Sudan.¹¹ The intertwined security concerns in the horn of Africa shows how the national security objectives of various countries cannot be achieved and thus the regional security complex (RSC).

The security interdependent elements and its relationship is the main concern of RSC. Buzan established that having a common political institution, culture and level of development by the countries within the same geographical setup is what is referred to a region. Furthermore, Buzan argues that countries that share the same history in their interaction have sharper security dilemmas and they are more concerned about threats posed by their neighboring states than distant states.¹²

The regional security pattern of any state can only be understood by looking into the regional security interdependence since it's a matter of relationship; hence the Horn of Africa region can be defined as a region of interlocking pattern of securitization.

According to Lake and Morgan they disregard geographical proximity and historical linkage as the main contributors of insecurity in the region. Lake argues that states form regional security complexes around the Africa continent share security externalities between member states.¹³ He argues that a series of local externality and trans-border activities in a particular geographical area as a collection of states is what is regarded as a regional system. A location faces a regional security complex if any of the states in the local externality is faced with¹⁴ His definition of what constitute

¹¹Buzan Barry, *People State and Fear: An Agenda for International System to International Security in The Post-Cold War Era*, 2nd edition, boulder and lynnriener publishers 1991 pg186-221

¹²Ibid

¹³-David A. Lake, „*Regional Security Complexes: A Systems Approach*“, in Patrick Morgan and David A. Lake (eds), *Regional Orders – Building Security in a New World*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997, p.31.

¹⁴Ibid

a regional security complex, Lake explains that the use of proxy wars in Horn of Africa region has completely undermined the region's security and peace.

A country's membership into a certain regional security complex is not necessarily contributed by the geographical location. Lake argues that the location of a particular security complex is where there is existence of security consequences and relationships states action take center stage. He further argues that the membership into the security complex participation by a state is determined by its participation level and frequency in the security complex. Therefore, a security complex in any particular place qualifies if the members of the region and the region as a whole is faced with a security threat. Therefore, the regional security theories illustrate the regional conflict and the intra-state conflict difference. Furthermore, this approach makes the regions' porous borders relevant especially in understanding hostilities in the sub region of the Horn of Africa. South Sudan's civil war influence to the neighboring countries was the main objective of this study and hence the relevance of this theory.

1.8 Methodology of the Research

1.8.1. Case Study

Case study was applied in doing this research. The social sciences have established the case study perfectly as a research methodology. The dilemma issues, achievements of what worked well and the practices are illustrated by this approach. The phenomenon of the contemporary real life is examined using this type of research. Where the evidence is from multiple sources, this approach is usually used.¹⁵

¹⁵ Yin R K (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4th ed. London: Sage

1.8.2. Data Collection

This study utilized secondary data. Secondary sources were used to gather information. Review of published works on the impact of civil wars on immediate neighbors: the issue under consideration made use of relevant documents some of which included broadcast and printed news, books as well as journals.

1.8.3. Data Analysis and Presentation

Informative interviews as well as document analysis was incorporated by this research method and qualitative method was applied to collect data. The current study data was analyzed and interpreted by the researcher using the common and general steps in the qualitative research approach. Once collected, the data was computed using SPSS and MS Excel for analysis with an aim of answering the research questions and give a complete picture of the data collected. Several statistical techniques were used such as percentages, mean among other simple methods. The validity and the credibility of the data and information of the current research was boosted by observations and the secondary data from the publications sources. The data analysis methods used in the current research were both quantitative and qualitative. Insights and its understanding was provided by quantitative while generalization of those insights into a population pattern was provided by qualitative approach. The data was organized with significant patterns to reveal the essence of the data.

1.9 The Organization of the Study

The study comprises of five chapters; **Chapter one:** Introduces and gives the background of the whole study, gives the statement of the research problem, objectives, research questions,

hypothesis, justification, analysis framework, literature review as well as the methodology.

Chapter two: Answers the first objective on the impact of internal conflict on regional security in

Africa. **Chapter three:** Answers the second objective on the impact of the South Sudan conflict

on immediate neighbors. **Chapter four:** Discusses the measures to minimize the consequences of

the internationalization of civil wars. **Chapter five:** Gives the findings, conclusions drawn from

the findings and the possible recommendations to solve the current crisis in South Sudan.

Chapter Two

Internal Conflicts and the Regional Security in Africa

Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on the impact of internal conflict on regional security in Africa. Specifically, it focuses on the; Horn of Africa, West Africa, North Africa and South Africa.

2.1 Links between Internal Conflict and Regional Security.

Africa has been ignored as a whole concerning internal conflict and regional security. No aid has been given from any other continent although millions of people have died, multimillions property lost in the verge of blood shed due to the civil war. Would this be happening in Europe each and every country in all continents would be rushing in aid, it would cross our news headlines daily as the world war three. But because it's Africa, it's a behind the scenes scenario.

2.1.1 The Horn of Africa

Mesfin gives an account in regard to the security scenario in the sub region pointing out that it has historically been one of the most conflict ravaged regions in the continent¹⁶. Among the ills facing it include political exclusion or power struggle, ethnic and religious based discrimination, proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs), piracy, terrorism, extreme violence, violation of human rights, and also ecological based disasters such as drought leading to famine and poverty which are a major cause of lack of peace. Other reasons why conflict within this sub region persist is because their causes are multilayered and the actors multiple. This implies making solutions to the underlying problems complicated. The long history of conflicts has had a net result of refugee movements to Ethiopia and other countries of eastern Africa particularly Kenya

¹⁶ Ayenew, Melak Mesfin. "The dynamics of insecurity in Ethiopia." In *Natural Resources Management: Concepts, Methodologies, Tools, and Applications*, pp. 1177-1195. IGI Global, 2017.

adversely affecting the state of security within the sub region. Majority of Refugees resident in Kenya have their origin from the Horn of Africa sub region. The large population of Refugees that have been generated over time specifically in Kenya and Ethiopia have their own security challenges especially where policing and governance systems are wanting such as it is currently in Kenya.¹⁷

In most areas, their lack of financial support by the national government, have no trained personnel to operate and control some of the most sensitive materials and the borders are not well secured from entrance by intruders other than refugees

The national government cannot do things to the standard measure in fear of interfering with the country's economy and development goals which has led to entrance and growth of terrorism groups and weapons of mass destruction materials as well as technology. This has always been given no priority to enhancing security thus has led to slow increase in the number of people suffering controllable deaths.

2.1.2 West Africa

West Africa has been crowned as the home of conflicts, as well as a region of political instability due to implosions. It is ravaged by terror groups such as the Boko Haram and most countries have been seen to have experienced internal strife and insurgencies. As noted by Adebajo and Rashid, military coups have been invariably common in this sub region where a number of countries have over time been under military juntas notably in Chad, Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Burkina Faso among others.¹⁸ The strong man mentality has also ensured that democracy and civil liberties

¹⁷ Nicholson, Frances and Patrick Twomey. *Refugee Rights and Realities: Evolving International Concepts and Regimes.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

¹⁸ Adebajo, Adekeye and Ismail Rashid (eds.). *opcit*

are curtailed making it quite hard for the opposition leadership to thrive in these countries. These conflicts have in due course of time generated massive dislocation of populations in pursuit of refuge within the region generally creating a situation of fluid security.¹⁹

As a result of these conflicts, the security state in the sub region is always deteriorating being more unstable. Some conflicts are known not to be violent but the situation that has engulfed West Africa is fully characterized by violence and war. Liberia, sierra Leone, cote d'ivoire and guinea Bissau, just to mention a few, for years now have been crippled by conflicts and civil wars. Violent conflicts are reducing in some parts of the sub region,

There are recent rises in the Sahel region which has affected the West African countries of Mali, Niger and Mauritania creating predictions of possible internal and regional violent conflicts. To add to it, are the low intensity conflicts happening in stable countries such as Senegal (casamance conflict), Ghana (dagbon chieftaincy crisis) and Nigeria (Niger delta conflict) just to name a few.

This has led to loss of lives, destruction of property, displacement of people, poverty, human trafficking and stress on natural resources.

2.1.3 North Africa

Protests have been existent throughout the northern Africa. There has been financial constrains leading to rise in the cost of living, high number of unemployed educated youths due to high rate of corruption amongst the authority. Some information sources have leaked on how various governments around the world have been dealing and viewing each other.

¹⁹ Ibid

The trans-Saharan region has emerged as a hotbed of instability and insecurity. However not much of historical documentation of the conflict situation in this part of the African region is available.²⁰

The recent upheavals in the form of the Arab spring in a number of countries of this sub region are worth pointing out. These upheavals have generated Refugees most of whom have found their way to Europe through the Mediterranean Sea.²¹

According to the UNHCR the key challenge facing North Africa region continues to be instability as they continue to experience periodic political turmoils. As such there are possibilities that these Refugees could become easy targets for recruitment by terrorists groups such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda which in consequence negatively impact the security situation in the region.²²

2.1.4 Southern Africa

The southern Africa sub region sometimes gives an impression of an area which is peaceful. However millions of people have died, been dispossessed, or forced to seek refuge in neighboring countries, due to constant wars, conflicts, destabilization, poverty and natural disasters.²³ Conflicts in the Great Lakes region have resulted to huge populations of people being uprooted from their home countries and finding refuge in neighboring countries either within the sub region or in other sub regions.

²⁰ Betts, Alexander and Gil Loescher. *Refugees in International Relations*. (eds. New York, Oxford University Press, 2011)

²¹ Burrie, John and Vanessa Martin Randin. (eds). *Disarmament as Humanitarian Action, From Perspective to Practice*. (UNIDIR, 2016)

²² Tadesse.D., *Making Federalism Work in South Sudan: the challenge a head*. Addis Ababa, Istituto per Gli studio Di PoliticalInternationale. (2012).

²³ Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).

The current political crisis in Burundi has generated thousands of Refugees into Tanzania. Most of the camps hosting the refugees within the region have led to insecurity where militias are recruited to carry out insurgency in their mother countries and also contribute to the general insecurity of the host country as has happened in the Democratic Republic of Congo from Rwandese Refugees.²⁴

²⁴ Ibid

Chapter Three

The Effect of South Sudan Conflict on its Immediate Neighbors

Introduction

The chapter discusses the effect of conflict in South Sudan on its immediate neighbors namely: Sudan, Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia. It uses the following variables: refugees, economic, social and political impacts.

3.1 Effects of South Sudanese Refugees

According to the current study, hosting refugees from other countries either in urban or rural setup comes with many economic, social and political implications to the host country. ²⁵ Based on the findings, this implies that influx of refugees will lead to worsening of standard of living for the host communities due to the strain on available resources which at times leads to conflicts between the host and the refugees. Nonetheless, the impact of refugee assistance through humanitarian aid and other economic assistance may also help improve the livelihoods of the host community. ²⁶

In trying to support both the host community and refugees, this could lead to overexploitation and depletion of scarce resources. Hosting of refugees brings mixed fortunes to the host state. In early stages of refugee influx is it likely that before imported food aid assistance is fully implemented that depletion of local food supplies will drive up food prices. The outcome for the ones selling food such as surplus farmers would likely be positive, while negative for the ones who are depending on buying food supplies such as subsistence farmers and landless laborers. Refugees

²⁵ Stephen, D. *Internal War: Causes and Cures, Review of; The International Dimension of Internal Conflicts*. (Princeton: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

²⁶ Republic of Kenya. The Security Laws (amendment) Act. (Government Printer, 2015) Republic of Kenya. Constitution of Kenya. (2010)

stretch food security situation for the host communities as can be observed by theories of supply and demand. It was further noted that the influx of refugees increases demand for food in the face of constant and constrained supply. Famine Early Network Systems also says that this ends up pushing prices of goods and services higher hence decreasing the purchasing power and standard of living of the host communities.²⁷ However, the host communities may be cushioned against the harsh effects of higher demand where they can benefit from relief supplies through trade. Even if relief food is meant for refugees, it at times ends up in free markets or barter trade.²⁸ This study assumes that problems facing refugees are one of the major issues facing international refugee regimes.

3.1.1 Effects of South Sudanese Refugees on Sudan

South Sudan gained independence as a country since June 2011. The long termed conflicts in South Sudan has created high impact on the South Sudan cultures and traditions in whole as the government tried to tear down their traditional norms and structures.²⁹ Their cultures are in strong connection with their social, cultural and traditional norms with South Sudan having some of the lowest indicators in the world ³⁰

South Sudan has great gender differences in regards to accessing social amenities i.e. health and education systems leading to instances of high mortality rate. The northern Sudan, the current Sudan, is inhabited by Muslims thus follows the Islamic law(sharia) while South Sudan is

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Walter, Williams. *Migration and Security*. (In Peter Burgess (ed.) (The Handbook of New Security Studies, London: Routledge, 2010)

²⁹ Crisp, Jeff. *State of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Kenya's Refugee Camps*. (African Affairs 99, 2015)

³⁰ Ibid

dominated by Christians as a result of missionaries settling at the 19th century.³¹ In every major tribe or clan in south and north Sudan it's branched into sub tribes or sub clans. For instance, the Dinka tribe in South Sudan which is settled at Blue Nile has got twenty-six other sub tribes.

This sub clans and sub tribes are one of the major causes of conflicts in both south and north Sudan.

Women in both countries (south and north Sudan) are not assured of their security as per the constitution made in the year 2007 where it stated that both men and women rights are equal and are protected by the same law. But in reality, the women's rights are violated as they are forced into early marriages, female genital mutilation, sexual harassment, wife inheritance and domestic violence just to mention but a few.³² Most ladies who have suffered sexual harassment i.e. rape leave the incidence unreported due to the stigma and cultural view that surrounds the scenario

Women make no impact on the country's welfare as they form the lowest position in the society

Most of the Sudan traditions, customs and norms were inherited from their ancestors while others were affected by interactions with the Europeans, Arabs, middle east countries and other African countries cultures for example bride wealth and single independent women

Members of some communities make tribal tattoos on their bodies as part of their culture. Citizens of the two different countries are expected to observe their different culture and adhere to them.³³In north and south Sudan it is known that men are the leaders and mostly men do not share sittings with women to an extend that they don't interact with each other. Traditions, values of the tribes

³¹ Ibid

³² Darby, John, ed. *Violence and Reconstruction*. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press. (2015).

³³ Evans Mondo. *Refugees and the Proliferation of Illegal Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kenya*. (Centre for Refugee Studies, Moi University, Moi University Press, Occasional Paper Series Vol 1 No.4 2013)

and family roles are very vital in Sudan and therefore children play the role of inheriting and passing them to the next generation ³⁴

3.1.2 Effects of South Sudanese Refugees on Kenya

According to Corazon and Gaite ³⁵ Kenya is the most affected country by the political instability in neighboring countries mostly South Sudan and Somalia in terms of refugees. Due to the first and second Sudan civil war and also the political drama between President Salva Kiir and former deputy president Rick Machar has forced Kenya to be the home of their citizens in refugee concentration camps as well as in urban areas.³⁶ These refugees, whom most are a live to the norm of their traditions and relate with others as per their country laws, are viewed as threats to security. Kenya previously had an open door policy for refugees where they could operate freely within the country until threat analysis was conducted by Refugee Department and Security agencies. Some of the threats included harboring terrorism, section of militant groups strategizing on attacking their country of origin, resource-based conflicts between the host communities and refugees and increase in crime by hardened criminals. For instance, due to Kenya's will to fulfill her obligations in international humanitarian laws, it has equally hosted a high number of Somalis refugees among which some Al-Shabaab and Hizbul Islams enter into and exit Kenya with great ease. In 2008 it was reported that al shabaab travel into and out of Kenya freely to recruit new members, initiate healing of their wounded fighters and get financial support. This has been facilitated by the open

³⁴ Loescher, Gil. *The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path*. (Oxford University Press, Oxford, in Crisp, J. Africa's Refugees: Patterns, Problems and Policy Challenges. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No. 28, Geneva, 2011)

³⁵ Corazon, M. and Gaite, B. *The Rights of Refugees and Asylum seekers*. (Institute of Human Rights, U.P Law Centre, 2016) 124

³⁶ Nicholas, Sambanis. *External Interventions and the Duration of Civil Wars*. World Bank working paper. (2010b)

door policy that Kenya adopted and is working against Kenya's national interest, human security and economic development.³⁷

As far as influx of refugees is concerned, there are also issues between the refugees in the camps and local communities in their surroundings. For example, on the use of natural resources i.e. disputes between the Turkana community and refugees in Kakuma camp has led to loss of lives.

Kenyan labor laws inhibit refugees from working to earn while in camps which makes most of the refugees to move out into urban centers to earn a living. They are only allowed to gain money through non-governmental organizations and United Nations.

The state in camps makes their lives more miserable as opposed to what they could earn in urban areas like Nairobi or in Juba if South Sudan remained peaceful.

The current camps in various parts of the country possess challenges to the communities surrounding it in terms of economic strain as they struggle to adapt to the changes and other challenges.³⁸

3.1.4 Effects of South Sudanese Refugees on Uganda

Uganda is known for hosting a large number of refugees but as civil wars are increasing, its aid institutions are under strain as over 2000 people stream into the country per day.³⁹ Most residents of Yumbe district are frustrated by the overflow into their area which was initially hosting about

³⁷ Marfleet, Phillips. *Refugees in a Global Era*. (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 126 Messina, Anthony and Gallya Lahav. (eds). *The Migration Reader-Explaining Politics and Policies*. (2016)

³⁸ Mogire, Evans. *Victims as Security Threat: Refugee Impact on Host Security in Africa*. (Ashgate Publishing Company, 2011)

³⁹ Ibid

500,000 has not led to increase in job opportunities but instead has made oppression to the resources. 'It has led to lack of jobs, inflation of food prices and loss of biodiversity as land is cleared to create land for settlement' said a shopkeeper in Yumbe town

Bidibidi was made to control the flow of refugees into the country after the peace negotiations between Salva Kiir and Riek Machar failed pulling the country back to civil war in august 2013.⁴⁰ Since 2015, this country has been experiencing daily flow of refugees into the Ugandan land due civil war in south Sudan. By June 2017, UNHCR had recorded over 950000, mainly women children settling into different parts of the country. ⁴¹

3.1.5 Effects of South Sudanese Refugees on Ethiopia

Ethiopia has really suffered under the pressure of refugees' flow into it especially in and around Gambela area. This has added to the problem Ethiopia is suffering under political and population pressure. ⁴² Population and the number of people really matter a lot in the Ethiopian politics since power goes to the highly populated community. Gambela has suffered the most on political issues as Anuak and Nuer have been set into conflict.⁴³

Up to mid-1980 majority of Gambella's population was the Anuak community but due to the massive entrance of south Sudan refugees in 1983 when civil war broke loose in Sudan the demographic statistics of Gambela drastically changed like the other countries surrounding Sudan, Ethiopia also has a large number of its citizens working in Sudan.⁴⁴

⁰ Muggah, Robert. (ed). No Refugee the Crisis of Refugee Militarization in Africa. (New York Zed Books, 2016)

¹ Mwaura and Kiplagat The Somali Conflict: Root Causes, Obstacles and Peace Building strategies. (Institute for Security Studies, African Security Review Vol. 15. No.1, 2016)

² World Bank. Interim Strategy Note for the Republic of South Sudan 2016.

³Ibid

⁴ Ibid

The airline and commercial bank of Ethiopia had a strong hold in South Sudan which failed due to political instability.⁴⁵

3.2 Economic effects of South Sudan conflict

3.2.1 Economic Impact of South Sudan Conflict on Sudan

For more than three years since South Sudan gained independence, it has still had internal conflicts holding its national economy to the ground for up to at least 15% as per the statistic estimation by international monetary fund.⁴⁶ Civil wars have also made a negative impact on the oil production slashing it to almost a third which has made it hard for the people to carry out or find their necessities. The United Nations had warned that most parts of South Sudan, that is 6.4 million people, will face food insecurity and \$1.81 billion will be required to bring the issue into control. The economic strain has not only been felt by the Sudan population alone but also by the surrounding countries costing Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda up to \$53billion⁴⁷

Sudan has been directly affected financially by South Sudan in an agreement that was made between Sudan and South Sudan by the respective authorities in September 2012.

It stated that South Sudan was supposed make payments for passing oil through Sudan.⁴⁸ This would be inclusive of processing, transporting and transit fee. All calculated according to the rate of producing a single barrel of oil. But these payments might not work due to the decreasing oil production but South Sudan has agreed to give US\$3.028 billion to full fill the agreement.

⁴⁵ Fiseha Moreda. *Challenge of State Formation in Southern Sudan*, MA thesis, Addis Ababa University (Unpublished) (2013).

⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁷ Mogire, Evans. *Victims as Security Threat: Refugee Impact on Host Security in Africa*. (Ashgate Publishing Company, 2011)

⁴⁸ Brown, Michael (ed). *opcit*

Sudan signified its potential to import uninterrupted oils from South Sudan was disrupted. Sudan has lost 75% of its oil reservoirs to South Sudan but as it is, is still a major revenue source to Sudan.⁴⁹

In July 2011 when South Sudan became independent from Sudan, many had in mind that the internal conflicts were over in the world's newest country. This was after about 40 years of civil war and a second war taking up to about 22 years both causing over 1.5 million deaths and over 4 million displaced.

South Sudan took with it an agricultural fertile land as well as the largest portion of the oil reservoirs of which it was expected through these resources to start and develop the country's infrastructure which didn't exist before. Investors took up to utilize the opportunity as different investors from different countries went to start banks, airlines, educational institutions and other facilities in high hopes.

Everything was brought into a halt, majorly oil production, after seven months due to conflict on the sharing the oil revenues with Sudan which was taking about 98% of South Sudan's total income.

3.2.2 Economic Impact of South Sudan Conflict on Kenya

Although most things about South Sudan are being hidden, especially its conflicts, reports on violence and negotiation are still being made. Even if their crisis have regional limits, most neighboring states, especially Kenya is affected on the basis of security, peace and stability thus

⁴⁹ Burrie, John and Vanessa Martin Randin. (eds). opcit

deteriorating their economy, security and political stability.⁵⁰ Kenya being next to South Sudan, its investments on infrastructure and trade will be affected by the high incoming number of refugees.⁵¹

Kenya is also affected considering the number of its citizens working in south Sudan and those who had made investments in this country.⁵² All the benefits that Kenya was gaining are being torn down and damage added to it as trade made between the two countries is greatly reduced and affected. This is also adding risk to the Kenyan security which already has a burden of Somalian terrorists and would get ugly if South Sudan becomes a home of terrorists.⁵³

Kenya as a nation is on the verge of losing everything they did invest in South Sudan⁵⁴ since Kenya and South Sudan signed comprehensive peace agreement eight years down the line, investors from Kenya have made way to South Sudan to invest in various sectors i.e. aviation, information and communication technologies etc.⁵⁵

3.2.3 Economic effects of South Sudan conflict on Uganda

South Sudan conflict has in a large bit depressed the economy of Uganda.⁵⁶ About 2 million people have been forced to move out of their country South Sudan and seek refuge in Uganda, Ethiopia,

⁵⁰ Natsios. K., Sudan, South Sudan and Darfur: *what everyone needs to know?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, (2012), 79.

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ International Crisis Group, 2016

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Helton, Arthur. *The Price of Indifference: Refugees and Humanitarian Action in the New Century.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2012)

⁵⁶ International Crisis Group Group, 2016

Kenya and Sudan due to violence and are not willing to go back due to their safety concerns. The death toll is estimated to range between 50,000 and 100,000 although it's not the official toll.⁵⁷

The government authorities of Uganda noted that the GDP growth between 2013 and 2015 was 1.3 % lower of what they expected 6.0% and it was assumed to be due to the effect of refugees resulting from the conflict in South Sudan.⁵⁸ Ugandan army which was involved in the South Sudan conflict also affected the budget as high spending's were made on security.⁵⁹ The cost spend on security in the budget year 2013-2015 was almost 111% of what was budgeted.

3.2.4 Economic effects of South Sudan conflict effect on Ethiopia

On the beginning of the South Sudan civil war, Ethiopia tried to hold a peace talk between the government and SPLM/A-IO and also between Sudan and Uganda. Its main aim was to prevent South Sudan's war from becoming a regional conflict. South Sudan saw Ugandans hosting of Machar and holding the peace talks as being unsupportive and also viewed it as a close relationship with the United States of America. Due to the pressure made on Juba so as to sign the ARCSS in august 2018 which developed a cold war in between the latter and Addis. Juba believes that Addis is the one who makes it very hard for Ethiopia to playing the major role in ARCSS enforcement. Due to this inter-communal crisis are common amongst the two countries.

3.3 Political effects on the Neighboring Countries

According to research made, it shows that neighboring countries like Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan and others are affected politically, economically and in terms of security either directly or

⁵⁷ Kock, P. *"The Politics of Resources, Resistance and Peripheries in Sudan,"* South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) Occasional Paper (2011) (86):1-28.

⁵⁸ Government of Uganda (2016), Background to the Budget

⁵⁹ Ibid

indirectly.⁶⁰Through this, South Sudan crisis has involved regional countries especially those that are part of IGAD to mediate to bring the conflict to an ending. Uganda as a member of IGAD gave its military to be actively involved to bringing matters to control in South Sudan. It has been able to secure Juba international airport and other facilities from rebels of former vice president Machar.⁶¹

Ethiopia has also been affected politically by the South Sudan civil war. The UNISFA (United Nations Interim Security Forces for Abyei) which is majorly made up of Ethiopian troops would be affected due to the situation. The former South African president, Thabo Mbeki, facilitated the high Level Implementation Panel (HIP) as the chief of the AU on the signing of the Addis Ababa agreement on Abyei which was signed by the SPLM and the Sudan government on 2011 June 20th ⁶²

The main aim of the agreement was to ensure that this border remains under military governance until demarcation was done. It also allowed UN peacekeepers to ensure peace of whom consisted of Ethiopian soldiers.⁶³

In 1990, the UN security allowed UNISFA through chapter 7 of their charter thus Ethiopia had to be keen to deployment of UNISFA troops which could cause a situation of confrontation this South

⁶⁰ Kock, P. "The Politics of Resources, Resistance and Peripheries in Sudan," South African Institute of International Affairs(SAIIA)Occasional Paper (2011). (86):1-28.

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Haddad, Emma. *The Palestinian Impasse in Lebanon: The Politics of Refugee Integration*. (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2013)

⁶³ Adebajo, Adekeye and Ismail Rashid (eds.). *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in a Troubled Region*. (Boulder & London, Lynne Rienner, 2016)

Sudan siding with one. ⁶⁴ This would cause harm to the relation between South Sudan and Sudan thus naming useless the mediation efforts between the two.

3.4 Socio-Ecological Implications for Neighboring Countries

South Sudan has also affected its neighboring countries in terms of social-economic situation. As from the beginning of the war, December 2013, approximately 7 out of 10 South Sudan citizens have been affected. Due to violence, hundreds of thousands have been left dead, over a million displaced as refugees into neighboring countries. ⁶⁵ At the beginning of May 2013, about 400,000 people had sought refuge in other countries while most remained in the Sudan borders. ⁶⁶

Based on the findings, it is shown that about 10% of more than 800,000 persons have been internally displaced into UN missions in this country. Unfortunately these camps are attacked and the refugees killed thus many innocent deaths occur.⁶⁷ In addition, it was noted that the United Nations and other non- governmental organizations give aid to almost a third of the South Sudan population that is facing severe food insecurity. In April 2014 there were plans to give out about 30,000 tons of food by the world food program to the displaced citizens.

In addition, sometimes refugees can pressurize the country into which they fled into to get into the kind of conflict they fled from. This can be due to them providing means to the opposition in the host country and being involved in the civil conflicts that may arise. This forces the host country

⁶⁴ Hathaway, James. *The Rights of Refugees under International Law*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Adebajo, Adekeye and Ismail Rashid (eds.). *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in a Troubled Region*. (Boulder & London, Lynne Rienner, 2016)

⁶⁷ UHCR, 2014

to increase its military to curb security threats. They also pose an economic challenge due to their high numbers ⁶⁸

This calls for decrease in the quality of sanitation and health services and also raises the rate of dependency on relatives and organizations.⁶⁹ As per the case in South Sudan, ecology has been destroyed as they depend on wild animals, wild fruits or herbs and also fishing. This not only affects South Sudan but as well as its surrounding countries.

⁶⁸ Zeleza, Paul Tiyambe (ed). *Human Rights, The Rule of Law and Development in Africa*. (USA, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

⁶⁹ Andrew, S. Natsios. *Sudan, South Sudan and Darfur: what everyone needs to know*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, (2012), 79

Chapter Four

Interventions to Resolve the Conflicts in South Sudan

Introduction

This chapter discusses measures to minimize the consequences of the internationalization of civil wars. The study proceeded from two hypotheses that: Significantly, the South Sudan crisis affect the regional security and that the interventions to minimize the consequences of the internationalization of civil wars have merely succeed or achieve the desired objective. The fist hypothesis was confirmed true while the second hypothesis was confirmed not true.

4.1 Interventions to Resolve the Conflicts in South Sudan

According to the findings, regional security is appropriate since the security crisis in South Sudan is linked to the challenges in the neighborhood. The United Nation and the East Africa community are among the international development agencies that can help South Sudan to deal with the current security issues in coordination with other international actors.

The emerging neoliberal globalization and the colonial legacy question resolving by the liberation movements of the people of South Sudan has failed resulting to the ongoing security crisis in South Sudan.⁷⁰ The movement assumed and overlooked some of the consequences that came along with the liberation of South Sudan at the end of cold war. There was need for intervention by the international support to build the nation since there were new challenges introduced by the settlement and conduct of the political struggle.

⁷⁰ Patrick, J. Dillon. Waging peace through improvisational action: track-two diplomacy in the Sudan-Uganda conflict. *Southern Communication Journal* (2010). 75 349–369, 350.

4.2 The Role of IGAD in South Sudan Conflict Resolution

Since 2013 in South Sudan, there was increase of crisis and despite many conditions, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) even after Conflict Early Warning Mechanism (CEWARN) and Mediation Support Unit (MSU) warned them through provision of reports requiring them to intervene at the early stages of the crisis did not heed. The South Sudan and its region's conflicts management and prevention desperately needs the effort of IGAD's intervention.⁷¹ Some of the members of IGAD such as Uganda, Ethiopia, and Eritrea during the mediation process ensured that the fundamental issues of conflicts were included in the Declaration Principles of 1996 and demanded for SPLM/A support and thus it's a special case for South Sudan security issues that IGAD must look into.⁷²

IGAD offered good offices by Heads of States and Government then later on mediation, which was immediately accepted by the GoS and a Summit was organized on 27th December 2013 in Nairobi for that purpose.⁷³ The summit appointed (2) Special Envoys to help bringing the parties to the table to harness the quick good will that was declared by the International Community calling for dialogue and peaceful resolution. IGAD's Summit commended President Yoweri Museveni's efforts to quick deployment with the request of the GoSS to protect vital installations. He was then quoted in the media to have warned the former Vice President to desist pursuing military confrontation.

⁷¹ Hilde F. Johnson, *Waging Peace in Sudan: The Inside Story of the Negotiations that Ended Africa's Longest Civil War*, Sussex Academic Press, 2013.

⁷² Anjii Parrin, *Looking beyond IGAD in South Sudan*, IRINNEWS, Nairobi, 23 June 2014.

⁷³ Princeton N. Lyman, John Temin and Susan Stigant, *Crisis Opportunity in South Sudan*, USIP Peace Brief No. 164, January 8, 2014.

The mediation pushed the parties to quickly resolve to stop the conflict and a Cession of Hostilities Agreement (CoH) was signed on 23rd January 2014 equally with another Agreement on the Status of Detainees, that managed to immediately released (7) former detainees and later on led to the release of remaining detainees (former ministers accused of the coupe d'état).⁷⁴

IGAD immediately started adopting contrary positions from its initial stand of applauding Ugandan's early intervention for "protection to vital installations" in fear of the partiality question as support to the GoSS and for other internal considerations specially both Ethiopia and Sudan. A situation that led to exclusion of Uganda's representation in the arrangements of appointing military representatives to the Monitoring and Verification Mechanism (MVM). The IGAD's Chair Country (Ethiopia), according to basic rules supposedly rotational every year guides the Secretariat on peace making process, as the Secretariat mobilizes funds. The rotation of chairmanship of IGAD is done at the Summit of Heads of States and Governments level as the most of policy decision-making body.⁷⁵

The inadequate adherence to the normative framework caused challenges and coherence within the leadership structure leading to many issues remaining pending. This created more burden on the institutions of the Summit as it became engulfed in conflict among some of its members and not fully focused to bring about consensus within its ranks to address conflicts at hand.⁷⁶

The major stumbling block is the assessment of the way forward, the parties read the situation as addressing their own internal SPLM conflict while the mediators' assessments is not only to the root-causes within the party but ensuring a solution that addresses issues of governance and

⁷⁴ John Young, *The Fate of Sudan: The Origins and Consequences of A flawed Peace Process*, 2012.

⁷⁵ *Ibid* p.235

⁷⁶ Hilde F. Johnson, *Waging Peace in Sudan: The Inside Story of the Negotiations that Ended Africa's Longest Civil War*, Sussex Academic Press, 2011.

leadership. Many analysts stated that IGAD's intervention failed to yield results in last (14) months of mediation triggering new position of inclusion of more actors, (5) representing different regions of Africa in addition to representatives of the Troika, China and both the AU and UN.⁷⁷ IGAD's failure to allow space for inclusivity in addition to parties to freely converse with one another at their own during past mediation life span without any control is largely condemned among South Sudan's society. It has been observed that the only success achieved by the parties through negotiation after first round was in Bahr Dar in 2014. Such progress was attributed to the demands of the parties to be allowed space to directly engage.⁷⁸

4.3 Role of the AU in South Sudan Conflict Resolution

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.⁷⁹ The unspoken arrangement was that IGAD takes the lead in facilitating a political solution through mediation while the human rights violations, alleged atrocities investigation and justice and accountability in the international levels is looked into by the AU.

Through its Security Council providing guidance and management of conflict on African conflicts the UN is aided by the AU at a very large extent although it's the work of UNSC to deal with the matters relating to international security. AU's overall responsibility in Africa regarding Security and conflict issues demanded that IGAD reports the progress, hinderers and challenges to the AU

⁷⁷ Ibid
⁷⁸ Isak Svensson and Peter Wallenstein, *The Go-Between: Jan Eliasson and the Style of Mediation*, USIP, Washington, 2016.
⁷⁹ Ibid

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.⁸⁰

The AU in the case of current allegations of human rights violation and atrocities in the South Sudan was the leading. However, its role is complementary as the no agreement was reached since the report by the AUSC was held and they hardened their positions. 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, Nubba Mountains and Blue Nile in addition to political dialogue, the AU took the lead with support from IGAD with symbolic presence.⁸¹ 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 are represented by the decision of the AUSC namely Algeria, Chad, Nigeria, Rwanda and South Africa in addition to other partners; Troika and China. The role to be played by the IGAD plus is still subject of on-going consultations between the Special Envoys and the parties to the conflict in addition to IGAD member states and the intended countries to be represented.⁸²

⁸⁰ Princeton N. Lyman, John Temin and Susan Stigant, *Crisis Opportunity in South Sudan*, USIP Peace Brief No. 164, January 8, 2014.

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² Johan Bresche, CPA – New Sudan, Old Sudan or Two Sudan? *Journal of Africa Policy Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2014;

4.4 Role of the EU in South Sudan Conflict Resolution

The European Union (EU) continue to support the process financially as it did in the first peace mediation led by IGAD from 1993 – 2005. EU as well established with IGAD the IGAD Partners Forum that is chaired by Italy and represents the group of friends to mediation and source for IGAD mediators to seek leverage from. The European had a lot of interest in the region because of the oil that is available in South Sudan and wanted to improve its relationship with the African states.

The European Union wanted to help by bringing sanity to the country and as well punishing the parties that were involved in bringing problems to the country by sanctions that were very strict to the nation of South Sudan”. The sanctions extend to the country as well to “same time, an existing arms embargo against South Sudan will remain in place”.

The EU role in the IGAD led mediation can be summaries as it offers support using leverage both sanctions and benefits attaining peace in addition to financing the process “it supported IGAD to mediate between the two parties and at the conclusion, it resulted to a peaceful solution. €1.1 million pounds were donated by the EU so that IGAD can arrange peace talks and fund the monitoring and verification mechanism,” while promised to mobilize addition €45 million funds for European Development Fund (EDF) “to improve the role of EU to the humanitarian crisis”.

4.5 Role of the US in South Sudan Conflict Resolution

The US policy towards South Sudan seems to focus on disallowing the continuity of the current constitutional order in power based on suggestions formulated by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). USIP best articulates the position of the US administration as expressed by Ambassador Princeton N. Lyman, the US Special forces to South Sudan and the Sudan on principles to include in any future agreement to end crisis in South Sudan: “president Kiir could accept stepping down for anybody because he was an elected president, he did not attain power by military coup but if he accepts to step down, an interim government should be formed and the government should be widely represented by all the ethical group of South Sudan”.

The United Nation was accused of intimidating the IGAD’s sessions by trying to influence the decision of coming up with the transitional government that would see president Kiir loose power

The US follows a more balanced approached and criticized the South Sudan leaders of greed and corruption or seriousness and the willingness of finishing the violence. Ambassador Princeton N. Lyman then stated: “that the leaders were selfish and had only their personal interests”. The US efforts in advancing a peaceful mediated settlement continued from financing the IGAD Monitoring and Verification Mechanism (MVM) based in Juba in addition to ensuring pressure on the parties. Kerry summarized US intervention that “for a period of the US and the regional leaders have sensitized and urged South Sudan leaders to do what the people elected them to do so that they can help the country in keeping the peace

The US supports multiple approaches empowering civil society organizations, supporting IGAD’s quest for inclusivity, pressurizing the parties and providing humanitarian assistance in addition to supporting a demand for accountability advocating hybrid court with immediate support with

an amount of (500) million dollars in addition to another (5) millions for “reconciliation and legal programs South Sudan. The parties are careful in their relations with the US on understanding that it may influence international actors negatively and then being perceived as the spoiler that may cause damage on a long run. Both sides understand constructive engagement of the US leads to good support to their position shaping the awaited solution.

The latest position where the US pushes for an equally balanced negotiated solution if maintained would allow parties to own-up any potential realistic agreement. However, the US did not give away its leverage on the parties and took some practical steps to be heard by the parties when imposed sanctions on two top generals from both warring sides; Gen. Marial Chanuong Yol, Commander of the SPLA Presidential Guards and Peter Gadet leading former vice-president Riek Machar’s forces in Unity state.

The sanctions imposed on both generals were to signal serious dissatisfaction of the US with the warring parties and its will to move to the next level pushing them to a settlement as stated by Samantha Power s, US Ambassador to the UN: “The legal steps taken against Marial Chanuong and Peter Gadet is only but a start and should act as a warning to those who are planning rebellion against the government”.

4.6 Role of China in South Sudan Conflict Resolution

China has been known to have a lot interest in both Sudan and South Sudan yet it maintains good relations with major businesses in South Sudan including being the importer of about 6% of its needs of oil from South Sudan. China’s foreign policy is built upon the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country.

China has helped South Sudan to put up infrastructure in then petroleum sector. China has given South Sudan loans and is becoming the major market for its defense needs. China played a big role in funding the peace process and also urging both parties to have a peaceful resolution.

China's interests in South Sudan come about in relation to the good relation with other East Africa nations such as Kenya and Ethiopia. Nonetheless, China sees the violence in South Sudan beyond the local politics and views the US as wanting to take charge of the peace process. As a result, China stood with the decision of mediation and dialogue between the two parties and engaged its forces which were part of the UNMISS peacekeeping mission. This evidently indicated China's growing interest in South Sudan and the peace process in which it funded the mediation with a sum of one million dollars.

China's choice of defending South Sudan from sanctions was welcomed by both parties and as a result China wanted both parties to sit down and dialogue to reach to a common agreement without any fear of intimidation from the European nation. China's UN ambassador LIU JIEYI states the decision to sanction South Sudan is like punishing a country that is not stable"

Chapter Five

Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations

Introduction

The main objective of this study was to investigate the extent to which South Sudan internal conflicts affect immediate neighbors. Specifically, it sought: to review literature on the impact of internal conflict on regional security in Africa; to examine the impact of the South Sudan conflict on immediate neighbors and to examine the measures to minimize the consequences of the internationalization of the South Sudan conflict on the immediate neighbors. The summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations are presented in this chapter.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

According to the study, the conflicts that are in South Sudan have a lot of consequences to the citizens and the region at large. This comes about because South Sudan is surrounded by nine countries and all the countries in the region share some interlinked security policies.⁸³ Each country depends on one another and the political instability witnessed in South Sudan will affect the region.⁸⁴

The study has discovered that the conflicts have affected the humanitarian and economic standards of the region.⁸⁵ The countries that border South Sudan directly have felt the impact of the conflict in their economy, countries like Kenya, Sudan, Uganda, and Ethiopia share a great relationship

⁸³ LeRiche, Matthew, and Matthew Arnold. *South Sudan: from revolution to independence*. Oxford University Press (UK), 2013.

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Hutchinson, Sharon E. "A curse from God? Religious and political dimensions of the post-1991 rise of ethnic violence in South Sudan." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 39, no. 2 (2001): 307-331.

with South Sudan economically, in particular, the countries depend on the oil that is mined from South Sudan, the oil production has since dropped.⁸⁶

The result of the conflict has also been witnessed in the commercial and agricultural sector of the country whereby the foreign employees have been forced to go back to their respective countries and the conflict has also eroded the chance of South Sudan joining the East Africa community. The result of the conflict has led to the slowing down of some of the of the plans within the region and one such project is the 20 billion USD port whose construction is underway in Lamu.⁸⁷

5.2 Conclusion

The study concludes that the conflict in South Sudan has a significant effect on the immediate neighbors' security and assumes the alternative hypothesis that the interventions to minimize the consequences of the internationalization of civil wars have not merely succeeded or achieved the desired objective.

If stopped, South Sudan can use the conflict as an opportunity for constitutional change. The state of the country shows that things are not good at all and it's the highest time the peacekeeping bodies globally come in to address the issue to avoid a civil war. Such bodies need to take charge so as to reduce the tension in the country and also build confidence and good relationship between the two parties. The dialogue between the President and Vice President is not enough to solve the conflict without the acceptance of SPLM to be reformed as a democratic party.

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ De Waal, Alex. "When kleptocracy becomes insolvent: Brute causes of the civil war in South Sudan." *African Affairs* 113, no. 452 (2014): 347-369.

Organs of the government such as the parliament, judiciary and the military that are expected to help the country in such circumstances have failed to play their role because in some situation they have gone ahead to take sides, which is very dangerous in times like this because the citizens expect them to stand for what is right. Some institutions which are very critical for a government to run effectively are still missing in South Sudan, and hence some fundamental reforms of the state need to be addressed. South Sudan needs a constitution which is for the people by the people to help in nation building.

The public will need to be involved in the process of solving the crisis by re-establishing and vetting the people who will be in charge of democratic institutions. To create at least a temporary solution which will help to build a democratic and a peaceful South Sudan, a national dialogue is required. For this to be achieved, a new constitution needs to be put in place a constitution that is all-inclusive. Effort from the international and Pan-African institutions is needed by South Sudan to prevent the country from slipping into a failed state as it has been witnessed in the region which is characterized by failed/near failed states.

The impacts of the conflict on the citizen could be getting worse and until all the actors involved in this make sure that the leadership of the military command of the SPLA and also the leadership of SPLM take serious reforms. Pressure from the international and the regional bodies to the concerned parties and monitoring methods which should be followed by strict and strong sanctions.

5.3 Recommendations

The study suggests the following recommendations;

5.3.1 To South Sudan's neighbors

In this study, it is quite evident that conflict in South Sudan is a result of a failed nation-building and it has stretched its consequences to the region and beyond. Because of this, the neighbors of South Sudan have to be careful with the encroaching civil war in South Sudan. They should respond to the situation at hand with a lot of seriousness and assess the situation if it will affect their corresponding nations because the conflict can destabilize security of its neighboring countries.

Investors from Uganda and businessmen/women should be willing to trade and form businesses in partnership with companies in South Sudan to create a space where formal businesses can be established. This can give way to increased integration of businesses, registration and also give access to land. The barriers like documentation at the border, cultural differences can be solved through a mutual agreement and understanding the needs of both parties.

Kenya should follow up on the country healing process and also check up on the monitoring and verification team that was put in place to make sure that negotiation goes as planned between the two parties. Also, Kenya should make sure the two parties return to the negotiating table in Addis Ababa in the chase to reach a permanent solution.

Ethiopia borders South Sudan directly and because of this, both countries have had some cross-border security concerns that have caused tensions. Ethiopia should non the less not relent itself from helping South Sudan achieve the desired peace.

5.3.3 International Community

There are many voices rightly calling for embargoing arms deliveries into South Sudan and a U.N. Protection Force. These two measures should occur immediately, led by the U.N. Security Council and the African Union.

While important, these initiatives largely address symptoms of the conflict. There is an equally urgent need for the international community to work to address root causes. To reform the hijacked state and avert further economic implosion, African and broader international mediation efforts should build an enhanced, widely inclusive, high-level negotiations process focused on securing what most South Sudanese seem to want: a peaceful democratic transition. Besides the conflicting parties, the process should include traditional, religious, civil society and political party leaders from all parts of the country.

A renewed process in September 2018 brokered by Sudanese President Bashir; Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS), could enhance and build on the 2015 peace agreement by ensuring more inclusive power sharing and security arrangements. The process could consider soft landings for those top officials whose financial and human rights crimes ought to disqualify them from future leadership positions, as an African Union Commission of Inquiry already proposed. At the same time, the peace agreement's envisioned Hybrid Court should be established expeditiously to address impunity. To safeguard the country's financial integrity, a negotiated transition should involve a much stronger oversight mechanism, including both South Sudanese and international officials working together to control spending and oversee contracts, where

so much corrosive corruption is centered. Liberia's Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) is a potential model.

To build immediate international leverage for peace efforts, those leaders most responsible for conflict, atrocities, mass corruption and obstructed peace and humanitarian efforts should be hit with biting personal consequences where it hurts the most: their wallets. The U.S. can lead this by combining potent anti-money laundering measures with expanded targeted sanctions designations, a cocktail of pressure that has worked to secure other foreign policy objectives in places like Burma and Iran. Those sanctions need to be enforced through a hard target, transnational, follow-the-money search for their ill-gotten gains. The key is freezing the biggest spoilers out of the international financial system by working with banks to stop money laundering.

Bibliography

- Adebajo, Adekeye and Ismail Rashid (eds.). *West Africa's Security Challenges: Building Peace in a Troubled Region*. (Boulder & London, Lynne Rienner, 2015)
- Amaney, Jamal. *The Youth and the Arab Spring: Cohort, Differences and Similarities, Middle East law and governance* (2012).
- Andrew, S. Natsios. *Sudan, South Sudan and Darfur: what everyone needs to know*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, (2012), 79.
- Barbero, Julie C. *Refugee Repatriation during Conflict: A New Conventional Wisdom*. (Refuge, Vol 12, No.8, March 2013)
- Betts, Alexander and Gil Loescher. *Refugees in International Relations*. (eds. New York, Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Biong, K. Deng. *New Sudan in the context of one country two systems, in Francis M Deng (ed), New Sudan in the making?* Asmara: The Red Sea Press, (2010), 396.
- Brown, Michael (ed). *Internal War: Causes and Cures, Review of: „The International Dimension of Internal Conflicts*. (In Michael Brown How Civil Wars End. (Roy Licklider, Princeton: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Burrie, John and Vanessa Martin Randin. (eds). *Disarmament as Humanitarian Action, From Perspective to Practice*. (UNIDIR, 2015)
- Collier Jacob. *Conflict in Relationship to Economic Advancement Either as an Offshoot or as Cause*. Institute of Security Studies, Dakar. (2013).
- Commission on Human Security. *Human Security Now*. (New York, 2013)
- Corazon, M. and Gaité, B. *The Rights of Refugees and Asylum seekers*. (Institute of Human Rights, U.P Law Centre, 2016) 124
- Crisp, Jeff. *A State of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Refugee Populated Areas of Kenya*. (UNHCR, Geneva, 2012)
- Crisp, Jeff. *State of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Kenya's Refugee Camps*. (African Affairs 99, 2015)
- Crocker, Chester Fen, Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall. *Why Mediation Matters: Ending Intractable Conflicts*. (In Bercovitch, et al, (The Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution, London, Sage Publications Ltd, 2015)
- Darby, John, ed. *Violence and Reconstruction*. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press. (2015).

- De Waal, Alex. "When kleptocracy becomes insolvent: Brute causes of the civil war in South Sudan." *African Affairs* 113, no. 452 (2014): 347-369.
- Douglas, H. Johnson. *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*. (2013).
- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas, Sambanis. —*International Peace Building: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis*. *American Political Science Review*. (2010). 94(4)
- Elbadawi, Ibrahim *Why Are There So Many Civil Wars in Africa? Understanding and Preventing Violent Conflict*, *Journal of African Economies*. Washington DC. (2015).
- Evans Mondo. *Refugees and the Proliferation of Illegal Small Arms and Light Weapons in Kenya*. (Centre for Refugee Studies, Moi University, Moi University Press, Occasional Paper Series Vol I No.4 2013)
- Fawole, Alade and Charles Ukeje (eds.). *The Crisis of the State and Regionalism in West Africa: Identity, Citizenship and Conflict*. (Dakar, Codesria, 2015)
- Ferris, Elizabeth. *Beyond Borders: Refugees, Migrants and Human Rights in the Post-Cold War Era* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2013)
- Fiseha Moreda. *Challenge of State Formation in Southern Sudan*, MA thesis, Addis Ababa University (Unpublished) (2013).
- Goodwin-Gil, Guy. *The Refugee in International Law*. (New York: Oxford University Press) Government of Kenya. Constitution of Kenya, 2010
- Grahl-Madsen, Atle. *Stemming the Tide: Refugee Law and Policy for a Troubled Age*. (In the Land Beyond: Collected Essays on Refugee Law and Policy, eds. Macalister-Smith, Peter and Gudmunder Alfredsson (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2011)
- Grigg-Saito, D. Och, S Liang, S Toof, R and Silka, L. *Building on the Strengths of a Cambodian Refugee Community through Community-Based Outreach*. (Health Promotion Practice, 2013)
- Haddad, Emma. *The Palestinian Impasse in Lebanon: The Politics of Refugee Integration*. (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2013)
- Hathaway, James. *The Rights of Refugees under International Law*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Helton, Arthur. *The Price of Indifference: Refugees and Humanitarian Action in the New Century*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 2012)
- Hutchinson, Sharon E. "A curse from God? Religious and political dimensions of the post-1991 rise of ethnic violence in South Sudan." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 39, no. 2 (2001): 307-331.

- Cock, P. *"The Politics of Resources, Resistance and Peripheries in Sudan, South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) Occasional Paper (2011) (86):1-28.*
- Cock, P. "The Politics of Resources, Resistance and Peripheries in Sudan, " South African Institute of International Affairs(SAIIA)Occasional Paper (2011). (86):1-28.
- Kothari, C.R. *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques* (2nd Ed.) New Delhi: New Age International Ltd (2015).
- LeRiche, Matthew, and Matthew Arnold. *South Sudan: from revolution to independence.* Oxford University Press (UK), 2013.
- Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).
- Loescher, Gil and Ann Dull Loescher. *The Global Refugee Crisis.* London: Oxford, 2012)
- Loescher, Gil. *Refugees as Grounds for International Action.* (in Newman E. and J. van Selm (eds), *Refugees and Forced Displacement: International Security, Human Vulnerability, and the State,* United Nations University Press, Tokyo, 2013) pp.31-6
- Loescher, Gil. *The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path.* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, in Crisp, J. *Africa's Refugees: Patterns, Problems and Policy Challenges.* New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No. 28, Geneva, 2011)
- Marfleet, Phillips. *Refugees in a Global Era.* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) 126
Messina, Anthony and Gallya Lahav. (eds). *The Migration Reader-Explaining Politics and Policies.* (2015)
- Mogire, Evans. *Victims as Security Threat: Refugee Impact on Host Security in Africa.* (Ashgate Publishing Company, 2011)
- Muggah, Robert. (ed). *No Refugee the Crisis of Refugee Militarization in Africa.* (New York Zed Books, 2015)
- Mwaura and Kiplagat *The Somali Conflict: Root Causes, Obstacles and Peace Building Strategies.* (Institute for Security Studies, African Security Review Vol. 15. No.1, 2015)
- Natsios, K., Sudan. *South Sudan and Darfur: what everyone needs to know?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, (2012), 79.
- Nicholas, Sambanis. *External Interventions and the Duration of Civil Wars.* World Bank working paper. (2010b)
- Nicholson, Frances and Patrick Twomey. *Refugee Rights and Realities: Evolving International Concepts and Regimes.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

- Niklaus, Gibney and Gil, L. *Problems of Protection: the UNCHR, Refugees and Human Rights*. (New York, Routledge, 2013)
- Oberschall, A. *Conflict Theory: Hand book of politics: State and Society in Global Perspective*. Spring science + business media. (2010).
- Omeje, Kenneth and John Mwangi Githigaro. *The Challenges of State Policing in Kenya*. (Peace and Conflict Review Volume 7 Issue 1, 2012)
- Patrick, J. Dillon. Waging peace through improvisational action: track-two diplomacy in the Sudan-Uganda conflict. *Southern Communication Journal* (2010). 75 349–369, 350.
- Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. (2015) Key: citeulike:888716
- Republic of Kenya. *The Security Laws (amendment) Act*. (Government Printer, 2015) Republic of Kenya. *Constitution of Kenya*. (2010)
- Rotberg, Robert. *Battling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. (Cambridge, MA: World Peace Foundation, 2015) Barry Stein. Durable solutions for Developing Country, (*International Migration Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2, Special Issue: Refugees: Issues and Directions, 1986).
- schünemann, Julia (Dr). *The Future of Intra-State Conflict in Africa; More Violence or Greater Peace?* Institute of Security Studies, Dakar. (2013).
- Stephen, D. *Internal War: Causes and Cures, Review of; The International Dimension of Internal Conflicts*. (Princeton: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Tadesse.D., *Making Federalism Work in South Sudan: the challenge a head*. Addis Ababa, Instituto per Gli studio Di PoliticalInternationale. (2012).
- Turk, Volker. *The Role of UNHCR in the Development of International Refugee Law*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) UNHCR. *Emergency Relief*. (No 91, Dec 2012)
- Walter, Williams. *Migration and Security*. (In Peter Burgess (ed.) (*The Handbook of New Security Studies*, London: Routledge, 2010)
- Zezeza, Paul Tiyambe (ed). *Human Rights, The Rule of Law and Development in Africa*. (USA, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).